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THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY,

Bolt Court, Fleet Street,

FOR

THOMAS HAMILTON, 33, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1815.

00111330

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

VOL. II.

THE

PRINCIPAL FACTS

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

CONFIRMED, &c.

PART II. CHAP. XLIV.

CYPRIAN, BISHOP OF CARTHAGE.

I. *His history, and character, and testimonies to him.* II. *His works.* III. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament; and first, of the four gospels.* IV. *Of the Acts of the Apostles.* V. *Of St. Paul's thirteen epistles.* VI. *Of the epistle to the Hebrews.* VII. *Of the catholic epistles.* VIII. *Of the Revelation.* IX. *Respect for the scriptures.* X. *General titles and divisions of the scriptures.* XI. *Of Christian apocryphal writings.* XII. *Of Jewish apocryphal writings.* XIII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. THE account which St. Jerom has given of St. Cyprian, in his book of Illustrious Men, is but short. It is to this purpose: 'Cyprian[a] of Africa first taught rhetoric with great applause. Afterwards, being converted to Christianity by a presbyter named Cæcilius, whose name he also took, he gave all his estate to the poor; and after no long time he was made presbyter, and then bishop of Carthage. It is needless to give a catalogue of his works, which are brighter than the sun. He suffered under the emperor Valerian and Gallienus, in the eighth persecution, the same day that Cornelius died at Rome, but not in the same year.'

A more particular history of St. Cyprian may be collected from his life, written by his deacon Pontius, from his own works, the mention made of him by other ecclesiastical writers, and those Acts of his martyrdom, which are generally reckoned genuine, and are allowed by[b] Basnage to contain for the most part matters of fact truly related, though he thinks they have some interpolations. It is fit I should here give a short history of this celebrated bishop of the third century.

Beside the name of Cyprian, he had that of[c] Thascius; and bore likewise as we have already seen, the name of Cæcilius, from the presbyter by whom he was converted. His whole name therefore was Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus. He was an African, as we have been assured by Jerom; but that he was born at Carthage is not certain. His conversion happened, according

[a] Cyprianus Afer, primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit: exinde, suadente presbytero Cæcilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, Christianus factus, omnem substantiam suam pauperibus erogavit; ac post non multum temporis electus in presbyterum, etiam episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est. Hujus ingenii superfluum est indicem texere, cum sole clariora sint ejus opera. Passus est sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus, persecutione octavâ, eodem die quo Romæ Cornelius, sed non eodem anno. De V. I. cap. 67.

[b] Non enim legitima omnino sunt atque sincera, quæ cum Cypriani operibus edita sunt ex Vet. Cod. MS. Etsi multa in illis verissima contineri, faciles largiamur. Annal. Polit. Ecc. 257. num. 5.

[c] Cyprianus qui et Thascius.... Pupieno S. Ep. Cyprian. 66. [al. 69.] Vid. et Passionis Act. n. 13.

to [a] bishop Pearson, in the year 246: and therefore, since he suffered martyrdom in the year 258, the greatest part of his life was spent in heathenism, and he might be born before the end of the second century. Cæcilius [b] was not only a presbyter by office, in the church of Carthage, but venerable likewise for his age, at the time of Cyprian's conversion.

Jerom says, that Cyprian, in the former part of his life, taught rhetoric with great applause. Lactantius [c] writes to the same purpose; and the like occurs [d] in Eusebius's Chronicle. Fabricius, [e] however, was of opinion, that Cyprian rather shewed his eloquence at the bar, than taught it in the schools; which, he thinks, may be concluded from what Cyprian [f] himself has intimated of his having lived in great plenty and splendour: but the words which that learned writer refers to, need not [g] to be understood as a description of Cyprian's own circumstances. Undoubtedly Cyprian had a good estate, which he sold, and gave to the poor, soon after his conversion, as Jerom informs us; and still more particularly [h] Pontius, who mentions this as one of the extraordinary actions of Cyprian before baptism, whilst he was yet a catechumen: but Jerom, who was not ignorant, as it seems, of our bishop's circumstances, and has often mentioned him in his works, and [i] had a great opinion of his eloquence, never gives him the title or character of a pleader, or a magistrate; and in one [k] place, beside that already quoted from his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, expressly says, that Cyprian taught rhetoric at Carthage. Not to add, that what he said of Cyprian to the same purpose [l] in the Chronicle ought to be reckoned Jerom's rather than Eusebius's. And that Cyprian taught rhetoric in the schools is plainly said [m] by St. Augustine, who must be reckoned a material evidence. But I do not perceive him, or any one else to say, that Cyprian ever pleaded, or exercised the office of a magistrate. And in that way he might come to have a good estate, and be greatly respected. The profession of rhetoric could not but be very profitable [n] at that time, especially if the professor himself was a man of ability in his way, as Cyprian was. Possibly Cyprian had a stated salary: if not, the gratuities of his numerous scholars could not but be very considerable. His reputation being great, all the youth in general in those parts, who were of any fortune, or who aimed to be magistrates, and judges, or pleaders would come to his school. Besides, Cyprian was not only master of the theory of his art, but of the practical part likewise. He not only understood the rules of rhetoric, and how to teach others eloquence, but he was also eloquent himself; and very probably composed for others arguments, or pleadings, or harangues, or panegyrics, and such like discourses, for [o] which he would be well recompensed: and in these two things, teaching persons rhetoric, or qualifying them for the bar, and perhaps sometimes composing pleadings for his scholars, or others, I take to be comprehended the full meaning and intention of St. Augustine's [p] words, where he speaks of Cyprian's promoting or improving forensic disputes and contentions.

Cyprian had a quick advancement to the highest offices in the church. This is intimated by

[a] Vid. Ann. Cypr. p. 6.

[b] Erat sane illi etiam de nobis contubernium viri justi et laudabilis memoriæ Cæcilii, et ætate tunc et honore presbyteri, qui eum ad agnitionem veræ divinitatis a seculari errore correxerat. Cypr. Vit. per Pont. pag. 3.

[c] Cyprianus magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriæ professione quæsierat. Lact. Div. Inst. Lib. v. cap. 1.

[d] Cyprianus primum rhetor, deinde presbyter, ad extremum Carthaginiensis episcopus, martyrio coronatur. Eus. Chr. p. 175.

[e] Non rhetoricam adeo in scholis docuisse, quam in foro exercuisse Cyprianus videtur. Confer quæ ipse de se Cyprianus libro ad Donatum, non longe ab initio. Fabric. annot. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 67.

[f] Ad Donat. p. 2 et 3. Oxon. 1682.

[g] Vid. Vit. S. Cyprian. a Benedictino adornat. num. 1. p. 39. Paris. 1726.

[h] Nondum secunda nativitas novum hominem splendore toto divinæ lucis oculaverat. . . . Distractis rebus suis ad indigentiam pauperum sustentandam tota prædia pretio dispensans, ... &c. Pont. p. 2. Oxon.

[i] Beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi, dulcis incedit et placidus. Hieron. Ep. 49. al. 13. ad Paulinum. p. 567. m. Ed. Bened. Cyprianus, vir eloquentia pollens et martyrio. Id. ad Magn. Ep. 83. p. 655.

[k] Proponamus nobis beatum Cyprianum, qui prius idololatriæ assertor fuit, et in tantam gloriam venit eloquentiæ, ut oratoriam quoque doceret Carthagini. Id. Comm. in Jonæ cap. 3.

[l] See before, note [d].

[m] Inter quos et Cyprianus. . . . . Qui enim in ludo perversitatis humanæ et suam et aliorum linguas docuerat loqui mendacium, ut quod ab adversario objiceretur, astutâ fallaciâ negaretur, jam in aliâ scholâ didicerat confitendo devitare adversarium. August. Serm. 312. Tom. v. Bened. [Al de diversis 116.]

[n] Quid si etiam figuras locutionis, quæ illâ arte traduntur, in iis saltem quæ de Apostoli eloquio commemoravi, ostendere voluissem? . . . Hæc omnia, quando a magistris docentur, pro magno habentur, magno emuntur pretio, magnâ jactatione venduntur. Aug. de Doct. Christ. l. iv. cap. 7. n. 14 T. iii. P. i.

[o] Nunc probabo quas tu ab ore nostro laudes Cypriani desideres. Certe si adhuc in scholâ rhetorum verba discipulis venderem, prius ab eis mercedem sumerem. Vendere tibi volo laudem pudicissimæ conjugis tuæ; prius mihi mercedem da, pudicitiam tuam. Aug. Ep. 259. n. 4. al. 125.

[p] Et ut tantæ vocis tuba, quæ forensium mendaciorum certamina solebat acuere, ad prosternendum pretiosis sanctorum mortibus diabolum Christo militantes et in ipso gloriantes devotos martyres excitaret. August. Serm. 312. al. de diversis 116.

Jerom, and more particularly related by [a] Pontius. Bishop Pearson [b] computes, that he was made presbyter in 247, and bishop of Carthage near the end of the year 248. The learned Benedictine, who writes the life of St. Cyprian prefixed to Stephen Baluze's edition of this father, thinks, that [c] he might be baptised in the year 244 or 245, and made bishop in 248, or 249, supposing it to be scarce possible to determine exactly and with certainty the year of those events. Pagi likewise thought it to be doubtful, whether [d] Cyprian was advanced to the episcopate in the year 248 or 249.

Cyprian [e] was made bishop against his own inclination, at the general and earnest desire of the people of Carthage. But his election [f] was opposed by several presbyters of that church, five in number, who [g] afterwards gave him a great deal of uneasiness. It is no where expressly said who was his immediate predecessor; but [h] it is, probably concluded by learned men, that his name was Donatus.

The beginning of St. Cyprian's episcopate was peaceable, under the emperor Philip; but [i] near the end of the year 249, or early in the year 250, began the Decian persecution. This bishop of Carthage was extremely obnoxious to the heathen people; and they often demanded in a clamorous manner, in the theatre, and other public places, that he should be thrown to the lions, as is related by [k] Pontius, and [l] by Cyprian himself. Hereupon he retired, (as Pearson supposeth [m] in Jan. 250) judging it to be [n] for the good of his people, and agreeable to the doctrine of Christ in the gospel, and [o] having also received a divine direction to that purpose. The government not being able to find him out, he was [p] proscribed, and proclamation was made at Carthage, That if any one had any goods of Cæcilius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians, he should discover them. Nor is the place where he absconded known to this day. In this retirement, which lasted about fourteen months, he was not idle, nor unprofitable, as appears from the many epistles written by him during that time, a large part of which are still extant. Cyprian seems to have taken with him from Carthage, one of his deacons, named Victor, and some other friends. It is plain, he [q] had such company with him at the beginning of his retirement. They may be supposed to have been of great use to him in taking copies of his letters sent to Carthage and other places: and to their diligent and faithful attendance on their bishop, as well as perhaps to the kind assistance likewise of some others, who came to him afterwards, we ought to reckon ourselves indebted for the letters above-mentioned, now in our hands.

The heat of the persecution being abated, in the year 251, soon [r] after Easter, Cyprian came out of the place of his retirement, and returned to Carthage. In the [s] month of May, in the same year, he held a council for regulating some affairs of the church, particularly the treatment of such as had lapsed in the persecution: and in the year following [t] a second council, in which the same affair was farther considered and regulated. There were beside these, several other councils held at Carthage in the time of this bishop of that city; three of which were engaged about the question of the baptism of heretics, in which Cyprian differed from Stephen bishop of Rome, and some others. Cyprian was of opinion, that [u] all baptism out of the catholic church

[a] Presbyterium et Sacerdotium statim accepit. Pont. p. 2. Judicio Dei et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii et episcopatûs gradum adhuc neophytus, et, ut putabatur, novellus, electus est. Id. p. 3.

[b] Pearson. Ann. Cypr. p. 8, 9.

[c] Vit. S. Cypr. (ut supra) sect. ii. p. 42. et sect. iv. p. 45. fin.

[d] Vid. Pagi Crit. 248. n. 2.

[e] Non præteribo etiam illud eximium, quemadmodum cum in dilectionem ejus et honorem totus populus adspirante domino prosiliret, humiliter ille secessit, antiquioribus cedens, et indignum se titulo tanti honoris existimans, ut dignus magis fieret. Pont. p. 3.

[f] Quidam illi restiterunt, etiam ut vinceret. Pont. p. 3. Vid. etiam Cypr. Ep. 43. al. 40.

[g] Vid. Pear. Ann. Cypr. 251. n. 3.

[h] Vid. Pears. Ann. Cypr. 248. n. 3. et Benedic. Vit. St. Cypr. n. 4. p. 45.

[i] Vid. Pagi Crit. 250. n. 4.

[k] .... maxime cum et suffragiis sæpe repetitis ad leonem postularetur. Pont. p. 4.

[l] Nec me in conspectum publicum, et maxime ejus loci, ubi toties flagitatus et quæsitus fuissem, temere committere. Cypr. Ep. 14. [al. 6.] p. 31. Orto statim turbationis impetu primo, cum me clamore violento frequenter populus flagitâsset, non tam meam salûtem, quam quietem fratrum publicam cogitans, interim secessi, Ep. 20. [al. 15.] p. 42. Vid. et Ep. 59. [al. 55.] p. 130.

[m] Ann. Cyp. p. 17. n. 2. Conf. Pagi 250. n. 5.

[n] See note [l].

[o] Et audietis omnia, quando ad vos reducem me dominus fecerit, qui ut secederem jussit. Ep. 16. [al. 10.] p. 38. Credidit se, nisi domino latebram tunc jubenti paruisset, etiam ipsâ passione peccare. Pont. p. 5. in.

[p] Statim denique pro talibus meritis etiam proscriptionis gloriam consecutus est. Pont. p. 4. Persecutio enim veniens .... me proscriptionis onere depressit, cum publice legeretur: si quis tenet, vel possidet de bonis Cæcilii Cypriani episcopi Christianorum. Ep. 66. [al. 69.] p. 166.

[q] Salutant vos Victor diaconus, et qui mecum sunt. Ep. 5.

[r] Vid. Ann. Cypr. p. 48. n. 3.

[s] Ann. Cypr. ib. n. 5. Conf. Pagi 251. n. 17, 18, 21.

[t] Ann. Cypr. p. 35. n. 6, 7. Vid. etiam Cypr. Ep. 5. al. 55. et Conf. Pagi 252. n. 8.

[u] .... visum est ei cum ferme octoginta coëpiscopis suis Africanarum ecclesiarum, omnem hominem, qui extra ecclesiæ catholicæ communionem baptizatus fuisset, oportere ad

was null and void, and that they who had received such baptism only ought to be baptised when they come over from heretics to the church. What was Stephen's opinion is [a] disputed; whether he held that baptism by all sorts of heretics was valid, and that they who came from them needed not to be baptised; or, whether he maintained the validity of that baptism only which was performed in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The most remarkable of these three councils was the last, at which were [b] present eighty-five or eighty-seven bishops, beside presbyters and others. It was held in 256, and the acts of it are still in being. Of these councils I give no farther account, that I may have the more room to shew the excellent conduct of Cyprian in some other matters, which deserve particular notice in this place.

About this time a pestilential distemper wasted the Roman Empire, raging in some part of it for several years. Some learned men think it begun in the reign of Decius, and increased very much under Gallus, about the year 252, in whose time it is placed by [c] Eusebius in his Chronicle, and [d] by Eutropius, and by [e] several other ancient writers. Pagi [f] is of opinion, that this pestilence afflicted the Roman Empire fifteen years, beginning under Gallus and Volusian, in the year 252, and ceasing in 267. In this affliction Carthage had its share; and upon that occasion Cyprian was not negligent in the duties of his episcopal function. His deacon Pontius informs us, that [g] he called together his people, and discoursed to them of the obligation of compassion, shewing out of the divine scriptures, how acceptable offices of kindness are unto God; adding, that it would be no extraordinary thing, if we should take care of our own people: "He only is perfect who does more than publicans and heathens;" Matt. v. 45, 46. We are to propose to ourselves, said Cyprian, the imitation of our heavenly Father, who causeth his sun to rise, and sendeth rain upon all men; and thereby to show that we are not unworthy of our high birth. This discourse had a good effect; and in the time of that calamity there were the most generous acts of goodness performed by the Christians at Carthage, as [h] Pontius relates, and I sometime may have an opportunity to shew more at large. Upon this occasion, likewise, Cyprian wrote a treatise entitled, Of Mortality, or of the Plague; and, as is [i] computed, in the year 252.

There was another occasion, in which the virtue of Cyprian and the people under his care was very conspicuous. Some barbarous people of Africa made inroads into Numidia, and carried off with them captives a great number of Christians. The bishops of Numidia gave Cyprian notice of that disaster. Hereupon he made a collection at Carthage for the redemption of those who had been carried captive; and [k] the whole sum contributed by Cyprian himself and his people, and some [l] bishops and other Christians then at Carthage, amounted to about seven hundred and eighty pounds; which Cyprian sent to the bishops of the province of Numidia, together with his own and his people's prayers, that no such

ecclesiam venientem denuo baptizari. August. de Bap. contr. Donat. l. i. cap. 18. p. 93, 94. T. ix. Bened. Ecce in unitate video Cyprianum et alios collegas ejus, qui facto concilio censuerunt omnes, qui extra ecclesiæ communionem fuerint baptizati, baptismum non habere; et ideo eis dandum esse, cum veniunt, ib. l. ii. c. 6. p. 100. D. Conf. Cypr. ad Jub. Ep. 73. et Conc. Carth

[a] Vid. Tillemont Mem. Ecc. T. iv. St. Cyprien art. 42, et note xxxix. Du Pin Bibl. St. Cyprien Basn. Ann. 256. n. 3, 4. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 256. n. 4, 5, 6.

[b] There were present eighty-five bishops, one of which had two proxies, who at the same time he voted himself gave in also the votes of two absent bishops, according to the power they had given him. The number of votes therefore was in all eighty-seven.

[c] Sub hoc [Gallo] pestilens morbus multas totius orbis provincias occupavit, maximeque Alexandriam et Ægyptum, ut scribit Dionysius, et Cypriani de mortalitate testis est liber. Euseb. Chron. p. 47.

[d] Solâ pestilentiâ et morbis atque ægritudinibus notus eorum [Galli et Volusiani] principatus fuit. Eutr.

[e] Vid. Pagi Crit. 252. n. 25.

[f] Vid. Pagi ib. 252. n. 24. et seqq. 265. n. 5.

[g] Aggregatam primo in loco uno plebem de misericordiæ bonis instituit, docens divinæ lectionis exemplis, quantum ad promerendum Deum prosint officia pietatis. Tunc deinde subjungit, non esse mirabile, si nostris tantum debito caritatis obsequio faveremus; eum perfectum posse fieri qui plus aliquid publicano vel ethnico fecerit.... Et qui se Dei filium profitetur, cur non exemplum patris imitatur? Respondere, inquit, nos decet natalibus nostris, et quos renatos per Deum constat, degeneres esse non congruit. Pont. p. 5.

[h] Id. p. 6.

Vid. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. p 39. n. 17. et Basn. 258. n. 14.

[k] Misimus autem sestertia centum millia nummorum,.... Et optamus quidem nihil tale de cætero fieri,.... Si tamen ad explorandam nostri animi caritatem, et examinandam nostri pectoris fidem, tale aliquid accideret, nolite cunctari nuntiare hæc literis vestris; pro certo habentes, ecclesiam nostram et fraternitatem istic universam, ne hæc ultra fiant, precibus orare; si facta fuerint, libenter, et largiter subsidia præstare. Ep. 62. al. 60.

[l] Mr. Marshall, in a note upon this epistle of St. Cyprian, p. 177, says, 'that sum was collected from his own church 'only, over and above the several sums contributed from such 'bishops as happened to be at Carthage when this case was 'laid before our author.' And so Fleury understood it; see his Ecclesiastical History, B. vii. ch. 14. p. 420. But Tillemont takes it, as I have done above, that the contributions of Cyprian's church, and of some bishops then at Carthage, all together amounted to that sum. Tout cela ensemble fit une somme de vingt-cinq mille livres. Mem. Ec. St. Cypr. art. 37. p. 210. Which is rightest, I am not much concerned to determine. The thing is of no great importance.

like disaster might befal them again; at the same time assuring them that, if there should, the Christians with him would be always ready to send relief to their brethren.

But the most glorious scene of Cyprian's life remains. The emperor Valerian, who for some time had been very favourable to the Christians, became their persecutor. Cyprian, having been brought before the proconsul, made a confession of the Christian faith, and was banished to Curubis. So far we are informed by [a] Pontius, who [b] refers to the Acts for particulars; and by the Acts which we now have, we are informed that, [c] on the 30th day of August 257, Cyprian was brought before the proconsul Aspasius Paternus; and being examined by him, owned himself to be a Christian, and a bishop; declaring that he knew no other gods, beside the one true God, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all things therein. Being stedfast in this profession, the proconsul banished him to Curubis. His deacon, [d] Pontius, accompanied him to the place of his exile, where he arrived the 13th or 14th of September. Cyprian had many fellow sufferers, great numbers of Christians in the province of Numidia were apprehended, and sent to the mines. We have [e] a letter of Cyprian, written in his exile, which is inscribed to nine bishops by name, and beside them to others, presbyters, deacons, and the rest of the brethren in the mines, martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord. And those confessors, who were not all in one and the same place, but in mines at some distance from each other, answer him again in three several letters, which are still extant in St. Cyprian's works.

Whilst [f] Cyprian continued at Curubis, Galerius Maximus succeeded Paternus as proconsul of Africa. He recalled Cyprian from his banishment, who then went to his gardens, or country house, near Carthage, by the orders, as it seems, of the proconsul. Those gardens had been sold by Cyprian, and the price of them given for the benefit of the poor, as was formerly observed: but, [g] by some favourable providence, they were again returned to the possession of our bishop.

Soon after his arrival there, Cyprian understood that there were orders given for bringing him before the proconsul, who was then at Utica, a city of Africa, about forty miles distant from Carthage; but, being desirous rather to die in the presence of his own people, he thought fit to go from his country seat, and conceal himself for a while. Of this he gives an account [h] in his last letter to his clergy and people. The proconsul being come from Utica to Carthage, Cyprian returned to his gardens, where many persons of the best rank in the city came to him, entreating him to retire, and offering him likewise a safe place of retreat: but he would by no means comply with those proposals. This is written [i] by his deacon Pontius.

On the 13th of September 258, an officer, with [k] soldiers, was sent to Cyprian's garden by the proconsul to bring him before him. Cyprian then knew his end was near; and with a ready and constant mind, and a cheerful countenance, he went without delay to Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, where [l] the proconsul was for the sake of his health. Cyprian's cause was deferred [m] for that day. He was therefore ordered to the house of an officer, where he was

[a] His tam bonis et tam piis actibus supervenit exilium. Pont. p. 6. Ut, imminentis martyrii pleniore fiduciâ, non exulem tantummodo Curubis, sed et martyrem possideret. ib. 7.

[b] Et ut, quid sacerdos Dei Proconsule interrogante responderet, taceam; sunt Acta quæ referant. ib. p. 6.

[c] Imperatore Valeriano quartum et Gallieno tertium Consulibus, tertio Calendarum Septembrium, Carthagine in secretario Paternus Proconsul Cypriano dixit:... Exquisivi ego de nomine tuo: quid mihi respondes? Cyprianus episcopus dixit: Christianus sum, et Episcopus. Nullos alios Deos novi, nisi unum et verum Deum, qui fecit cœlum et terram, mare, et quæ in eis sunt omnia.... Poteris ergo secundum præceptum Valeriani et Gallieni exul ad urbem Curubitanam proficissi. Cypr. Pass. p. 11.

[d] Nam et me inter domesticos comites dignatio caritatis ejus delegerat exulem voluntarium. Pont. p. 7.

[e] Ep. 76. al. 77.

[f] Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno proconsuli Galerius Maximus, proconsul, qui sanctum Cyprianum episcopum ab exilio revocatum sibi jussit præsentari. Cumque Cyprianus sanctus martyr electus a Deo, de civitate Curubitanâ, in quâ exilio præcepto Aspasii Paterni tunc proconsulis datus fuerat, regressus esset, ex sacro præscripto in hortis suis manebat. Act. pass. p. 12.

[g] Ad hortos, inquam, quos inter initia fidei suæ venditos, et Dei indulgentiâ restitutos, pro certo iterum in usus pauperum vendidisset, nisi invidiam de persecutione vitaret. Pont. p. 8. fin.

[h] Cum perlatum ad nos fuisset, fratres carissimi, frumentarios esse missos, qui me Uticam perducerunt, et consilio carissimorum persuasum esset, ut de hortis nostris interim secederemus, justâ interveniente causâ, consensi; eo quod episcopum in eâ civitate, in quâ ecclesiæ dominicæ præest, illic dominum confiteri, et plebem universam præpositi præsentis confessione clarificari. Cypr. Ep. 81. [al 83.] init. p. 238.

[i] Conveniebant interim plures egregii et clarissimi ordinis et sanguinis, sed et seculi nobilitate generosi: qui propter amicitiam ejus antiquam, secessum subinde suaderent: et, ne parum esset nuda suadela, etiam loca in quæ secederet offerebant. Ille vero jam mundum suspensâ in cælum mente neglexerat, nec suadelis blandientibus annuebat. Pont. p. 8.

[k] Cum ecce Proconsulis jussu ad hortos ejus... cum militibus suis princeps repente subitavit. id. ibid.

[l] .... et in Sexti perduxerunt: ubi idem Galerius Maximus proconsul bonæ valetudinis recuperandæ gratiâ secesserat. Act. Pass. p. 12.

[m] Sed dilatus in crastinum, ad domum principis a prætorio revertebatur. ... Receptum eum tamen et in domo principis constitutum unâ nocte continuit custodia delicata: ita ut convivæ ejus, et cari in contubernio ex more fuerimus. Pont. p. 9.

kept that night, but was well accommodated, and his friends had free access to him. The news of this having been brought to Carthage, a great number of people of all sorts, and the Christians in general, flocked thence to Sexti; and Cyprian's people lay all night before the door of the officer, thus [a] keeping, as Pontius expresses it, the vigil of their bishop's passion.

The next morning, the 14th of September, he was led to the proconsul's palace, surrounded [b] by a mixed multitude of people, and a strong guard of soldiers. 'After [c] some time the pro-'consul came out into the hall; and Cyprian being set before him, he said, "Art thou Thascius 'Cyprian?" Cyprian the bishop answered, "I am." Galerius Maximus the proconsul said, "The most sacred emperors have commanded thee to sacrifice." Cyprian the bishop answered, "I do not sacrifice." Galerius Maximus said, "Be well advised." Cyprian the bishop answered, "Do as thou art commanded: in so just a cause there needs no consultation." The proconsul 'having advised with his council, spoke to Cyprian in angry terms, as being an enemy to the 'gods, and a seducer of the people; and then read his sentence out of a tablet: "It is decreed, 'that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded." Cyprian the bishop said, "God be thanked." This is the account given in the Acts of St. Cyprian's passion; and [d] Pontius writes to the like purpose.

Cyprian [e] was then led away to the field of Sexti, a [f] large level spot of ground, encompassed with trees, the boughs of which were then loaded with spectators; and, in the presence of a great number of people, Cyprian was there beheaded, according to the sentence pronounced upon him.

Lactantius, who himself [g] greatly commends the style of St. Cyprian's works, says they were despised by the learned heathens that had looked into them: and informs us, that [h] he had heard a person, a man of considerable eloquence, altering one of the letters of his name, call him Coprian; thereby intimating, that when he was a man of good parts, and qualified for great things, he had followed silly fables. But it seems to me reasonable to suppose, that Cyprian, who was a man of bright natural parts, and no inconsiderable acquired abilities, had well informed himself, and had received some good evidence of those principles, for the sake of which he abandoned a reputable and profitable employment, if not an honourable and plentiful station, without any worldly prospects whatever; and in the service of which he spent ten years, during his episcopate, in great labour and much opposition; and at length cheerfully resigned his life, as a confirmation of the truth of them, and as an example of constancy, by which his people, persons whom he tenderly loved, might be induced to suffer any thing rather than deny them. The whole tenor of Cyprian's life, after his conversion, was peaceable, charitable, and beneficial to men of all characters in distress; the manner of his death, undaunted, willing, and ready, without seeking it, are a very valuable testimony in behalf of the truth and excellence of the principles of the Christian religion.

I have no design to draw at length Cyprian's character. What has been said just now may suffice. However, I cannot forbear observing, in the words of [i] Mr. Marshall, for giving my readers some farther idea of our author, that he was the bishop of a most flourishing church, the

[a] Plebs interim tota sollicita, ne per noctem aliquid sine conscientiâ sui fieret, ante fores principis excubabat. Concessit ei divina tunc bonitas, vere digno, ut Dei populus etiam in sacerdotis passione vigilaret. id. ib.

[b] Egressus est domum principis,.... et agminibus multitudinis mixtæ ex omni parte vallatus est. Sic autem comitatui ejus infinitus exercitus adhærebat, quasi ad expugnandam mortem manu factâ veniretur. ib. p. 9.

[c] Cumque oblatus fuisset, Galerius Maximus proconsul Cypriano episcopo dixit: 'Tu es Thascius Cyprianus?' Cyprianus episcopus respondit, 'Ego:' Galerius Maximus dixit, 'Jusserunt te sacratissimi imperatores cæremoniari.' Cyprianus episcopus dixit, 'Non facio.' Galerius Maximus ait, 'Consule tibi.' Cyprianus episcopus respondit, 'Fac quod 'tibi præceptum est: in re tam justâ nulla est consultatio.' Galerius Maximus, collocutus cum consilio, sententiam vix ægre dixit verbis hujusmodi: 'Diu sacrilegâ mente vixisti, et 'plurimos nefariæ tibi conspirationis homines aggregâsti....' Et his dictis, decretum ex tabellâ recitavit, 'In Thascium 'Cyprianum gladio animadverti placet.' Cyprianus episcopus dixit, 'Deo gratias.' Act. Pass. p. 13.

[d] Pont. p. 9. f. 10. init.

[e] Et ita idem Cyprianus in agrum Sexti productus est. Act. Pass. p. 13.

[f] Ipse autem locus æqualis est ubi pati contigit, ut arboribus ex omni parte densatis sublime spectaculum præbeat. Sed per enormitatem spatii longioris visu denegato per confusam nimis turbam, personæ faventes in ramos arborum repserant. Pont. p. 10.

[g] Unus igitur præcipuus, et clarus extitit Cyprianus, quoniam et magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriæ professione quæsierat.... Erat enim ingenio facili, copioso, suavi, et (quæ sermonis maxima est virtus) aperto; ut discernere nequeas, utrumne ornatior in eloquendo, an facilior in explicando, an potentior in persuadendo fuerit. Lact. Divin. Inst. lib. v. cap. 1. sub. fin.

[h] Hic tamen placere ultra verba, sacramentum ignorantibus non potest.... Denique a doctis hujus seculi, quibus forte ejus scripta innotuerunt, derideri solet. Audivi ego quemdam hominem sane disertum, qui eum immutatâ unâ literâ Coprianum vocaret; quasi quod elegans ingenium, et melioribus rebus aptum, ad aniles fabulas contulisset. ib.

[i] See Mr. Marshall's preface, p. 14.

metropolis of a province; that he was a man made for business, had a diligent and active spirit, and talents equal to the charge wherewith he was entrusted; and I would add, that he was not only a man of great authority in his life-time, but likewise of great reputation afterwards. This has appeared in part from what has been taken from Jerom and Lactantius. They who are desirous of knowing more of the praises that have been given Cyprian by ancient writers, may consult [a] Ruinart and [b] Tillemont. I shall observe only a few things from St. Augustine. In his time the day of St. Cyprian's martyrdom was a festival not only at Carthage, but in other places of Africa, as appears from [c] five sermons of Augustine, still extant, delivered by him on that day at Hippo. It may be concluded from [d] what he says, as well as from some other ancient writers, that the anniversary of Cyprian's martyrdom was then observed also in other parts out of Africa. Augustine [e] calls Cyprian a most agreeable writer, as well as a blessed martyr. He assures us, that [f] Cyprian was then generally well known in the world, partly for the constancy and fortitude of his sufferings, partly for the charms of his most agreeable writings. A remark of Augustine [g] upon the difference of style in Cyprian's works may be esteemed a proof both of his own judgment, and of the judgment and abilities of our author in that way.

As my history of St. Cyprian is but short, I would refer my readers to [h] Cave, and others, who have written his life more at large; and particularly to [i] Le Clerc, who has done the same, in the free way. I should have been well pleased to insist upon Cyprian's visions and revelations; but it would require more room than I can spare here: besides, though I have sometimes taken notice of such things, as in the histories of Gregory of Neocæsarea, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and perhaps occasionally in some other chapters, that I might not leave this matter altogether untouched; there is another place in this work, where it may be proper to observe distinctly the continuance of miraculous powers, or extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, in the church after the time of the apostles; and for that place I reserve the farther consideration of Cyprian's claims to a share in such gifts.

II. St. Cyprian's works are distributed into two parts; Tracts, or Treatises; and Epistles. The tracts are upon a variety of subjects. Some are defences of the Christian religion against Jews and Gentiles, some upon Christian morality, others concerning the discipline of the church. His epistles were written partly in the time of his retirement under the Decian persecution, partly afterwards. With them are joined divers epistles of others sent to him: they are very useful and entertaining; I need not give a more particular account of [k] them. However, it may not be amiss to observe, that St. Jerom [l] does not reckon Cyprian to have written any commentaries upon scripture; though in a chain upon St. Luke's gospel, mentioned by [m] Montfaucon, Cyprian is said to be one of the ancient writers, from whom those interpretations are taken. James le Long [n] has put Cyprian among the commentators upon scripture; but it is only for the sake of his treatise on the Lord's Prayer.

Though I give no account of the several editions of St. Cyprian's works, I may be allowed to

[a] Admonit. in Vit. et Act. S. Cyprian. ap. Act. Mart. Sinet. Sel. p. 198, 199.

[b] Tillem. St. Cyprien. art. 62, 63, 64.

[c] Serm. 309. ... 313. T. v. Bened.

[d] Quis enim hodie, non dicam in hac nostrâ civitate, sed plane per Africam totam, transmarinasque regiones, non Christianus solum, sed Paganus aut Judæus, aut etiam Hæreticus, possit inveniri, qui non nobiscum dicat Natalem Martyris Cypriani? Aug. Serm. 310. al. de Diversis. 113. in.

[e] Nonne adspicimus, quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus, doctor suavissimus, et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius, &c. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. lib. ii. cap. 40. n. 61.

[f] Verum quia non solum dixit quæ audirentur, sed scripsit etiam quæ legerentur; .... et innotuit regionibus multis, partim per famam fortissimæ passionis, partim per dulcedinem suavissimæ lectionis. Serm. 310. sub. fin.

[g] Est tale aliquid in epistolâ beatissimi Cypriani.... Ait ergo quodam in loco: 'Petamus hanc sedem: dant secessum 'vicina secreta: ubi dum erratici palmitum lapsus pendulis 'nexibus per arundines bajulas repunt, viteam porticum frondea tecta fecerunt.' Non dicuntur ista nisi mirabiliter affluentissimâ fecunditate facundiæ, sed profusione nimiâ gravitati displicent. Qui vero hæc amant, profecto eos qui non ita dicunt, sed castigatius eloquuntur, non posse ita eloqui existimant, non judicio illa evitare. Quapropter ille vir sanctus et posse se ostendit sic dicere, et nolle, quoniam postmodum nunquam. Aug. De Doctr. Chr. lib. iv. cap. 13. n. 31.

[h] Cav. Hist. Lit. and Lives of the Primitive Fathers. Tillemont Mem. T. iv. Part. i. Du Pin Bibl. Ruinart. Act. Mart. Sinc. et Sel. Vit. S Cypr. a Benedictino adornat. Basnag. Annal. Pagi Crit. Pearson Ann. Cypr. Dodwell. Diss. Cypr.

[i] Bibl. Univ. T. xii. p. 207, &c.

[k] It is said there are some letters of St. Cyprian at Venice, which have not been yet printed. Vid. Montfaucon. Diar. Ital. cap. 5. p. 75.

[l] Beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi, dulcis incedit et placidus; et quum totus sit in exhortatione virtutum occupatus persecutionum angustiis, de scripturis divinis nequaquam disseruit. Hieron. ad Paulin. Ep. 49. [al. 73.] p. 567. m.

[m] Vid. Bibl. Coislin. p. 251.

[n] Vid. Le Long Bibl. Sa. T. ii. p. 693. Paris. 1723.

observe here, that [a] we have a beautiful edition of them in English, with useful and valuable notes, by the late Mr. Nathaniel Marshall, published in the year 1717.

Some pieces have been ascribed to St. Cyprian which are not his; but learned men are now so generally agreed what are his genuine works, what not, that I need not enlarge upon that point. As several of those tracts which formerly had been reckoned his, and some others, are still usually bound up together with his works, and are useful, and written by good hands, I shall make some extracts out of them in a chapter apart, and there give a short history or account of each of them.

All St. Cyprian's works, both tracts and epistles, abound with texts of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. But there is one tract, entitled Testimonies against the Jews, to Quirinus, in three books; which tract is little more than a collection of texts of scripture under several heads; for there is nothing in it properly Cyprian's, beside two short prefaces, and those several heads, or the titles of the chapters of the work, and the names of the books of scripture, from which he takes his testimonies. The genuineness of this tract has been called in question by some, particularly by [b] Rivet. Here books of scripture are expressly quoted by name, which is seldom done in Cyprian's other works. Here also texts of scripture are cited, according to different readings from those found in his other writings. Nevertheless, it is [c] generally thought by learned men, that these objections are of no great moment, this tract having been quoted as St. Cyprian's by several ancient writers. Bishop Pearson [d] placeth these books in the year 248. The learned Benedictine [e] before mentioned supposeth likewise that they were written whilst Cyprian was presbyter, or soon after he was made bishop; and he offers some arguments that deserve consideration. Bishop Fell thinks this one of the first of St. Cyprian's tracts; and upon the ground of this opinion, concerning the early date of this work, is founded a solution of [f] the difficulty taken from the different citations of scripture, in this and other writings of this father. Mr. Simon, who dislikes Fell's solution, gives [g] another; but whether it be better than the bishop's I cannot say. Basnage, who [h] makes no doubt of the genuineness of this tract, and even thinks Pontius has referred to it, supposeth it written when Cyprian was bishop, and after the Decian persecution. Stephen Baluze maintains the genuineness of this work; but then at the same time he allows that it has been much interpolated. The words of one, who was well furnished

[a] I have made but little use of Mr. Marshall's translation. All my passages out of St. Cyprian, except perhaps two or three, or four at most, were collected, translated, and put in the order they are now in, before I was acquainted with it. However, I have made some improvements by Mr. Marshall's performance, and have now taken care to make several references to him, which I hope the attentive reader will perceive. As I have not read over Mr. Marshall's translation, my testimony can be of no great value. But so far as I have had leisure and opportunity to read and examine it, it appears to me, together with the notes, a work of much labour and study, and to deserve great commendation. Nevertheless there is a particular or two, which I must remark. Mr. Marshall, in his preface, p. 17, 18, expresseth himself in these very words. 'I know not whether it be worth while to take notice of one 'particular liberty which I have taken, of prefixing the title 'of saint to the several apostles and evangelists, as they occur 'in our author, though he himself has named them simply 'and plainly, without any such appellation.' And afterwards he says: 'I have here and there also expressed my 'author's sense in the language of holy scripture, where he 'himself did not mean to quote it. But then in such cases, I 'never refer to the passage in the margin, as I always do 'where he particularly cites any verse or chapter of the in-'spired writers.' But it appears to me, that both these are unwarrantable and unjustifiable liberties, not proper to be taken in translating ancient authors. With regard to the first, though of no very great importance; it seems to me to be rather better to shew primitive writers in their own original simplicity and plainness, as near as possible. With regard to the other liberty, which Mr. Marshall says he has taken, it appears to me altogether unjustifiable. Ordinary readers will be liable to be misled by that method: and I believe it must be attended with some bad consequences, which good Mr. Marshall was not aware of. Perhaps this remark will be illustrated and confirmed by somewhat to be taken notice of by and by, at numb. 6.

[b] Si tamen libri illi [ad Quirinum] sunt Cypriani omnes. Aliquos enim ad Quirinum scripsisse, ex Hieronymo, et aliis, qui eorum mentionem faciunt, probavit Pamelius. Sed an sint ii ipsi libri, quos habemus, dubium reddunt citationes librorum, quas his formulis enuntiat, præter Cypriani in aliis opusculis morem, κατα Lucam, κατα Marcum, &c. Rivet. Crit. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 15. p. 1097.

[c] Vid. Notas Ed. Oxon. p. 17. Du Pin. Bibl. Tillemont. Tom. iv. St. Cyprien. art. 64. et note 54.

[d] Ann. Cypr. p. 9. num. 1.

[e] Vit. S. Cyprian. p. 44. num. 4.

[f] . . . . . varietatis istius. . . . . vix alia ratio reddi poterit, quam quod diversis temporibus scriberentur; et proinde dicendum tractatum hunc reliqua omnia quæ sequuntur præverisse. Edit. Ox. in not. p 17.

[g] Il [l'Evêque d' Oxford] n'a pas pris garde, que cette ancienne traduction, qui étoit entre les mains du peuple, et qu' on lisoit dans les églises, n' empêchoit point ceux qui savoient la langue Grecque de traduire le Grec des Septante, et celui du Nouveau Testament, á leur manière, quand ils le jugeoient à propos. C' est principalement à cela qu' on doit attribuer cette diversité de version des mêmes passages, qui est dans les differens livres de ce savant Evêque. R. Simon Critique des Comm. du N. T. chap. i. p. 15.

[h] Ni a vero aberret conjectura, non ex titulo, quo Quirinus afficitur, sed ex verbis Pontii, librum ab episcopo Cypriano, sed extinctâ Decii persecutione, confectum fuisse censemus: "Quis emolumentum gratiæ proficientis ostenderit?" quibus innuit libros ad Quirinum, quorum ad præfationem digitum Pontius intendisse videtur. Basn. An. 258. num. 14.

with manuscripts of St. Cyprian's works, are so remarkable to this purpose, that the reader may expect to see them in the [a] margin.

And hence, if I mistake not, arises the truest and best solution of the difficulty before mentioned. Bishop Fell thought the different method of citing scriptures, and the different readings of texts, or passages, in this and the other works of Cyprian, to be owing to the distance of the times of writing them. This was one of Cyprian's first pieces; the rest was written at different times afterwards.

Simon says, that though there was at that time a Latin version generally used by Latin Christians, yet it was not uncommon for those who had learning, and understood Greek, to translate for themselves from the original, when they saw fit. And to this principally, says he, we ought to ascribe that diversity of translation of the same passages, which is found in the different books of this learned bishop. Nor is it impossible but this method may have been used by some learned men at that time; Cyprian in particular. Massuet [b] indeed is pleased to make a doubt whether Cyprian understood Greek; but I think he is singular here: others have a better opinion of our bishop's learning; for it has been generally supposed, that Firmilian's letter written in Greek, was translated into Latin by him. I formerly referred to [c] several learned men of this sentiment. To them I would now add [d] the learned Benedictine, author of St. Cyprian's Life: and it appears to me highly probable, that Cyprian, who in the former part of his life professed rhetoric with reputation in the city of Carthage, was not unskilled in the Greek tongue. And in his remaining writings we find mention of some Greek authors, particularly [e] Plato, and Hermes Trismegistus, [f] Hippocrates, and Soranus: and he mentions them as if he was acquainted with their works, especially those of the two former.

But yet it seems to me that the forementioned reasons are not sufficient to account for the diversity we are speaking of: I rather think it to be chiefly owing to the additions and alterations that have been made in the books of Testimonies. Such a collection of texts of scripture is very liable to be altered. It is likely that some texts have been added in latter ages, according to the version or readings then in use: and other passages, which were in the work from the beginning, have been altered according to the readings in use in the age of the copier or transcriber. The account which Stephen Baluze gives of the manuscripts of these books appears to me to put this out of question. Such additions and alterations may have been made without any bad intention, barely with a view of rendering the work more useful and more generally acceptable; though they who are curious would be better pleased to see these books genuine and uncorrupted in their original size, however small, just as they came out of Cyprian's hands. And as I think such books as these, consisting chiefly of collections of texts of scripture, are more especially liable to alteration, both by interpolation or addition, and by changing the original readings for such as afterwards were in use and were more modern; so I likewise question whether we can be sure, that in St. Cyprian's other works we always have the passages in the Latin version made use of by him, and as they came from him. I think bishop Fell speaks in the same manner: I put his words at the bottom of the [h] page.

[a] Si quæ sunt loca in operibus sancti Cypriani, de quibus pronuntiari non possit ea certe illius esse, id vero in primis asseri potest de libris Testimoniorum ad Quirinum. Plures enim codices plus habent quam vulgatæ editiones, alii minus. Itaque, quoniam impossibile est discernere ea quæ vere Cypriani sunt ab iis quæ post illum a studiosis addita sunt, nos retinuimus ea quæ reperta nobis sunt in antiquis exemplaribus manuscriptis. Porro duo tantum priores libri extant in editione Spirensi, in veteri Venetâ, et in eâ quam Remboldus procuravit. Erasmus tertiam emisit ex codice scripto monasterii Gemblacensis.... Habui autem unum et viginti exemplaria vetera horum librorum, quorum tamen quinque habent tantum libros duos priores. Baluz. Not. ad Cyprian. p. 596.

[b] Cyprianum autem Græce doctum fuisse, nullo argumento constat. Massuet. Diss. in Irenæ. ii. n. 54. p. 102.

[c] See Vol. i. ch. 39. note [s].

[d] Hæc autem Firmiliani epistola, quæ Latine reddita exstat inter Cyprianicas septuagesima quinta, sic Cyprianicum stilum redolet, ut non alium interpretem habuisse videatur. Vit. S. Cypr. n. 31. p. 118. init.

[e] In quo et Plato pari ratione consentit; et unum Deum servans, cæteros angelos, vel dæmonas dicit. Hermes quoque Trismegistus unum Deum loquitur, eumque incomprehensibilem atque inæstimabilem confitetur. De Idol. Van. p. 14.

[f] Non invenio unde hoc nomen assumant; nisi forte qui plura et secretiora legerunt apud Hippocratem et Soranum κλειδικας istos deprehenderunt. Ep. 69. al. 76. p. 186.

[g] See before, note [a].

[h] Sperabam quidem ex largo hoc quod in tractatu isto habetur scripturarum spicilegio, ad versionis Latinæ, quæ Hieronymianam præcessit, restitutionem, gradum aliquem præstrui potuisse. Et certe, si modo sibi ubique constaret Cypriani textus, loca illa quæ a lectione vulgatâ discrepare deprehenduntur, pro antiquæ versionis reliquiis non immerito haberemus. Sed cum ea sit lectionum in Mss. codicibus varietas, ut plura simul occurrant, quæ a vulgatis discrepent; et in his quid a Cypriano scriptum fuerit, codicibus sibi invicem non respondentibus, minime constet: porro, cum primorum seculorum patres in S. Scripturi laudandis diversimode se habeant; curam hanc tantum non deploratam censemus. Annot. ad Testim. Libros, p. 17.

Upon the whole, there can be no doubt made but St. Cyprian published a work with this title; but it seems that the books of Testimonies which we now have, or at least some part of them, are liable to objections that have not been fully cleared up; for which reason it may be thought proper, that they should be quoted with some particular caution. Whenever therefore I take any thing out of the books of Testimonies, I intend to mention them expressly. There is another tract of St. Cyprian, which is written much in the same way with those books of Testimonies; it is intitled, An Exhortation to Martyrdom: but I do not know that such objections have been made against this as against the former.

III. As I have already set before the eyes of my readers such numerous passages of scripture in the Christian writers, whose works we have perused, I might now perhaps begin to contract, and be more brief: however, I have determined to proceed in the method that has been hitherto taken, without much alteration, until we come below Eusebius of Cæsarea. And it is my design to omit nothing material, purely for the sake of brevity. Let such, therefore, as have not an opportunity of reading over the voluminous writings of the fathers, accept of the following account of the notice St. Cyprian has taken of the several books of the New Testament. I propose by this method to enable every one to judge in some measure of the difference between the books of Testimonies, as we now have them, and St. Cyprian's other pieces: and, besides, there are several citations in this writer's works that deserve some remarks.

1. St. Cyprian speaks expressly of [a] four gospels, which he compares to the four rivers of paradise: these gospels are received by the church, and are her property, within her circuit; by which she is overflowed, and her plants are enabled to bear fruit. As [b] paradise had its four rivers, so the church had its four gospels.

2. In the second book of Testimonies: 'Likewise [c] in the gospel according to Matthew; "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold 'there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem;"' ch. ii. 1, 2. In this work is quoted also the first chapter of this [d] gospel. In other pieces this gospel is cited thus: 'Likewise [e] the 'Lord has commanded us in his gospel, "that we should call no man our father upon earth, 'forasmuch as one is our father who is in heaven;" ch. xxiii. 9. Again: in the gospel [f] the 'Lord speaks and says; "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me," 'and what follows.'

3. In the third book of Testimonies: 'Likewise [g] in the gospel according to Mark; "And 'when ye stand praying forgive, if ye have ought against any, that your Father also which is in 'heaven may forgive you your trespasses;"' ch. xi. 25, 26. So this gospel is several times quoted in this work: in other tracts after this manner; 'Whom [h] the Lord reproves and blames 'in his gospel, saying: "Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tra-'dition;"' ch. vii. 9.

4. In the first book of Testimonies: 'Likewise [i] in the gospel according to Luke; "And it 'came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary the babe leaped in her womb, 'and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost....."' Luke i. 41, 42, 43. In the tract on the Lord's Prayer; 'Which [k] the Lord teacheth in his gospel, saying: "Two men went up to the 'temple to pray, the one a pharisee, the other a publican,"' to the end of the parable, ch. xviii. 10.....14. Again: 'So [l] the widow Anna, as it is written in the gospel, "departed not from 'the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers, night and day;"' ch. ii. 37.

[a] Ecclesia, paradisi instar exprimens, arbores fructiferas intra muros suos intus includit, ex quibus quæ non facit fructum bonum, exciditur, et in ignem mittitur. Has arbores rigat quatuor fluminibus, id est, Evangeliis quatuor, quibus baptismi gratiam salutaris cœlesti inundatione largitur. Num quid de ecclesiæ fontibus rigare potest, qui intus in ecclesiâ non est? Ep. 73. p. 202.

[b] See Mr. Nath. Marshall's note upon the place, p. 235.

[c] Item in evangelio *cata* Matthæum: Et cum Jesus natus esset in Bethlehem Judeæ in diebus Herodis regis... Testim. l. ii. cap. 29. p. 50.

[d] Lib. ii. cap. 6. et 7. p. 36.

[e] Item Dominus in evangelio suo præcepit, ne vocemus nobis patrem in terrâ, &c. De Orat. Dom. p. 142.

[f] In evangelio Dominus loquitur et dicit: Qui diligit patrem aut matrem super me, non est me dignus. De Exhort. Mart. cap. 6. p. 173.

[g] In evangelio, in prece quotidianâ: Remitte nobis debita nostra.... [Matth. vi. 12.] Item *cata* Marcum: Et cum steteritis ad orationem, remittite, &c. Test. lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 72.

[h] Quos increpat Dominus et objurgat in evangelio suo, dicens: Rejicitis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem vestram statuatis. De Unitate Eccl. p. 117.

[i] Item in evangelio *cata* Lucam: et factum est, ut audivit salutationem Mariæ Elisabet. Testim. l. i. cap. 8. p. 37.

[k] Quæ Dominus in evangelio suo ponit, et dicit: Homines duo ascenderunt in templum orare, unus pharisæus, et unus publicanus. De Orat. Dom. p. 141.

[l] Sic Anna vidua..., sicut in evangelio scriptum est. Ib. p. 155.

5. In the first book of Testimonies: 'Likewise [a] in the gospel according to John; "He 'came to his own, and his own received him not. As many as received him, to them gave he 'power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name:"' ch. i. 11, 12. In [b] the next book of Testimonies he quotes the first five verses of this gospel. In one of his epistles: 'Let [c] them imitate the Lord, who near the time of his passion was not more proud, 'but more humble; for then he washed his disciples' feet, saying: "If I your lord and master 'have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash the feet of others; for I have given you an 'example, that ye should do as I have done;"' John xiii. 14, 15.

IV. The book of the Acts of the apostles is frequently quoted by St. Cyprian by that title; but he has no where, that I remember, mentioned the name of the writer. 'According to [d] 'what Peter says to the Jews in the Acts of the apostles; (ch. ii. 38.) "Repent, and be baptized 'every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall 'receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Again: 'As [e] we read in the Acts of the apostles; (ch. 'iv. 32) "And the multitude of them that believed acted with one heart and soul.' The same text is expressly quoted in another place, as scripture: 'This [f] is evident from the divine scrip-'ture, which says; "The multitude of them that believed acted with one heart and soul," that is, with great unanimity. Accordingly this book is cited by St. Cyprian for proof of what he asserts. Having quoted the book of Tobit, he adds: 'Nor [g] do we so allege these things, my 'brethren, as not to prove what the angel Raphael says [in Tobit] by the testimony of truth. In 'the Acts of the apostles the truth of this is shewed; and that souls are delivered by alms not 'only from the second, but likewise from the first death, is made manifest by fact and experience.' For this he alleges the history of Tabitha, Acts ix. 36...41.

I must add one quotation more. In the third book of Testimonies: 'Likewise in [h] the Acts 'of the apostles, ch. xv. 28, 29, "It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon 'you no other burden than these things, which are of necessity, [or, these necessary things;] 'that ye abstain from idolatries, and effusion of blood, and fornication. And whatever things ye 'would not should be done unto you, neither do ye unto others." This is a very extraordinary reading, and requires some remarks.

We ought here to recollect the substance of Stephen Baluze's note before referred to; That these books of Testimonies are very much interpolated, and that whereas he had one and twenty manuscript copies of them, five of those manuscripts wanted the third book. Moreover, in [i] his note upon the passage just transcribed, he mentions one copy, where this passage, and what follows to the end of the third book, is wanting: so that this passage was wanting in six copies of the one and twenty.

I shall immediately observe a place in Irenæus, or rather in the Latin version of that father, where the texts of Acts xv. 20 and 29, are quoted very agreeably to the reading we have before us. In that place is recited Acts xv. from v. 7. to v. 29. There James in his speech says; 'Wherefore [k] my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are 'turned to God; but that we command them to abstain from the vanity of idols, and from for-'nication, and from blood: and that whatever things they would not have done unto them, neither 'should they do unto others.' And afterwards, reciting the epistle itself; 'For [l] it seemed good

[a] Item in evangelio *cata* Joannem: In sua propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Testim. l. i. cap. 3. p. 21.

[b] Lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 32.

[c] Imitentur Dominum, qui sub ipso tempore passionis non superbior, sed humilior fuit. Tunc enim apostolorum, [discipulorum, Baluz.] suorum pedes lavit, dicens: Si ego lavi pedes vestros magister et dominus, et vos debetis aliorum pedes lavare. Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut, sicut ego feci, et vos faciatis. Ep. 14. [juxta Pamel. vi. Baluz. v.]. p. 32.

[d] Secundum quod in Actis apostolorum Petrus ad eos loquitur, et dicit: Pœnitemini, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Domini Jesu Christi... Ep. 73. p. 205.

[e] Sicut legimus in Actis apostolorum: Turba autem eorum qui crediderant, animâ et mente unâ agebant. De Opere et Eleemosynis, p. 208.

[f] Probat scriptura divina, quæ dicit: De Unit. Eccl. p. 119.

[g] Nec sic, fratres carissimi, ista proferimus, ut non quod Raphaël angelus dixit veritatis testimonio comprobemus. In Actibus apostolorum facti fides posita est, et quod eleemosynis non tantum a secundâ, sed a primâ morte animæ liberentur, gestæ et impletæ rei probatione compertum est Tabitha operationibus justis et eleemosynis præstandis plurimum dedita, &c. De Opere et Eleem. p. 199.

[h] Item in Actibus apostolorum: Visum est Sancto Spiritui et nobis, nullam vobis imponere sarcinam, quam ista, quæ ex necessitate sunt; abstinere vos ab idololatriis, et sanguinis effusione, et fornicatione. Et quæcumque vobis fieri non vultis, aliis ne feceritis. Testim. l. iii. cap. 119

[i] Ista, et quæ deinceps sequuntur usque ad finem libri, desunt in codice Gratianopolitano. Baluz. Not. p. 601.

[k] Propterea ego secundum me judico, non molestari eos, qui ex Gentibus convertuntur ad Deum; sed præcipiendum eis, ut abstineant a vanitatibus idolorum, et a fornicatione, et a sanguine: et quæcumque nolunt sibi fieri, aliis ne faciant. Iren. contr. Hær. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 199. Massuet.

[l] Placuit enim Sancto Spiritui, et nobis, nullum amplius vobis pondus imponere, quam hæc, quæ sunt necessaria: ut abstineatis ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione: et

'to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these, which are necessary 'things: That ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and blood, and fornication: and that 'whatever things ye would not have done unto you, neither should ye do unto others: from 'which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well, walking in the Holy Ghost.'

This Latin version of Irenæus was not published, according to Mr. Dodwell's [a] computation, till some time after the year of Christ 385; though [b] Massuet thinks it more ancient by a great deal; and [c] Mill supposeth that it was made in Irenæus's life-time, or soon after his death, before the end of the second century: but I am apt to think that Dodwell's date of this translation is early enough; and possibly some readings of texts in this translation, as we now have it, were not in being till afterwards.

Here the principal differences from our present reading may be reckoned two; an omission; and an addition. The omission is of that particular, "things strangled;" the addition is of a precept, or prohibition rather, "not to do to others what they would not have to be done to themselves." However, there are likewise some other variations that may require some notice as we go along.

1. To begin with the omission. Dr. Mill, [d] in his notes upon Acts xv. 20, is by all means for retaining "and things strangled" in the text, as the right reading: but in his Prolegomena [e] he expresseth himself as strongly on the other side that this particular is an interpolation of the original text. But let us see whether we cannot hold that learned writer to his first opinion.

He owns that all the Greek manuscripts of the Acts of the apostles have this article of the decree except one; and all versions, and likewise all the Greek fathers and commentators in general: and it is very observable, that among those Greek fathers there are two of great antiquity who have cited the decree as we now have it; I mean [f] Clement of Alexandria, who has so cited it in two places, and [g] Origen. After this, what good authority can there be for the omission? Let us attend.

The main thing seems to be this, that as Dr. Mill supposeth the Italic version, as it is called, (that is the ancient Latin version, chiefly in use among the Latin Christians before St. Jerom's time, and made, as [h] Mill thinks, about the end of the second century) had only three particulars in the decree, omitting "things strangled." But allowing this, it would not prove that to be the right reading; for, that "things strangled" were in some ancient Greek copies, and those good copies, is apparent from Clement and Origen: therefore it is probable that the ancient Latin version, if it wanted that article, was corrupted in this place; as, it is not unlikely, it might be also in many other.

But I see no certain nor probable evidence that the most ancient Latin version, or any Latin version whatever, before the end of the second century, wanted this particular. Indeed, Jerom [i] informs us, that in his time some Latin copies had "things strangled," others not: but he does not say that they which wanted that particular were the best or the most exact. It is highly probable

quæcumque non vultis fieri vobis, aliis ne faciatis: a quibus custodientes vos ipsos, bene agetis ambulantes in Spiritu Sancto. ibid.

[a] Vid. Diss. Iren. v. num. 9, 10. [b] Massuet. Diss. in Iren. ii. num. 53. 54. [c] Mill. Prol. n. 608.

[d] *Και τῦ πνικτῦ.*] Omittunt Cant. Iren. l. iii. c. 12. Tert. de Pud. c. 12. Cyprian. l. iii. ad Quirin. Hieron. Com. in Galat. v. (qui tamen in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum dicit, et a suffocatis;) Ambros. in Galat. ii. (qui additum vult a sophistis Græcorum quos vocat;) Augustin. ut et Gaudentius ac Eucherius, quibus interpretamenti loco additum videtur *το πνικτον*. Per sanguinem enim hic sanguinem suffocatum intelligi putant. Cæterum retinent Græca quæ quidem vidimus omnia, (excepto uno Cant.) Versiones omnes, etiam Vulgata Lat. Orig. lib. viii. Contra Celsum, Patres et Tractatores Græci universim; ut proinde minime solicitandum arbitrer. Mill. in Act. Ap. 15, 20.

[e] *Και τῆς πορνειας, και τῦ αἱματος*] Act. xv. 20, 29. Cant. Irenæi interpres, Tert. Cyprian. Pacian. Ambr. Gaudentius, Eucherius, Fulgentius, Hieron. alii. Certe medium, *και τῦ πνικτῦ*, ipsius Lucæ non est, sed Christianorum veterum, qui cum in hac epistolâ synodicâ omnem sanguinis esum sibi interdictum vidissent; eosque decretum extendebant, ut etiam a morticinis eo ipso sibi abstinendum fuisse censuerint; ne quo modo scilicet sanguine contaminarentur, vel inter viscera sepulto; ut loquitur Tertullianus. Ex hac. ecclesiæ praxi adscripsit quispiam, haud dubito, scholion, *τῦ πνικτῦ*, ad marginem codicis: quo ostenderetur in præcepto de abstinentiâ a sanguine, includi etiam abstinentiam a morticino, adeoque a quolibet suffocato. Hoc autem, ceu partem textûs genuinam, transtulerunt scribæ in corpus epistolæ hujus synodicæ, jam ante tempora Clementis Alexandrini. Mill. Proleg. n. 441, 442. ed. Kuster. vid. etiam n. 641.

[f] *Εδοξεν, εφασαν, τῳ πνευματι τῳ ἁγιῳ και ἡμιν, μηδεν πλεον επιθεσθαι ὑμιν βαρος, πλην των επαναγκες· απεχεσθαι ειδωλοθυτων, και αἱματος, και πνικτων, και της πορνειας· ἐξ ὡν διατηρουντες, ἑαυτους, ευ πραξετε.* Clem. Al. Pæd. l. ii. cap. 7. p. 172. B. C. Paris. Vid. etiam Strom. lib. iv. p. 512. D. 513. A.

[g] See of this work Vol. i. ch. 38. num. 28.

[h] Vid. Mill. Proleg. num. 377, &c.

[i] In Actibus apostolorum narrat historia:.... Seniores, qui Jerosolymis erant, et apostolos, pariter congregatos, statuisse per literas, ne superponeretur eis jugum legis, nec amplius observarent, nisi ut custodierent se ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione: sive ut in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum est, et a suffocatis. Hieron. Comm. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. v. 2.

that he preferred those which had it; inserting it[a] in the Latin New Testament[b] published by him, corrected by the Greek; as it is now also the reading of the Latin vulgate.

Having thus considered this passage of Jerom, which I take to be one of Mill's main authorities for his supposition that the ancient Italic version wanted this particular, I shall now take things in the order of time: but we have no occasion to review the Greek writers, their sentiments having been already sufficiently owned. I would only just observe, that we have no way of knowing how Irenæus read this portion of scripture; his Greek being lost, and his Latin interpreter not strictly following his Greek original, but putting texts of scripture according to the Latin version in use in his time, as is fairly owned by[c] Mill himself; and possibly sometimes altering and corrupting even that according to his own sentiments, or the prevailing sentiments of the time in which he lived.

As for Tertullian, one would be apt to conclude, from his[d] Apology, written about the year 200, that he read all four things as we do. He then plainly understood the decree of the council at Jerusalem, to prohibit "things strangled:" and it is supposed that at that time, and for some while afterwards, all Christians in general understood the decree to prohibit the eating the blood of brute animals. There are remaining[e] passages of ancient writings that seem to put this matter beyond all dispute. Nevertheless, Tertullian,[f] in his treatise De Pudicitia, written after his Apology, though the time is not exactly known, quotes the decree, as if he read only three things: but then it is observable that he there seems disposed to understand the prohibition of "blood" concerning murder or homicide; at least, he would bring in this by way of consequence. And besides, there is too much reason to suspect that this interpretation is given or hinted by him to serve a particular purpose, and increase the malignity and scandal of fornication.

The next author cited by Mill is St. Cyprian. I have transcribed the passage above[g] at length. It is the passage that gives occasion to our present inquiry: but it has been shewn that we have no good reason to look upon it as Cyprian's. Indeed it is highly probable that the reading we have now in this work is very late. In that passage every thing is to be understood as of a moral nature: instead of "blood" is put "effusion of blood," that it might be the more certainly understood of murder, or homicide: for that this is what we are to understand by "effusion of blood," I think cannot be questioned. I am sure Dr. Hammond[h] took this passage, or this writer, whoever he is, in that sense.

The next author is Ambrosiaster, author of the Commentary upon St. Paul's thirteen epistles, placed by Cave as flourishing about the year 354, who supposeth[i] the real author to be Hilary, deacon of Rome, and that this work was written about the year 384. Richard Simon[k] is of the same opinion concerning the author of these Commentaries: but[l] the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose are not so clear upon this point. This writer, whoever he be, probably however of the fourth or fifth century, omits[m] "things strangled." He even contends that that clause ought to be left out, and that it is an interpolation of the Greek writers, or Greek sophists, as he calls

[a] Vid. Mill. Proleg. num. 849.

[b] Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 135.

[c] In Latinis autem, [Irenæi] Interpreti id unum curæ erat, ut scripturæ testimonia, quæ in hoc opere occurrunt, exprimerentur verbis interpretationis, quæ Celtis suis, totique occidenti jam in usu erat, Italicæ, sive vulgatæ. Unde factum, ut paucis in locis, nec nisi ex contextu orationis, certo satis assequi possis, quænam fuerit codicis Irenæani lectio. Mill. Pr. n. 368.

[d] Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus; qui propterea quoque suffocatis et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo sanguine contaminemur, vel intra viscera sepulto, &c. Apol. cap. 9. p. 10. D.

[e] πως αν παιδια φαγοιεν οι τοιουτοι, οις μηδε αλογων ζωων αιμα φαγειν εξον; Epist. Eccles. Vienn. et Lugd. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. v. cap. 1. p. 159. A. Vid. etiam Clem. Al. Pæd. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 172. B. C. Strom. l. iv. p. 512, 513. A. et Pæd. l. iii. cap. 3. p. 228. B. C. Tertullian ut supra, Ap. cap. 9. Vid. etiam Origenem, ut laudatum supra p. 153. note z. Tantumque ab humano sanguine cavemus, ut nec edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem noverimus. Minuc. Fel. cap. 30.

[f] Visum est, inquiunt, Spiritui Sancto et nobis, nullum amplius vobis adjicere pondus, quam eorum, a quibus necesse est abstineri, a sacrificiis, et a fornicationibus, et sanguine, a quibus observando recte agitis, vectante vos Spiritu Sancto. Sufficit et hic servatum esse mœchiæ et fornicationis locum honoris sui inter idololatriam et homicidium. Interdictum enim sanguinis multo magis humani intelligemus. de Pud. c. 12.

[g] See p. 13. [h] Vid. Hammond. Annot. in Act. xv. 29.

[i] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 168.

[k] Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du Neuf Testament, Ch. ix. p. 133, &c.

[l] Vid. Admonit. in Commentaria in 13. Ep. Beati Pauli. Ed. Bened.

[m] Denique tria hæc mandata ab apostolis et senioribus data reperiuntur, quæ ignorant leges Romane, id est, ut abstineant se ab idololatriâ, et sanguine, sicut Noë, et fornicatione. Quæ sophistæ Græcorum non intelligentes, scientes tamen a sanguine abstinendum, adulterârunt scripturam, quartum mandatum addentes, et a suffocato abstinendum. Ambrosiast. in Gal. cap. 2. p. 215. Ed. Bened.

them with much scorn and indignation. He [a] understands the prohibition "from blood," of the blood of animals, not of homicide. We are obliged to him for one thing, the assurance he gives us that the Greek manuscripts of his time universally agreed in this clause, "and from things strangled." If he had known of any Greek writers or Greek copies of the New Testament, that had favoured his omission, he would not have been quite so angry with the Greeks.

Pacian, bishop of Barcelona, about the year 370, is another writer who [b] omits "things strangled." He understands "from blood," to mean homicide; and says, that the direction given by the council to abstain from these three crimes; "things sacrificed to idols," or idolatry; "from blood," or from murder; and "from fornication;" is the sum and substance of the whole gospel, or Christian revelation.

The next writer alleged by Mill is Gaudentius, placed by Cave at the year 387. He [c] seems to have read only three things, and understands "blood" of the blood of animals; for he explains it to mean "things strangled:" or, as [d] Mill expresseth it, Gaudentius and Eucherius thought this clause added by way of interpretation.

St. Augustine likewise, placed by Cave at the year 396, is [e] alledged upon this occasion by Dr. Mill: and, if the passage in the Speculum be his, he read only three prohibitions; "from things sacrificed to idols, from blood, and from fornication." From this passage it appears, that by many at that time all these prohibitions were understood to be of a moral kind. Their explication of them is idolatry, murder, and fornication, which they therefore thought to be the only three mortal sins. In [f] another place, Acts xxi. 25, is cited by Augustine, where "things strangled" are wanting. There is [g] yet another place, where Augustine speaks of this matter, and somewhat largely. Here again is mention made of the interpretation, which some gave of blood, meaning thereby murder; which sense Augustine himself rejects here, as he did before. Thence we learn likewise, that in St. Augustine's time the decree of the council in its ancient sense and interpretation was regarded [h] by very few Christians among the Latins, who thought all wholesome food generally eaten by men, to be lawful; or, that they were under no obligation to observe a distinction of meats.

Beside these writers, Mill refers also to Eucherius of the fifth, and Fulgentius of the sixth

[a] Ergo hæc illicita esse ostensa sunt gentibus, quæ putabant licere: ac per hoc non utique ab homicidio prohibiti sunt, cum jubentur a sanguine observare. Sed hoc acceperunt, quod Noë a Deo didicerat, ut observarent se a sanguine edendo cum carne. Id. ibid. p. 214. F.

[b] Visum est enim Sancto Spiritui, et nobis, nullum amplius imponi vobis pondus, præterquam hæc: Necesse est, ut abstineatis vos ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione; a quibus observantes, bene agetis. Valete. Hæc est Novi Testamenti tota conclusio. Despectis in multis Spiritus Sanctus hæc nobis, capitalis periculi conditione, legavit. Reliqua peccata meliorum operum compensatione curantur. Hæc vero tria crimina,... ut veneni calix, ut lethalis arundo metuenda sunt.... Quid vero faciet contemptor Dei? Quid aget sanguinarius? Quod remedium capiet fornicator? Numquid aut placare Dominum desertor ipsius poterit? aut conservare sanguinem suum, qui fudit alienum? aut redintegrare Dei templum, qui illud fornicando violavit? Ista sunt capitalia, fratres, ista mortalia. Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. T. iv. p. 315. H. Bibl. Patr.

[c] Et idcirco Beatus Jacobus cum cæteris apostolis decretum tale constituit in ecclesiis observandum: "ut abstineatis vos," inquit, "ab immolatis, et a sanguine," id est, "a suffocatis." Prætermiserunt homicidium, adulterium, et veneficia; quoniam nec nominari ea in ecclesiis oporteret, quæ legibus etiam gentilium punirentur. Prætermiserunt quoque illas omnes minutias observationum legalium, et sola hæc, quæ prædiximus, custodienda sanxerunt; ne vel sacrificatis diabolo cibis profanemur immundis, vel ne mortuos [f. "mortuo"] per viscera suffocatorum animalium sanguine polluamur, vel ne in immunditiis fornicationum corpora nostra, quæ templa Dei sunt, violemus. Gaudent. de Maccabæis. Tract. xv. Bibl. Patr. Max. Tom. v. p. 967. F. G.

[d] Ut et Gaudentius ac Eucherius, quibus interpretamenti loco additum videtur. Mill. ad Act. xv. 20.

[e] Ubi videmus apostolos, eis qui ex gentibus crediderunt, nulla voluisse onera veteris legis imponere, quantum adtinet ad corporalis abstinentiam voluptatis; "nisi ut observarent ab his tribus, id est, ab eis quæ idolis immolarentur, et a sanguine, et a fornicatione." Unde nonnulli putant tria tantum crimina esse mortalia, idololatriam, et homicidium, et fornicationem; ubi utique et adulterium, et omnis præter uxorem concubitus intelligitur: quasi non sint mortifera crimina quæcumque alia sunt præter hæc tria, quæ a regnò Dei separant, aut inaniter et fallaciter dictum sit: "Neque fures, neque avari, neque ebriosi, neque maledici, neque rapaces, regnum Dei possidebunt." [1 Cor. vi. 10.] August. Specul. de Libro Act. Apost. Tom. iii. Bened.

[f] De gentibus autem qui crediderunt, nos mandavimus, judicantes, nihil ejusmodi servare illos, "nisi ut se observent ab idolis immolato, et a sanguine, et a fornicatione. Aug. Ep. 82. n. 9. Bened. al. Ep. 19.

[g] Et in actibus apostolorum hoc lege præceptum ab apostolis, ut abstinerent gentes tantum "a fornicatione, et ab immolatis, et a sanguine;" id est, ne quidquam ederent carnis, cujus sanguis non esset effusus. Quod alii non sic intelligunt, sed a sanguine præceptum esse abstinendum, ne quis homicidio se contaminet. Aug. Con. Faust. lib. xxxii. cap. 13.

[h] ... quis jam hoc Christianus observat, ut turdos vel minutiores aviculas non adtingat, nisi quarum sanguis effusus est, aut leporem non edat, si manu a cervice percussus, nullo cruento vulnere occisus est? Et qui forte pauci adhuc tangere ista formidant, a cæteris irridentur: ita omnium animos in hac re tenuit illa sententia veritatis, Non quod intrat in os vestrum, vos coinquinat; sed quod exit; nullam cibi naturam, quam societas admittit humana, sed quæ iniquitas committit, peccata condemnans. Id. ibid.

century, as favouring the omission of the particular in dispute. But I do not think it needful to go any lower.

However, we ought not to pass by the one single manuscript on that side the question: it is the famous Cambridge manuscript, which [a] Mill owns, with Simon, to have been written in the western part of the world by a Latin scribe, and [b] to be interpolated and corrupted to a great degree. I put [c] in the margin the character which Mr. Wetstein has lately given, in a few words, of this, and some other manuscripts, in his preface to the late edition of Curcellæus's New Testament with various readings. That character will have a good deal of weight with those who are acquainted with the author's exact skill in this part of learning.

I think it may not be amiss for us now to collect the evidence we have had before us, in a few propositions.

(1.) All the Greek writers read this text as we now have it in our Greek copies; and some of those Greek writers are very ancient, having flourished in the second century, or the beginning of the third.

(2.) All Christians in general, all over the world, Greeks and Latins, in the second century, and probably in the third likewise, understood the decree of the council at Jerusalem to forbid the eating of the blood of brute animals.

(3.) There is no clear proof, that in any Latin version, or any copies of the New Testament, of the second or third century, the reading of this text was different from ours; for the passages in the version of Irenæus, and in the testimonies of Cyprian are not to be relied upon as genuine. And Tertullian may be reckoned to afford as much evidence for the common reading as against it. Jerom bears witness only for the reading of some Latin copies in his time, without saying that they who wanted this particular were ancient; and the other writers alleged by Mill, who cite the text without "things strangled," are likewise of the fourth century, or later.

(4.) We see a probable rise and occasion of omitting "things strangled," in some Latin copies about that time; I mean the fourth century, or towards the end of it: among the Christians of the western part of the Roman empire, where the Latin tongue chiefly obtained, the decree of the council of Jerusalem ceased to be observed according to its original intent and meaning, and most ancient interpretation. As they no longer observed a distinction of meats, and often eat things strangled without any scruple, some took an unwarrantable liberty with the text, and left that particular out of their copies; that their conduct might not seem to be expressly condemned by a command or advice given by apostles and elders in council assembled. Now also it became a common thing, though not universal, to interpret that particular, "from blood," as a prohibition of homicide. These two things at least are extremely manifest; that at the end of the fourth century, and the beginning of the fifth, many among the Latin Christians neglected the distinction of meats, and likewise understood that prohibition in the sense just mentioned. And I think it may be hence collected with probability, that this gave occasion for leaving out "things strangled" in some copies; for that clause appeared unsuitable to the general practice, and was a strong objection to a common interpretation of another article in the decree. In the passage, as it stands in the version of Irenæus, and in Cyprian's Testimonies, every thing in the proposal of James, and in the epistle of the council, is of a moral nature. This affords ground for suspicion of an undue liberty taken with the text, to make it agree with the prevailing sentiments and practices of some Christians of later times. The passage in Cyprian's third book of Testimonies is absolutely unjustifiable in two particulars; "from idolatries," and "from effusion of blood;" which are readings altogether unsupported by good authorities, and I suppose will not now be defended by any man of sense.

(5.) As for the Cambridge manuscript, it deserves no farther notice here. One single manuscript, and that corrupted and interpolated, can never be equal to many, to all other; no more than one witness, and he a suspected one, ought to be credited against forty others, and more.

[a] Certe textus ipse codicis, Græcus pariter ac Latinus, est Latini scribæ: quod ostendit Simonius Hist. Text. Nov. Test. cap. 30. Mill. Proleg. n. 1271.

[b] Et jam quidem ad ipsius codicis partes accedimus: Latina translationem Italicam exhibet, qualis tum temporis interpolata ferebatur, ante castigationem Hieronymi: Græca vero, textum mirifice corruptum, &c. Id. ib. num. 1272.

[c] Inter Bodleianos codices ille qui Acta apostolorum continet, item Cantabrigiensis, et Claromontanus,.... a librario Latino scripti, et ad Versionem Italicam corruptam tam inepte atque imperite deformati atque depravati sunt, ut risum moveant, qui illis locum dignitatemque genuinorum codicum Græcorum conciliare studuerunt. Præfat. in Nov. Test. Amstel. 1735.

(6.) I suppose it then to be highly probable, that our present common reading of this text is right; as I believe the first Christians understood it right, when they took it to contain advice to abstain from eating the blood of animals.

2. We are now to take into consideration the addition to our common text: Acts xv. 20, and 29; which is, "And whatever things ye would not should be done unto you, neither do ye unto others." Of this I have already taken some notice in [a] the chapter of Theophilus bishop of Antioch, about the year 181, because Dr. Mill [b] had mentioned it as a conjecture of his, that that ancient father had referred to this reading in the Acts. But I then intimated, that I thought that conjecture to be entirely without foundation; and I gave some reasons, which I supposed might be satisfactory. I am now more fully confirmed in the same opinion, and think there is not any the least ground to suppose, that Theophilus referred to this additional reading in the Acts. For, first, there is no reason to believe that this prohibition, or precept, call it what you please, was then in any copy of the Acts, as shall be shewn more distinctly by and by. Secondly, allowing this prohibition to have been then in the Acts, yet Theophilus did not refer to it, but rather to some text of the gospels where this equitable rule is spoken of as the doctrine of the prophets; if indeed Theophilus referred at all to any part of the New Testament, and not solely to the writings of the prophets. And, since the publication of the forecited volume, I have observed that the learned Mr. Wolff, [c] in his edition of Theophilus, (which I had not then seen) puts in the marginal note upon that passage of his author a reference to Luke vi. 31; which certainly is not improperly done; though I think it altogether as likely that Theophilus referred to Matt. vii. 12, or xxii. 40; if indeed he referred to any text of the New Testament. But, upon the whole, it appears to me somewhat probable, that Theophilus referred to the writings of the prophets themselves, and to them only; and I should think it must appear so to others likewise, who are pleased to read and consider his context.

Though Mill had a conjecture that Theophilus referred to this additional reading in the Acts, yet, with his wonted critical skill, he supposed this reading not to be genuine, but an interpolation, however ancient; which opinion I shall endeavour to support, except that I do not judge this interpolation to be very ancient, but very modern: nevertheless, that judicious critic has an observation upon this reading, as it stands in Acts xv. 29, which will not hold; for he says that this reading in that place disturbs the sense, and breaks the connection; which indeed it would do, if this rule were there delivered in a preceptive, positive form: but as they who had this reading, put that equitable rule here in negative terms, in the form of a prohibition, the sense is not disturbed; and it might be added after this, as well as after the foregoing particulars; "from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well."

The authorities for this additional reading are represented by Mill in his notes upon Acts xv. 20 and 29. They consist of eight manuscripts, five of which have this additional clause at v. 20; and three more at v. 29; one version, and three Christian writers. All these authorities, especially the manuscripts, we shall observe particularly; and, as we examine their character and quality, we may possibly see reason to reduce their number.

The first manuscript alleged for this reading is that called Stephens's second manuscript. According to Mill himself, this manuscript [d] is very much interpolated, especially in the Acts. He thinks this Greek manuscript agrees so much with the Latin vulgate, that he cannot but conclude it to have been corrected, or formed upon that translation, and even a corrupt and faulty copy of that translation. This judgment of our Mill upon this manuscript of Stephens is very observable; but Mr. Wretstein [e] asserts, and proves it to be the same with that called Beza's manuscript, or the manuscript of Cambridge.

The next is Stephens's tenth manuscript, which [f] Mill says likewise agrees mightily with the Latin vulgate.

The third is the Cambridge manuscript. We formerly shewed sufficiently what is its character: and are here farther to take notice, that it has been just now observed to be the same with Stephens's second manuscript. Mill therefore, though without knowing it, has twice mentioned one and the same manuscript under different names.

[a] See Vol. i. chap. xx. [b] Vid. Mill. ad Act. xv. 20.

[c] Vid. Theoph. ad autol. l. ii. cap. 49. p. 228. Hamburg. 1724.

[d] . . . . quæ haud concordarent cum versione vulgatâ, et quidem codice ejus corrupto, glossematibusque, et subinde integris *περιοχαις* satis prolixis, in Actis præsertim apostolorum interpolato. Mill. Proleg. n. 1160.

[e] Vid. Proleg. ad Nov. Test. Gr. edit. accuratissimam, cap. 4. p. 22. . . . 27.

[f] Mill. Prol. n. 1171.

The fourth is a Geneva manuscript, of[a] which Mill gives a good character, though he thinks the scribe to have been careless and ignorant.

The fifth is that called Covel's fourth manuscript, which Mill says is a[b] modern, or late manuscript.

These are all the manuscripts, which are put by Mill in his notes upon Acts xv. 20, as having this additional reading. At v. 29 some more are mentioned, as having it there.

The first of these, and the sixth in our order, is that which Mill calls Stephens's first manuscript; by which Mill means the Complutensian edition,[c] as he has himself informed us. Therefore this is not a manuscript, but a printed copy.

The next, or seventh, is Laud's second. It agrees mightily with that in the Vatican, as[d] Mill says.

The last, and eighth, is the Seidelian manuscript, mentioned by Kuster, supposed to[e] be about seven hundred years old, or written in the tenth century.

These are all the manuscripts said to have this additional clause. As placed in Mill's New Testament, they appear to be eight in number; but are really six only; Stephens's second manuscript being the same with that at Cambridge; and Stephens's first manuscript, as is it called, being no manuscript, but a printed copy.

The only version that has this reading is the Ethiopic, a very inaccurate version, as some think, and of little value; by some others, however, it is judged not to be contemptible: I may not stay to examine its merit particularly; I therefore refer[f] to divers learned writers upon this head, who may be consulted by such as have leisure. I shall only observe, that it very seldom can be reasonable to follow one single version, where it differs from all others, especially when that version has no evidences of early antiquity, neither internal nor external, but what are very doubtful and uncertain.

The Christian writers mentioned by Mill are, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, and Rabanus in the ninth century; for as for Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, Mill does not place him with these three. That learned critic mentioned it only as a conjecture, that possibly Theophilus might refer to this reading in the Acts. But I have already shewn that conjecture to be without foundation; because, even allowing this clause to have been then in the copies of the Acts of the apostles, there is no reason to think Theophilus referred to this text, but rather to some text in the gospels, if he refers to any place at all of the New Testament; and likewise because there is no reason to suppose that this clause was then in the Acts, as we have now shewn in part, and proceed to shew still farther.

The only Christian writers, then, who favour this reading are the three above mentioned: but by Irenæus we are to understand only his Latin interpreter, whose age we do not certainly know; and possibly that translation has been interpolated in some places since it was first made. Nor are we by St. Cyprian to understand St. Cyprian himself, but the interpolator of his third book of Testimonies, whose age we do not know, but possibly he lived as late as Rabanus, or since.

The very few, and those late quotations of this place in the Acts, according to this reading, shew it to be an interpolation, and that it never was in many copies of that book of scripture, and those only late copies.

Beside that we do not find this reading in the most ancient writers, nor in any one Greek writer whatever, there is positive evidence as to divers of the most ancient Christian writers, both Greek and Latin, that they had not this clause in their copies. This appears from their citations of the whole decree of the council at Jerusalem, together with the last farewell, or the concluding words of the decree of the apostles and elders, or for some remarks made by those writers upon the decree. I mean Clement of Alexandria, who has twice cited this text; Tertullian, Ambrosiaster, Pacian, Gaudentius, Augustine. I have above cited their passages very much at length, in considering that particular, "things strangled," that every one might perceive as much. To those passages therefore, transcribed at the bottom of the page, I refer such as are pleased to examine them: and to those writers might be added Jerom. This shews, that in the fourth, as

[a] Ib. n. 1500, 1501. [b] Manu recenti. ib. n. 1487.
[c] Ib. n. 1159. [d] Ibid. n. 1439.
[e] Vid. Kusteri Præf. in Mill. Nov. Test. p. 8. fin.
[f] Vid. Scalig. de Emendation. Temp. l. 7. p. 682. Walton Proleg. xv. p. 97. &c. Ludolf Præf. in Lexicon Æthiop. p. 2, 3, et ejusd. Hist. Æthiop. lib. iii. cap. 4. Rl. Simon. Hist. Crit. des Vers. du Nov. Test. Ch. xvii. p. 193, &c. Mill. Proleg. num. 1188. 1189. Beausobre et Lenfant Préf. générale sur le Nov. Test. page 213.

well as more early centuries, this clause was wanting in most, and those the best, if not in all copies.

There is one thing more which may deserve to be mentioned here: I do not perceive that this clause is found at Acts xxi. 25. in any manuscript copy of that book, or in any version or writer whatever. This is an argument, that neither was it originally in Acts xv. 20. and 29. for if it had been originally in both those places, it would have appeared here likewise.

I think, then, that there is not any reason to suppose this precept, or prohibition, to have been originally put in their epistle by the apostles and elders assembled at Jerusalem: but, on the other hand, there is very good evidence, that it is an interpolation, probably inserted some time near the end of the fourth century, or afterwards, by some Latin Christian, in order to render the whole decree of the council agreeable to the sentiments and practices that prevailed in the age and place in which he lived; for the few manuscripts that have this reading are of small weight against the much greater number that want it. One version, corrupt too and inaccurate, as it seems, is of no authority against all others. The Christian writers that have followed this reading are so few, that they scarce deserve to be mentioned; especially considering, that the only one of them whose name we know is Rabanus, of the ninth century; for who was Irenæus's interpreter, and when he lived, and who was the interpolator of Cyprian's Testimonies, and when he lived, are things altogether uncertain and unknown.

I conclude, then, that the present readings of Acts xv. 20. and 29. in our ordinary copies of the New Testament are the true and genuine original readings: or, to be a little more particular and distinct, in proportion to the evidence of things, I reckon it highly probable, that the clause, "and from things strangled," was originally in the decree; and certain that, according to the most ancient interpretation of the decree, it was understood by all Christians in general to forbid eating the blood of brute animals. As for the additional article, which we have just now considered, it is plainly an interpolation; and, unless there be some other evidence for it, which I am unacquainted with, I do not see how it can be received as a part of the apostolical decree by any Christian critic, who is duly concerned for the integrity and purity of the sacred scriptures.

I have insisted thus long upon the reading of this portion of scripture, not only because Mill himself had pronounced a wrong judgment upon it in his Prolegomena, as I conceive, but because there is an agreement to the like purpose in [a] Curcellæus, for leaving out the clause of "things strangled." And I am apprehensive that unless we retain the true reading of this place, for the main part at least, we shall not rightly understand it; nor shall we, unless we have the true sense and design of this decree, maintain, as we ought to do, the dignity of the apostolical character and commission. Finally, the misunderstanding of this decree must be to the prejudice of the Christian revelation itself, in the esteem of many.

Having now, as I hope, settled the true reading of the determination of the apostles and elders upon the point in controversy at that time, I wish I were likewise able to explain that determination to the satisfaction of the scrupulous and the judicious: but such a performance, even supposing that ability, would require a longer digression than could be allowed of in this place; for which reason that attempt must be deferred.

V. We are in the next place to consider St. Cyprian's testimony to the epistles of the apostle Paul.

1. 'According [b] to what the blessed apostle writes in his epistle to the Romans; "Every one 'shall give an account of himself: therefore let us not judge one another:" ch. xiv. 12. 13.

2. He quotes the latter part of the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans very agreeably to the reading we saw formerly [c] in Clement of Rome, ver. 32. "Who," says [d] he, "when 'they knew the righteousness of God, did not consider, that they who do such things are worthy 'of death; nor only they who commit them, but they also who consent to them that do them." The meaning of the text, according to this reading, is, that not only they who actually commit the sins before-mentioned, are liable to punishment, but they also who approve of, and consent

[a] Vid. Curcellæi Diatr. de Esu sanguinis inter Christianos. cap. 11.

[b] Secundum quod beatus apostolus Paulus in epistolâ suâ ad Romanos scribit et dicit; Unusquisque nostrûm pro se rationem dabit; non ergo nos invicem judicemus. Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 70. p. 188.

[c] See Vol. i. p. 296.

[d] Sed et hoc idem Paulus apostolus scribit et dicit:.. qui cum justitiam Dei cognovissent, non intellexerunt, quoniam qui talia agunt, morte sunt digni: non tantum qui faciunt ea, sed et qui consentiunt eis qui hæc agunt. Ep. 67. al. 68. p. 175.

to such evil things. So it is said of Paul, that [a] he was "consenting to Stephen's death," Acts viii. 1.

3. In the first book of Testimonies: 'In [b] the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians; "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were 'under the cloud." Likewise in the second epistle to the Corinthians; "Their minds are blinded 'unto this day:" see 1 Cor. x. i. and 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14.

4. In one of his epistles, 'The [c] blessed apostle Paul also chosen and sent of the Lord, and 'appointed preacher of the gospel, says the same thing in his epistle; "The Lord Jesus, the 'same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and, giving thanks, broke it, and said, This 'is my body, which will be given for you: this do in remembrance of me:" 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.

5. In one of his tracts: 'Likewise [d] the blessed apostle Paul, full of the inspiration of the Lord; "Now he that ministereth," says he, "seed to the sower, will both minister bread for your 'food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness, that ye may 'be enriched in all things;' 2 Cor. ix. 10, 11.

6. In the first book of Testimonies, 'Likewise [e] Paul to the Galatians; "But when the ful-'ness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman..." Gal. iv. 4. In another work, 'The [f] apostle Paul, admonishing and saying, "Therefore, whilst we have opportunity, 'let us do good to all men, especially to them who are of the household of faith. And let us 'not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not:" so he transposeth the words of these two verses, Gal. vi. 10. 9.

7. St. Cyprian expressly quotes the epistle to the Ephesians, not only in the third book of [g] Testimonies, but likewise in one of his epistles, after this manner: 'But [h] the apostle Paul, 'speaking of the same thing more clearly and plainly, writes to the Ephesians and says; "Christ 'loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing 'of water;" Eph. v. 25, 26. The text cited in the Testimonies is, ch. iv. 30, "And grieve not 'the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed in the day of redemption:" which is a remarkable and uncommon reading. However, it is found again in [i] St. Augustine.

8. In the third book of Testimonies, 'Likewise [k] Paul to the Philippians; "Who being appointed 'in the form of God, did not earnestly affect to be equal to God, but made himself of no reputa-'tion, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man, and found in fashion as a 'man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross:' Philip. ii. 6, 7, 8. The same passage is likewise found in the second book of Cyprian's [l] Testimonies, and plainly in the same sense. I have already quoted [m] this passage from some Greek writers, who interpret this text according to the translation just given. It is likewise found again, and plainly in the same sense, in [n] Novatus, or Novatian, as he is usually called, a Latin author, and contemporary with St. Cyprian. Mr. Marshall translates the first words of the passage above quoted from the third book of Cyprian's Testimonies in this manner: That though he was appointed to appear in the form of God, he did not boast of his equality with God, but emptied himself. And besides, Mr. Marshall has a long and judicious note upon this citation of our author: he says, 'he

[a] Σαυλος δε ην συνευδοκων τη αναιρεσει αυτου.

[b] In epistolâ Pauli ad Corinthios primâ: Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quia patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt. Item in epistolâ ad Corinthios secunda: Obtusi sunt sensus eorum, &c. Testim. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 22.

[c] Beatus quoque apostolus Paulus, a domino electus et missus, et prædicator veritatis evangelicæ constitutus, hæc eadem in epistolâ suâ ponit, dicens; Dominus Jesus, in quâ nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, et gratias agens [egit et Baluz.] fregit, et dixit; hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, &c. Ep. 63. p. 152.

[d] Item beatus apostolus Paulus, dominicæ inspirationis gratiâ plenus: Qui administrat, inquit, &c. De Op. et Eleem.

[e] Item Paulus ad Galatas: at ubi advenit impletio temporis, misit Deus filium suum natum de muliere. Testim. l. i. c. 8. p. 37.

[f] Paulo apostolo admonente et dicente; Ergo, dum tempus habemus, &c. De Op. et Eleem. p. 208.

[g] Paulus ad Ephesios: Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis in die redemtionis. Test. l. iii. cap. 7. p. 64.

[h] Sed et Paulus apostolus hoc idem adhuc apertius et clarius manifestans ad Ephesios scribit et dicit: Christus dilexit ecclesiam, &c. Ep. 69. al. 76. p. 181.

[i] Ex hoc locutionis modo arbitror dictum illud ab apostolo: Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis in die redemtionis. Aug. de Gen. ad lit. l. iv. n. 18. p. 166. B. Tom. iii. P. i. Bened.

[k] Item Paulus ad Philippenses: Qui in figurâ Dei constitutus, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, sed se exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominis factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit se, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Test. l. iii. c. 39. p. 76.

[l] Test. l. ii. cap. 13.

[m] See Vol. i. ch. 16. n. 7. ch. 38. n. 28.

[n] Qui cum in formâ Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse; sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus, &c. Novat. de Reg. Fid. cap. 22. [al. 17.] p. 174. edit. Jo. Jacks.

'cannot acquiesce in our common construction of the words, "thought it no robbery," &c. 'as if they intimated any thing like to his claiming an equality; because the apostle [illegible] 'speaking of our Saviour's humility and condescension, and rather represents him [illegible] 'from his just rights, than as insisting on them. Though he received so much honour from his 'Father, and was appointed to represent his person, yet when he came to suffer, he did not insist on 'his first pretensions; did not seem (then) to think he had any claim to the divine power, or might 'assume it; boasted not (then) of his near alliance to the Deity; but, instead of [illegible] himself, behaved and acted like a person void of any such powers. Novatian, in his book De 'Trinitate, cap. 17, understands our apostle in this sense; which I must acknowledge, with 'Mr. Le Clerc, seems to me the most natural and easy. See Mr. Le Clerc upon the place in 'his Supplement to Dr. Hammond; and Dr. Whitby, who gives instances out of Heliodorus, 'wherein the words αρπαγμα ηγειτο, which we translate, "thinking a robbery," plainly signify catch-'ing at an opportunity, embracing any thing as extremely desirable.' So writes Mr. Marshall. Mr. Wolff [a] has discoursed largely of this matter, and deserves to be consulted.

9. That passage, as was observed, is in Cyprian's books of Testimonies. In another work, 'Mindful [b] of which the blessed apostle Paul says in his epistle [or in one of his epistles:] "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain:"' Philip. i. 21.

10. In the third book of Testimonies; 'In [c] the epistle of Paul to the Colossians; "Con-'tinue in prayer, watching in the same:"' Coloss. iv. 2. In another work: 'Likewise [d] the 'blessed apostle Paul, full of the Holy Ghost, and sent to call and convert the Gentiles, warns 'and teaches; "Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the 'tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ: for in him dwelleth 'all the fulness of the Godhead."' Col. ii. 8.

11. In the books of Testimonies the [e] first and [f] second epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians are expressly cited; and in [g] other works also passages of both these epistles are cited by Cyprian as words of the apostle Paul.

12. 'For [h] if the apostle Paul writing to Timothy, said, "Let no man despise thy youth," 'how much more may it be said to you by your colleagues, Let no man despise thy age?' 1 Tim. iv. 12.

13. 'Therefore [i] the apostle Paul writes to Timothy, and directs, "That a bishop should 'not strive, but be gentle, and apt to teach;"' 2 Tim. ii. 24.

14. In the books of Testimonies [k] these two epistles are quoted by Cyprian distinctly, as the first and second to Timothy.

15. In the third book of Testimonies: 'To [l] Titus, [that is, in the epistle to Titus, as 'appears from what there precedes:] "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second 'admonition, reject; knowing that such an one is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of 'himself."' Tit. iii. 10, 11. In a synodical epistle of Cyprian, and other bishops in Africa, sent to some of their brethren in Spain; 'Forasmuch [m] as the apostle directs, that a "bishop 'must be blameless, as the steward of God."' Tit. i. 7.

Mr. Hallet, in his [n] learned Discourse of Heresy and Schism, explaining the forecited difficult text to Titus, expresseth himself in this manner: 'What I take to be the true interpreta-'tion of the character, self-condemned, has been often published, and yet has been strangely 'overlooked of late years. The oldest writer that I have found it in is Jerom, who in his com-'ment upon the place says, "A heretic is said to be condemned of himself, because, (while a 'fornicator, an adulterer, a murderer, and other vicious persons, are cast out of the church by 'the priests) heretics pass sentence upon themselves, and of their own accord depart from the

[a] Vid. Wolff. Curæ in Ep. ad Philip. cap. 2. 6. . . . 8.

[b] Cujus rei memor beatus apostolus Paulus in epistolâ suâ ponit et dicit: Mihi vivere Christus, et mori lucrum. De mortal. p. 158.

[c] In epistolâ Pauli ad Colossenses: Instate orationi, vigilantes in eâ. Test. l. iii. cap. 120.

[d] Item beatus apostolus Paulus, plenus Spiritu Sancto, et vocandis formandisque gentibus missus, contestetur et instruat, dicens: videte ne quis vos deprædetur, . . . quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis. De bono Patient. p. 210.

[e] Test. l. iii. cap. 88. [f] Test. l. iii. cap. 68.

[g] De mort. p. 164. Ep. 14. [al. 5.] p. 32.

[h] Nam si apostolus Paulus, ad Timotheum scribens, dixit: Juventutem tuam nemo despiciat: &c. Ep. 3. [al. 65.] p. 6.

[i] Cui rei prospiciens beatus Paulus apostolus ad Timotheum scribit et monet, episcopum non litigiosum, sed mitem et docibilem esse debere. Ep. 74. p. 215.

[k] Testim. lib. iii. cap. 67. 76. 77. et passim.

[l] Ad Titum: Hæreticum hominem post unam aut secundam, &c. Test. l. iii. c. 78.

[m] . . . quando et apostolus moneat ac dicat: Episcopum oportet esse sine crimine, quasi Dei dispensatorem. Ep. 67. [al. 68.] p. 173.

[n] See Mr. Hallett's Notes and Discourses, Vol. iii. p. 377, &c.

'church; which departure is as a condemnation passed on them by their own consciences."[a] And Mr. Hallett there shews that this has been the opinion of divers learned moderns, particularly of Estius, bishop Barlow, and Dr. Hammond.

I shall here add a passage from Cyprian, which may shew that interpretation to be older than Jerom; as Mr. Hallett likewise supposes, for he takes it to be the true meaning of the text. 'Which,' says [a] Cyprian, 'the apostle Paul confirms, when he teaches and requires that a heretic 'be rejected, as being subverted, a sinner, and condemned of himself: for the ruin of such an 'one must be laid to his own charge, who is not cast out by the bishop, but of his own accord 'forsakes the church, passing sentence upon himself by his heretical presumption.

16. The epistle to Philemon is not found quoted in the remaining works of Cyprian. The shortness of it may be supposed to be the reason.

VI. The epistle to the Hebrews is no where expressly quoted by St. Cyprian; nor are there in his works any passages that contain allusions to it. He may have some texts of the Old Testament which are cited, or alluded to, in the epistle to the Hebrews; but he does not take them from that epistle, but from the original books themselves. This is so plain that I suppose no one will contest it. Dr. Mill [b] allows that this epistle is no where cited by St. Cyprian; and his not quoting this epistle, which is so large, in any of his tracts or epistles, may be reckoned an argument that he was not acquainted with it, or that he did not esteem it a part of holy scripture. Accordingly, Mr. Hallett, [c] in the introduction to his Paraphrase and notes on the three last chapters of the epistle to the Hebrews, admits it to be very likely that St. Cyprian was of the same opinion with some others of the Latin church at that time, who did not receive this as a canonical epistle.

And indeed, that this Latin father did not reckon the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by the apostle Paul, is farther evident from an observation twice mentioned by him, concerning the number of churches to which that apostle had written. In the first book of Testimonies, [d] 'Cyprian having quoted the words of Hannah, "the barren has born seven, and she 'that has many sons [or children] is waxed feeble," (1 Sam. ii. 5.) goes on: The seven sons 'are seven churches; for which reason Paul wrote to seven churches; and the Revelation has 'seven churches, that the number seven may be preserved.' In another tract, having mentioned the seven golden candlesticks in the Revelation, the seven pillars in Solomon's Proverbs, upon which Wisdom built her house, and likewise the forementioned seven in the first book of Samuel, and the seven women in Is. iv. 1, he adds; 'And [e] the apostle Paul, who was mindful of this authorised, and well-known number, writes to seven churches; and in the Revelation our Lord 'sends his divine and heavenly instructions and commands to seven churches and their angels.' By the seven churches, to which Paul wrote, Cyprian unquestionably meaneth the churches of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, and Thessalonica; as is also observed by bishop Fell [f] in a note upon this passage.

Nevertheless, that learned writer adds there a remark which appears to me very particular: 'If it be asked, says he, 'in what place Paul has mentioned [so he understands the word 'meminit] this authorised and well-known number, perhaps it must be said, that it is done by 'him in Hebr. xi. 30. "By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about 'seven days." But I suppose it can scarce be doubted but Cyprian's meaning is, that as a regard had been had to the number seven by many persons upon various occasions; so likewise Paul had remembered, 'was mindful of,' shewed his respect to that number by writing epistles to seven churches, and no more.

From these passages then it may be reckoned evident, that Cyprian supposed the apostle

[a] Quisquis autem de collectis foras exierit, id est, siquis, quamvis in ecclesiâ gratiam consecutus, recesserit, et ab ecclesiâ exierit, reum sibi futurum, id est, ipsum sibi quod pereat imputaturum. Quod apostolus Paulus explanat, docens et præcipiens hæreticum vitandum esse, ut perversum, et peccatorem, et a semetipso damnatum. Hic enim reus sibi erit, qui non ab episcopo ejectus, sed sponte de ecclesiâ profugus, et hæreticâ præsumptione a semetipso damnatus. Ep 69. [al. 76.] p. 182.

[b] Tertullianum nescio an secutus sit Cyprianus; in cujus operibus epistolam hanc [ad Hebræos] nusquam citatam reperias. Prol. n. 216. [c] See introd. p. xviii.

[d] Item in Basileiôn primo: 'Sterilis septem peperit, et 'quæ plurimos habebat filios, infirmata est.' Filii autem septem sunt ecclesiæ septem. Unde et Paulus septem ecclesiis scribit, et Apocalypsis ecclesias septem ponit, ut servetur septenarius numerus. Test. l. i. cap. 20.

[e] Et apostolus Paulus, qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit. Et in Apocalypsi Dominus mandata sua divina et præcepta cœlestia ad septem ecclesias et earum angelos scribit. De exhort. Mart. cap. 11. p. 179.

[f] Ad septem ecclesias scribit.] Nimirum ad Romanos, Corinthios, Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses, et Thessalonicenses. Si requiratur, quo in loco Paulus hujus legitimi et certi numeri meminerit, forte dicendum, hoc ab eo præstitum. Hebr. xi. 30.

Paul had writen to no more than seven churches, and that his other epistles were se[illegible] to particular persons. Cyprian therefore did not compute the epistle to the Hebrews among [illegible] of the apostle Paul.

Since the writing what is above, relating to this epistle to the Hebrews, I ha[illegible] opportunity to consult Mr. Marshall's English translation of St. Cyprian. The pass[illegible] author last cited is there rendered after this manner: 'Thus [a] the apostle St. Pa[illegible] 'in his mind this remarkable and distinguished number, hath written precisely to seve[illegible] 'And in the Revelation our blessed Lord directs his heavenly instructions to seve[illegible] 'and their seven angels.' And in the notes upon this place Mr. Marshall omits [illegible] mentioned remark of bishop Fell, which I have taken the liberty to censure, without translating it, or saying any thing about it. He likewise adds another remark of his own, which is much better, in these very words; 'So that our author, (I observe) did not ascribe the Hebrews to 'St. Paul.'

Here therefore it will be very proper to take notice of Mr. Marshall's translation of a passage in St. Cyprian's works. It is in the Acts of the council at Carthage in the year 256, where our bishop presided. There a part of the thirty-third suffrage, that of Felix of Amaccora, is thus rendered; 'Wherefore to me it is manifest, that neither heretics nor schismatics are capable of 'the heavenly gift, who have been so presumptuous as to expect it from men who are sinners 'and aliens from the church.' Here that expression, heavenly gift, seems to be taken from Hebr. vi. 4, but there is no such expression in the original Latin. Felix says, that [b] heretics and schismatics are not capable of any thing heavenly; that is, spiritual or divine. This wrong version seems to be owing to the liberty which Mr. Marshall gave himself, and which I observed [c] formerly. He says in his [d] preface, 'I have here and there also expressed my author's sense 'in the language of holy scriptures, where he himself did not mean to quote it: but then in such 'cases, I never refer to the passage, as I always do where he particularly cites any verse or chap-'ter of the inspired writers.' But yet here Mr. Marshall has not only expressed his author's sense in the language of the epistle to the Hebrews, 'where he himself did not mean to quote it,' but he has also marked and distinguished this expression by putting it in the body of his translation in Italic letters, and by referring in the margin to the epistle to the Hebrews, and also by putting this reference or quotation at the end of the volume in the table of the texts of scripture cited by St. Cyprian. To what shall we ascribe this? I conceive of this matter thus: In translating this suffrage, Mr. Marshall put in practice the liberty we have noted: he then, at first, wrote out that passage without any distinction of letters, and without any marginal reference to a book of holy scripture; but some good while after, when he came to review and read over his version, and no longer had the original before him, seeing this expression, he thought it worthy of observation; and therefore presently marked it with his pen for Italic, and put a reference in the margin, whence it came also into the table of texts at the end of the volume. This, I think, is a likely way of accounting for this matter; however, it may be partly accounted for another way; for the marking that expression for Italic, the marginal reference, and it's place in the table of texts, may be all owing to some person employed under Mr. Marshall. But still the translator is accountable for all that ensued upon his wrong translation: and if Mr. Marshall was not deceived and misled by his own version, some one else very near him was imposed upon; and in like manner must all others be deceived who read this passage in his translation, and have no opportunity of consulting the original.

VII. I shall now observe this writer's testimony to the catholic epistles.

1. We find no quotations or allusions to the epistle of St. James in St. Cyprian's works.

2. The apostle Peter's first epistle is often quoted by St. Cyprian. 'Likewise [e] Peter, upon 'whom by the gracious vouchsafement of the Lord the church is built, says in his epistle, (1 Pet. ii. '21, 22, 23,) "Christ suffered for us, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps: 'who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not; 'when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed [or yielded] himself to him that judged

[a] See Mr. N. Marshall's St. Cyprian, p. 179.

[b] Et ideo manifestum est, nec hæreticos nec schismaticos aliquid cœleste posse suscipere, qui a peccatoribus hominibus, et ab ecclesiâ extraneis audeant accipere. ap. Cypr. p. 236.

[c] See before, p. 10, note [x]. [d] P. xviii.

[e] Item Petrus, super quem ecclesia Domini dignatione fundata est, in epistolâ suâ ponit et dicit: Christus passus est pro nobis, relinquens vobis exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia ejus: qui peccatum non fecit, nec dolus inventus est in ore ejus; qui cum malediceretur, non maledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur; tradebat autem se judicanti injuste. De Bono Pat. p. 213, 214.

'him unrighteously:"' meaning Pontius Pilate. So Cyprian must have read this text, it being quoted by him after the same manner likewise in the [a] book of Testimonies. I may not stay to consider which reading is preferable, whether this, or that now more commonly received, to him that judgeth righteously: I would therefore refer my readers, for farther satisfaction, to [b] Mr. Wolff's notes upon the place.

This epistle is several times quoted in the third book of Testimonies with this title, The [c] epistle of Peter to the people of Pontus: who are the persons first named in the inscription of the epistle.

In his other works, Cyprian quotes this as [d] the epistle of the apostle Peter, and [e] of Peter the apostle of Christ.

3. The second epistle of St. Peter is not at all quoted by Cyprian. One may be well apt to think it was not received by him as a sacred book; otherwise it could not have been omitted by a writer whose works so much abound with citations of scripture, and who had such controversies about the treatment of heretics. If this epistle had been a part of Cyprian's canon, it is likely he would have applied divers passages of it to the heretics and schismatics of his own time, as he does [f] the texts of St. John's first epistle relating to antichrist.

This may well bring to our mind the [g] passage formerly cited out of Firmilian's letter to our author, where we were willing to suppose that Firmilian had a reference to St. Peter's second epistle. Nevertheless, perhaps Cyprian's entire silence about this epistle may induce some to doubt whether Firmilian did really refer to it. Farther, the entire silence of Cyprian, and the very small notice taken of this epistle by [h] Origen, another acquaintance, and a very intimate friend of Firmilian, may occasion a doubt, whether this second epistle was received by Firmilian as an epistle of Peter.

I have no desire to set aside our second epistle of Peter, as not genuine; but I think it incumbent upon me to mention such observations as these when they offer: and I must still proceed to observe, that we have Firmilian's letter to Cyprian in a Latin translation only; nor do we certainly know by whom it was made. The expressions in the translation are very strong; that Peter and Paul in their epistles have cursed, or pronounced censures upon heretics, and admonished us to avoid them: but perhaps the words of the original were not so express. What we now have rendered 'their epistles,' possibly might be only some [i] general word denoting writings, or the scriptures: and in what Firmilian says of Peter, he might refer to that apostle's censure of Simon Magus, reputed an arch heretic, and recorded in [k] the Acts of the apostles; a book of holy scripture, and universally received. It is certain, that it is no uncommon thing for ancient Christian authors to quote Peter and Paul, meaning some words of theirs recorded in the Acts of the apostles, without naming that book, or hinting where the intended passage is to be found. We shall see in the [l] next chapter a remarkable instance of this kind, where the apostle Paul is quoted. I place here [m] in the margin several such quotations of the apostle Peter in divers authors, one which contains a part of his reproof of the forementioned Simon.

4. The first epistle of St. John is often expressly quoted by Cyprian: 'And [n] the apostle 'John, mindful of the command, writes in his epistle: "Hereby," says he, "we perceive that 'we know him, if we keep his commandments: He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his 'commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him:"' 1 John ii. 3.

[a] Tradebat autem se judicanti injuste. Test. l. iii. cap. 39.

[b] Vid. Joh. Chr. Wolff. Cur. Philolog. et Crit. Tom. v. p. 122, 123.

[c] De hoc ipso in epistolâ Petri ad Ponticos. Test. l. iii. c. 36. vid. et c. 37. 39.

[d] Secundum quod Petrus apostolus in epistolâ suâ præmonet et docet, dicens: Sobrii estote, &c. De Zel. et Livore p. 221.

[e] Petrus etiam apostolus ejus docuerit, ideo persecutiones fieri, ut probemur:...posuit enim in epistolâ suâ dicens: Ep. 58. al. 56. p. 121.

[f] See below 4. note [a] and num. 10.

[g] Ch. 39. num. 14. [h] See ch. 38. num. 12.

[i] Ex. gr. ταις γραφαις, τοις γραμμασιν.

[k] Acts viii. 20.....23

[l] See below, chap. xlv. num. vii. 7.

[m] Et apostolus Petrus de salvatore testatus est, dicens: Hujus anima non derelicta est in inferno, nec caro ejus vidit corruptionem. [Vid. Act. ii. 27.] Philastr. de Hær. ii. 69. 138, Ed. Fabric. Et Petrus apostolus Mago Simoni dixerat: Age Pœnitentiam, si quo modo dimittatur tibi quod fecisti. [Vid. Act. viii. 22.] Philast. Hær. 82. p. 159. Adtende enim, quid Petrus apostolus, Spiritu Sancto docente, commoneat, qui ait: Et nunc ergo vos quid tentatis Deum, imponere jugum collo discentium, &c. [Act. xv. 10, 11.] P. Oros. de lib. arb. p. 620. Ed. Havercamp. 1738. Sicut Petrus ad Judæos exclamavit: Dexterâ Dei exaltatus, acceptum a Patre Spiritum effudit, &c. [Act. ii. 33.] Victorin. in Apocal. ap. Bib. Patr. T. iii. R. 415. D.

[n] Et Joannes apostolus, mandati memor, in epistolâ suâ postmodum ponit: In hoc, inquit, intelligimus, quia cognovimus eum, si præcepta ejus custodiamus..... Ep. 28. [al. 25.] p. 54.

I shall add one passage more [a] in the margin, where this epistle is quoted as [illegible] the blessed apostle John.

There are two passages, where Cyprian is supposed by some to quote or refer to t[illegible] text, concerning the three witnesses in heaven. The first is to this purpose: 'The [b] "I and the Father are one." ' And again, of the Father and the Son and the Holy [illegible] written: "And these three are one:" 1 John v. 7. The other passage I shall no[illegible] However, I put it [c] in the margin, for the sake of those who may choose to see it [illegible] not enter into the merits of the question, whether this clause be genuine, or wh[illegible] quoted or referred to by St. Cyprian. The reader who is desirous of information concerning this matter, may consult the [d] authors who have treated of it largely; but in a following [e] chapter will be found an argument of no small weight in favour of the supposition, that this clause was wanting in St. Cyprian's copies of St. John's epistle.

5. In a passage cited just now it is said, John writes in his epistle, meaning our first epistle of St. John: and it must be owned, that St. Cyprian has no where quoted any other epistle of this apostle. But this may be accounted for by the brevity of the two other epistles. It is certain, that form of quotation is no proof of his knowing, or owning no other epistle of St. John, the like form being also used by him in quoting an epistle of St. Paul. There are some instances of this to be found in the passages already cited. I shall add here one more: 'And [f] again the 'blessed apostle says in his epistle, (1 Cor. xii. 26.) "Whether one member suffer, all the 'members suffer with it; or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it." It is reasonable to suppose, that the second epistle of St. John was owned by Cyprian, because it is expressly cited by one of the bishops in the council of Carthage held in 256, of which Cyprian was a principal part. That bishop there delivers his opinion upon the point in debate in this manner: 'The [g] apostle John writes in his epistle, [that is, in one of his epistles] "If there 'come any unto you, and bring not the doctrine of Christ, receive him not into your house; 'neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil 'deeds:' 2 John, 10, 11: And St. John's third epistle likewise may have been owned by Cyprian.

6. There is no notice taken of the epistle of St. Jude in the works of this writer.

VIII. The book of the Revelation is frequently quoted by Cyprian; but he has no where said that it was written by John the apostle, and but once mentioned the name of the writer. 'And [h] in the Revelation, the angel, when John would have worshipped him, refused it, and 'said, "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren: worship the Lord 'Jesus." So it is in Cyprian. We have it, "Worship God," Rev. xxii. 9.

The Revelation was esteemed by him a book of authority, as is evident from the manner in which he quotes it. Recommending works of goodness, 'Hear, says [i] he, in the Revelation, the 'voice of thy Lord justly reproving such men as these: "Thou sayest," says he, "that I am 'rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing: and knowest not that thou art wretched, 'and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:" ch. iii. 17, 18. Again: 'So in the [k] holy

[a] Item beatus Joannes apostolus nec ipse ullam hæresin aut schisma discrevit, aut aliquos speciatim separatos posuit; sed universos qui de ecclesiâ exiissent, quique contra ecclesiam facerent, antichristos appellavit, dicens: audistis quia antichristus venit. Nunc autem antichristi multi facti sunt, &c. [1 Joh. ii. 18. 19.] Ep. 69. [al. 76] p. 180.

[b] Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: Et hi tres unum sunt. De Unitate Ec. p. 109.

[c] Nam si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est, quæro cujus Dei? Si creatoris, non potuit qui in eum non credidit. Si Christi, nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum. Si Spiritûs Sancti, cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est? ad Jubaianum Ep. 73. p. 203.

[d] There may be seen a large collection of such authors in Mr. Wolff's Curæ Philog. &c. in loc. Tom. iv. p. 293, &c. I therefore refer only to a very few. Vid. Mill. in loc. Emlyn's Tracts. Ri. Simon. Hist. Crit. du Texte du Nou. Test. ch. xvii. Le Clerc. Bib. Univ. T. xii. p. 450. . . . . 455, et passim. and Mr. David Casley's Preface to the Catalogue of the manuscripts of the king's library.

[e] See below chap. XLV. numb. vi. 10, 11, 12.

[f] Et iterum posuit [beatus apostolus] in epistolâ suâ, dicens: Si patitur membrum unum, &c. Ep. 17. [al. 12.] p. 39.

[g] Joannes apostolus in epistolâ suâ posuit dicens: si quis ad vos venit, et doctrinam Christi non habet, nolite eum admittere in domum vestram, et Ave illi ne dixeritis. Qui enim dixerit illi Ave, communicat factis ejus malis. Tract. p. 242.

[h] Et in Apocalypsi angelus Joanni volenti adorare se resistit et dicit: Vide ne feceris, quia conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum. Jesum Dominum adora. De Bono Pudicitiæ. p. 220.

[i] Audi in Apocalypsi Domini tui vocem, ejusmodi homines justis objurgationibus increpantem: Dicis, inquit, dives sum, et ditatus sum, et nullius rei egeo. De Op. et Eleem. p. 202.

[k] Sic in scripturis sanctis, quibus nos instrui dominus voluit et moneri, describitur civitas meretrix, compta pulchrius et ornata. De Habitu Virg. p. 97.

'scriptures, by which the Lord would have us to be instructed and warned, is the harlot city described.' He then cites Rev. xvii. 1, 2, 3. Once more: 'And [a] that waters signify people, the divine scripture shews in the Revelation:' ch. xvii. 15.

I may add here, that words of this book are cited together with other texts of the New Testament, in a letter of some presbyters and deacons, and others, confessors of the church of Rome, to Cyprian, written in 250. 'And, to him [b] that overcometh will I give to sit upon my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down upon my Father's throne.' Rev. iii. 21.

IX. St. Cyprian's respect for the scriptures of the New Testament appears, in his very numerous quotations of them, in his appeals to them as decisive in matters of dispute and controversy, and in divers forms of citation, particularly such as these: "The [c] Lord says in the gospel;" or "in his gospel," as in several of the passages cited above; "divine scriptures," of the Acts; "sacred scriptures," and "divine scriptures," speaking of the Revelation; "the blessed apostle Paul, full of the grace of the inspiration of the Lord; the blessed apostle Paul, chosen and sent of the Lord; the blessed apostle Paul, full of the Holy Ghost, and sent to call and convert the Gentiles;" as we have seen already. Farther: 'The [d] Holy Spirit, foretelling and forewarning us by the apostle, "In the last days," says he, "perilous times shall come," 2 Tim. iii. 1. Again; 'Paul [e] in his epistles, in which he 'forms us to a holy course of life, by his divine instructions, says, (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.) "Ye are 'not your own, for ye are bought with a great price: glorify and carry God in your body." So Cyprian, [f] and some other ancient writers, read that text. In another place, 'The [g] Holy 'Ghost forewarns by the apostle, and says, "There must be also heresies, that they which are 'approved may be made manifest among you," 1 Cor. xi. 19. Again; "And [h] therefore it is 'written; "Hold fast that which thou hast, that another take not thy crown," Rev. iii. 11. One of the bishops at the council of Carthage, in the year 256, says; 'I [i] am of opinion that 'blasphemous and wicked heretics, who pervert the sacred and adorable words of the scriptures, 'ought to be accursed.' Afterwards another bishop, in the same assembly, says; 'I [k] also, fol-'lowing the authority of the divine scriptures, am of opinion that heretics are to be baptised.' Cyprian [l] earnestly exhorts all in general, but especially Christian ministers, in all doubtful matters to have recourse to the gospels, and the epistles of the apostles, as to the fountain where may be found the true original doctrine of Christ. He begins his discourse on the Lord's prayer in this manner; 'The [m] precepts of the gospel, my beloved brethren, are to be considered 'as the lessons of God to us; as the foundations of our hope, and the supports of our faith; as 'spiritual consolations to us, shewing us the paths of righteousness, and setting us forward in the 'way of salvation: for, whilst with teachable and willing minds we receive upon earth the in-'structions conveyed to us, we are led on insensibly to the kingdom of [n] heaven.'

The respect for the scriptures, particularly of the New Testament, appears in the public reading of them in the church, Cyprian, in two different letters, written in his retirement, gives his people an account of his having there ordained two persons, Aurelius and Celerinus, who were before confessors, to be readers. In the former of those two letters he relates the many sufferings of Aurelius, and gives him a great character: and then adds; 'That [o] he had de-

[a] Aquas namque populos significare, in Apocalypsi scriptura divina declarat, dicens: Aquæ, quas vidisti, &c. Ep. 63. p. 153. [b] Ep. 31. [al. 26.] p. 63.

[c] In evangelio Dominus loquitur, dicens: Qui confessus me fuerit coram hominibus, &c. De Lapsis. p. 130.

[d] Prænuntiante per apostolum nobis, et prænonente Spiritu Sancto: In novissimis, inquit, diebus aderunt tempora molesta. De Unit. Ec. p. 115.

[e] Paulus in epistolis suis dicit, quibus nos ad curricula vivendi per divina magisteria formavit; Non estis vestri; empti enim estis pretio magno. Glorificate [al Clarificate] et portate Deum in corpore vestro. De Habit. Virg. p. 93.

[f] Vid. Mill. in loc.

[g] Per apostolum præmonet Spiritus Sanctus, et dicit: Oportet et hæreses esse. De Unit. Ec. p. 111.

[h] Et ideo scriptum est: Tene quod habes, ne alius accipiat coronam tuam. De Unit. Ec. p. 117.

[i] Hæreticos blasphemos et iniquos, verbis variis decerpentes sancta et adorabilia scripturarum verba, exsecrandos censeo. Num. 31. p. 236.

[k] Et ipse secutus divinarum scripturarum auctoritatem baptizandos hæreticos esse censeo, ibid. num. 33. vid. et num. 37. p. 337.

[l] Nam si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus. . . . Si canalis aquam ducens, qui copiose prius et largiter profluebat, subito deficiat, nonne ad fontem pergitur. . . . ? Quod et nunc facere oportet Dei sacerdotes præcepta divina servantes, ut, si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas, ad originem Dominicam et evangelicam, et apostolicam traditionem revertamur, et inde surgat actûs nostri ratio, unde et ordo et origo surrexerit. Ep. 74. p. 215.

[m] Evangelica præcepta, fratres dilectissimi, nihil sunt aliud quam magisteria divina, fundamenta ædificandæ spei, firmamenta corroborandæ fidei, nutrimenta fovendi cordis, gubernacula dirigendi itineris, præsidia obtinendæ salutis; quæ, dum dociles credentium mentes in terres instruunt, ad cœlestia regna perducunt. De Orat. Dom. p. 139.

[n] That passage I have put down as translated by Mr. Marshall.

[o] Merebatur talis clericæ ordinationis ulteriores gradus et

'served, though young, a higher degree in the clergy, but he thought it best that [illegible]
'begin with the office of a reader. Nothing,' says he, 'can be more fit than that h[illegible]
'made a glorious confession of the Lord, should read publicly in the church; that h[illegible]
'shewn himself willing to die a martyr should read the gospel of Christ, by which [illegible]
'formed; and that he should be advanced from the rack to the desk.' Of Celerinus [illegible]
in the following letter; 'That [a] it was very fit and becoming that he who was [illegible]
'illustrious in the world should be placed upon the pulpit, that is, the tribunal of th[illegible]
'that being conspicuous to the people he may read the precepts and gospel of the L[illegible]
'he faithfully and courageously observes and maintains:' and more there to the like [illegible]
behalf of his fitness, as a confessor, for the office to which Cyprian had ordained him.

We have not remaining any sermons or homilies of our author: but it may be reckoned very likely that the scriptures, which were so much read in the church of Carthage by a person particularly appointed to that office, were also explained there by the bishop, sometimes at least; and that, from the portions of scripture publicly read in the assemblies of the faithful, he gave them exhortations to the practice of virtue. And there is a passage in Cyprian's last letter to his clergy and people, which seems to put this matter out of question. He is there giving them some directions for their conduct in that time of persecution. 'As [b] for you, my dearest 'brethren, I must charge you to be quiet and peaceable, according to the commandments of the 'Lord, which I have frequently recommended to you, and upon which you have very often 'heard me preaching.'

X. I would now put down some general titles and divisions of the books of the New Testament, which we find in this ancient writer: we shall at the same time observe more tokens of high esteem for them.

It is fit, however, that we should first take notice of his general division of all the scriptures received by Christians, which is [c] that of Old and New. The study of both these Cyprian recommends as very beneficial for confirming our virtue and increasing our knowledge; and he calls them the books of the Spirit, or inspired writings, the divine fountains, and fountains of the divine fulness. So he writes in his preface to his first two books of Testimonies.

The general titles and divisions of the New Scriptures are such as these: Cyprian himself, delivering his own sentiment in the forementioned council, says; 'My [d] opinion is, that heretics, 'which by the evangelic and apostolic authority are declared adversaries of Christ, and anti-'christs, when they come to the church, are to be baptized with the one only baptism of the 'church.' In another place [e] he observes what is written of obtaining remission of sins 'in the 'gospels and the epistles of the apostles.' Again; 'Whence,' says [f] he, 'is that tradition? Does 'it descend from the authority of the Lord and the gospels, or does it come from the command-'ments and epistles of the apostles? For those things ought to be done which are written, 'as God taught Joshua the son of Nun:' Josh. i. 8. And soon after; 'If [g] therefore it is com-

incrementa majora, non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. Sed interim placuit, ut ab officio lectionis incipiat; quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosâ prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare; post verba sublimia quæ Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt, ad pulpitum post catastam venire; illic fuisse conspicuum gentilium multitudini, hic a fratribus conspici; illic auditum esse cum miraculo circumstantis populi, hic cum gaudio fraternitatis audiri. Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, a me et a collegis qui præsentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis. Ep 38. [al. 33] p. 75.

[a] .....illustrem, quid aliud quam super pulpitum, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter et fideliter sequitur?.... Nihil est in quo magis confessor fratribus prosit, quam et dum evangelica lectio de ore ejus auditur, lectoris fidem quisquis audierit, imitetur. Ep. 39, [al. 34] p. 77.

[b] Vos autem, fratres carissimi, pro disciplinâ, quam de mandatis Dominicis a me semper accepistis, et secundum quod me tractante sæpissime didicistis, quietem et tranquillitatem tenete, &c. Ep. 81, [al. 83] p. 239

[c] —quæ legenti tibi [al. legentibus] interim prosint ad prima fidei lineamenta formanda. Plus roboris [tibi] dabitur, et magis ac magis intellectus cordis operabitur scrutanti scripturas veteres ac novas plenius, et universa librorum spiritualium volumina perlegenti. Nam nos nunc de divinis fontibus implevimus modicum, quod tibi interim mitteremus. Bibere et saturari copiosius poteris, si tu quoque ad eosdem divinæ plenitudinis fontes nobiscum pariter potaturus accesseris. p. 18.

[d] Hæreticos secundum evangelicam et apostolicam contestationem adversarios Christi et antichristos appellatos, quando ad ecclesiam venerint, unico ecclesiæ baptismo baptizandos esse. p. 243.

[e] Quod enim in evangeliis et apostolorum epistolis Jesu Christi nomen insinuatur ad remissionem peccatorum, non ita est quasi aut sine Patre, aut contra Patrem prodesse cuipiam solus Filius possit. Ep. 73, p. 205.

[f] Unde est ista traditio? utrumne de Dominicâ et evangelicâ auctoritate descendens, an de apostolorum mandatis atque epistolis veniens? Ea enim facienda esse, quæ scripta sunt, Deus testatur et proponit ad Jesum Nave, dicens, &c. Ep. 74, p. 211.

[g] Si ergo aut in evangelio præcipitur, aut in apostolorum epistolis aut Actibus continetur;... observetur divina hæc et sancta traditio. ibid.

manded in the gospel, or is contained in epistles or Acts, that they who come over from any heresy should not be baptized, but only have imposition of hands in order to penance, let that sacred and divine tradition be observed.' From this passage it may be argued, that the book of the Acts of the apostles was joined with the epistles, not with the gospels. We see plainly that this general division of the books of the New Testament very much obtained at that time; they were all contained in two codes, volumes, or general divisions; one called the Gospels, or scriptures of the Lord; the other the Apostle, or the epistles of the apostles; and in this later division was usually placed the book of the Acts of the apostles. I shall put [a] in the margin a few more examples of those two general titles from our author. We likewise see very clearly that in these two codes were included all the scriptures of the New Testament, which Christians esteemed divine, and received as the rule of faith and practice, to which all were bound to submit, and whose sacred and supreme authority was readily and cheerfully owned by all good Christians.

Nor were there any Christian books of authority beside the four gospels, the Acts, and epistles of apostles. It does hence clearly appear that no epistles or other doctrinal writings of any person, who was of a rank below that of an apostle, were received by Christians as a part of their rule of faith. There are in Cyprian's works very numerous citations of the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, the thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul, (excepting only that to Philemon) the first epistle of the apostle Peter, the first epistle of the apostle John, and the Revelation, which it is highly probable he believed to be written by John the apostle: and all these are quoted as writings of authority. But in all the works of Cyprian there is not any one such citation of any other Christian book or author. It is therefore manifest that the writings of scriptures above-named were of authority, and that no writings of Christians, nor apostles, were esteemed to be so, except the historical writings of Mark and Luke. I inculcate this observation upon my readers: I think it is founded upon good evidence; and I believe it will appear to be of signal use and great importance.

XI. Nor have I observed in Cyprian any quotations of spurious apocryphal writings. Mr. Jones [b] indeed, in his Alphabetical Table of apocryphal pieces not extant, mentions a book under the name of Paul. See Cypr. Ep. 23. But that book is really nothing but a note of Paul, a martyr of Cyprian's own time, containing a kind of absolution of some one or more persons who had lapsed in the Decian persecution, and forged by one Lucian, as appears from [c] Cyprian's complaints about that matter. Mr. Jones afterwards perceived this mistake, and acknowledged it somewhere, as I well remember, though the place does not now offer itself to me.

XII. Nevertheless, Cyprian often quotes apocryphal books of the Old Testament; such as Tobit, the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, two books of Maccabees, and others, and in terms of high respect: for instance, quoting the book of Wisdom he [d] says, "the Holy Spirit therein teacheth us." And [e] the book of Tobit is quoted by him as divine scripture: but yet I do not think those citations prove that Cyprian esteemed these books to be of authority. It is not difficult for the reader to recollect some things to this purpose already alleged from Greek writers, and our observations upon them: so Origen [f] often quotes the Shepherd of Hermas as an useful book, as scripture, and divinely inspired; but yet he did not suppose passages alleged thence to be decisive proofs, or evidences of any doctrine. There was allowed to these writers some degree and measure of inspiration, but not that fulness of the Spirit, or that high degree of inspiration, which was afforded to the prophets of the Old Testament, and the apostles of the New. It seems very evident, from the catalogue of the books of the Old Testament left us by [g] Melito bishop of Sardis, about the year 170, that none of the books we now call apocryphal had a place in it. The [h] catalogue of the Jewish sacred books found in Origen's works has a great

[a] Scias nos ab evangelicis et apostolis traditionibus non recedere. Ep. 4, [al. 62] p. 7. Prænuntiata sunt hæc futura in seculi fine; et Domini vôce, atque apostolorum contestatione prædictum est: [Vid. Luc. xviii. 8. 2 Tim. iii. 1.] Ep. 67, [al. 68] p. 174. Nec episcopus computari potest, qui evangelicâ et apostolicâ traditione contemptâ, nemini succedens, a seipso ortus est. Ep. 69, [al. 76] p. 181.

[b] See Mr. Jones's New and full method, &c. Vol. i. p. 148.

[c] Nam frater noster Lucianus, et ipse unus de confessoribus, fide quidem calidus et virtute robustus, sed minus Dominicâ lectione fundatus, quædam conatus est, imperiti jampridem se vulgi auctorem constituens, ut manu ejus scripti libelli gregatim multis nomine Pauli darentur. Cypr. Ep. 27, [al. 23] p. 52.

[d] Per Solomonem Spiritus Sanctus ostendit et præcavit, dicens: Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes eorum immortalitate plena est. [Sap. iii. 4.] Cypr. De Exhort. Mart. cap. 12. p. 182.

[e] Et ideo scriptura divina instruit, dicens: bona est oratio cum jejunio et eleemosynâ [Tob. xii. 9, 9.] De Or. Dom. p. 153.

[f] See Vol. i. ch. 38. num. xxiii.

[g] See Vol. i. p. 358, and Euseb. H. E. iv. 26.

[h] See Vol. i. ch. 38. num. xxvi. 1.

agreement with Melito's. It appears from what we have observed from [a] Africanus and [b] Origen, that it was generally well known among Christians of the eastern part of the world, at least, that the scriptures of the Old Testament, or Jewish canon, were written in Hebrew, and that the books we now call apocryphal were not written in Hebrew, but in Greek; and that they were not received by the Jews as a part of their sacred scriptures. And that the Latin Christians, who lived in the western part of the Roman empire, had for the most part the like knowledge and sentiments upon this point with those in the east, may be argued from Rufinus, not to insist now upon any others. Rufinus, as [c] formerly cited, assures us, that there were some books, not reckoned canonical, but called by the ancients ecclesiastical: and of this last sort he says were the books called the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees. He adds, that [d] these were read in the churches, but no article of faith was to be taken from them: and he delivers this as the ancient belief of Christians. Jerom writes to the like purpose. He says that [e] the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, are not in the canon, but are to be reputed apocryphal. In [f] another place he says again expressly, that the church reads Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, but does not receive them as canonical scriptures. These, he adds, and the book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus likewise, may be read for the edification of the people, but no doctrine of religion can be proved by their authority. So write these two learned authors of the fourth century. And that Cyprian was exactly of the same judgment upon this point may be argued from a passage [g] cited above; where, having quoted the book of Tobit, he shews that he did not desire the text alleged thence should be taken as a decisive proof of what he advanceth; and adds, that he should confirm what was said there by the testimony of truth, meaning the Acts of the apostles: which is enough to satisfy us that he really made a distinction, and that this distinction was well known, though it is not often expressly mentioned. Those books therefore of the Old Testament, which we call apocryphal, were quoted by way of illustration, but not as of authority, or alone decisive in any point of doctrine, unless confirmed by the inspiration of prophets or apostles. Mr. Marshall, in his notes upon St. Cyprian, has divers useful remarks [h] upon the citations of the apocryphal scriptures found in our author.

XIII. We have now seen in St. Cyprian a large canon of scripture; all the books of the New Testament commonly received by Christians at this present time, except the epistle to Philemon, (which may have been omitted for no other reason but that he had no particular occasion to quote it;) and the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of St. James, and the second epistle of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. Jude. There is no particular citation of the third epistle of St. John; but, considering its shortness, and that the other two epistles of that apostle are expressly mentioned, there seems not to be any good reason for supposing it to have been rejected by this writer, or unknown to him. Excepting these few, all the other books of the New Testament have an ample testimony given them in the works of St. Cyprian; and they appear to have been esteemed inspired books, and writings of authority, the rule of faith and practice to all Christian people. Nor is there in this eminent and celebrated African bishop of the third century one quotation of any Christian spurious, or apocryphal scriptures.

[a] Vol. i. ch. 37. num. xv. [b] Vol. i. ch. 38. numb. xxv.

[c] Ib. num. xxiii, 3. fin.

[d] . . . quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominârunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. Hæc nobis a patribus, ut dixi, tradita opportunum visum est hoc in libro designare, ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt. Rufin. in Symb.

[e] Hic prologus scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest: ut scire valeamus quidquid extra hos est, inter ἀποκρυφα esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in Canone. Præf. Hieron. de omnib. libr. V. T. Seu Præf. in libr. Reg.

[f] Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobit, et Maccabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturâs non recipit: sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Ejusd. Præf. in Libr. Salom. ad Chrom. et Heliod.

[g] See p. 151.

[h] See the title of apocryphal writings, &c. in the Table of matters, at the end of Mr. Marshall's St. Cyprian.

CHAP. XLV.

WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO ST. CYPRIAN, OR JOINED WITH HIS WORKS.

I. *Pontius.* II. *An anonymous author concerning shews.* III. *Anonymous author concerning discipline and the benefit of chastity.* IV. *Anonymous author of the praise of martyrdom.* V. *Anonymous author against the Novatian heretic.* VI. *Anonymous author concerning rebaptizing; or, of the baptism of heretics.* VII. *Anonymous author of a computation of Easter.*

I. I HAVE several times quoted The Life of St. Cyprian, written by his deacon Pontius, which is now usually prefixed to the works of that father. St. Jerom [a] calls it an excellent performance. Rigaltius [b] will scarce allow that it deserves to be reckoned a history, it is so defective and so rhetorical; it is however useful: and if Pontius was not a fine writer, he was a good man. We have no reason to question his being worthy of the confidence and friendship with which that eminent bishop honoured him. He triumphed in [c] Cyprian's glorious martyrdom, though at the same time he was not a little grieved that he did not accompany him. He is said to have died a martyr; but there is scarce any good authority for that supposition. St. Jerom says nothing of it; nor has he mentioned any work of his, beside this one of Cyprian's Life and Passion, as he expressly calls it. This writer is placed by Cave at the year 251.

Trithemius says that [d] Pontius converted the two Philips, emperors of Rome, to the faith of Christ: but [e] it is thought he confounds our Pontius, deacon of Cyprian and an African, with another of this name in Gaul, who is said to have suffered martyrdom [f] in the time of Valerian and Gallienus; of whom there are [g] Acts of martyrdom still extant, where that story is related: but [h] Pagi has shewn that those Acts are not to be relied upon in that matter, as being the forgery of a late writer. And Tillemont [i] has been at the pains to demonstrate at large that they are good for nothing.

Pontius, in his Life of Cyprian, has quoted the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, the [k] first chapter in particular, and St. John, and several of St. Paul's epistles, and the book of the Acts of the apostles [l] expressly by that title. There is no necessity to be more particular here, since it may be relied upon, and taken for granted, that this deacon's canon was the same with his bishop's.

II. There are several treatises, which sometimes have been ascribed to St. Cyprian, but are now generally allowed by learned men not to be his. I shall here speak of four of them: Of shews; Of discipline and the benefit of chastity; Of the praise of martyrdom; Against the heretic Novatian, or, Against the Novatian heretic. Of the first two, and the last, Du Pin [m] says, they are ancient and useful; that they appear to have been all three written by one and the same person, and that they might be reckoned pieces of St. Cyprian, if it were not for the difference of style; and that they are not ascribed to him in the manuscripts, but only in the

[a] Pontius, diaconus Cypriani, usque ad diem passionis ejus cum ipso exilium sustinens, egregium volumen vitæ et passionis Cypriani reliquit. De V. I. cap. 68.

[b] Vita Cypriani, quæ fertur ab ejus diacono Pontio perscripta, rhetoricæ dictionis gratiam magis quam narrationis historicæ diligentiam præfert. Rigalt. Not. ad Cypr. Ep. 81, [al. 83] ed. Oxon. p. 238.

[c] Inter gaudium passionis, et remanendi dolorem, in partes divisus animus, et angustum nimis pectus affectus duplices onerant. Dolebo, quod non comes fuerim? Sed illius victoria triumphanda est. De victoriâ triumphabo? Sed doleo, quod comes non sim? .... Multum, et nimis multum de gloriâ ejus exulto: plus tamen doleo, quod remansi. Pont. in fine.

[d] Hic Pontius suâ mellifluâ prædicatione et industriâ duos Philippos imperatores ad Christum convertit, &c. Trithem. de Scr. Ec. cap. 42. p. 14. Ed. Fabr.

[e] Vid. Fabric. ib. not. [m].

[f] Vid. Baron. Ann. 246. n. 9. Tillem. Persécution de l'église sous l' empereur Valérien. Art. 7. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. i. p. 26, 27. Acta S. S. per Bolland. &c. ad diem. 14 Maii. Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 215, not. 62.

[g] Ap. Baluz. Miscell. l. ii. p. 124, &c.

[h] Pagi Crit. in Bar. 244. n. 6.

[i] Not. 7. sur la persécution de Valérien. p. 336.... 340. M. E. T. iv. P. i.

[k] Sane et in scripturis tale aliquid invenio. Nam Zacharias sacerdos, promisso sibi per angelum filio, quia non crediderat, obmutuit: [Luc. i. 20 et 64.] Pont. p. 8.

[l] Sed etsi in apostolorum Actis eunuchus ille describitur, quia toto corde crediderat, a Philippo statim tinctus; non est similis comparatio. Ibid. p. 2.

[m] S. Cyprien. Bibl. des Aut. Ecc T. i. p. 172

printed editions. As I do not see any plain marks of these three pieces having one and the same author, I shall give a distinct account of all the four treatises just mentioned, according to the order they are placed in above, which is the same they have in the appendix to St. Cyprian's genuine works in the Oxford edition. Afterwards I shall make some extracts out of the book of an anonymous author, Concerning the rebaptizing of heretics: and lastly, out of a small piece, entitled, a Computation of Easter; all these being now usually joined in the volume of St. Cyprian's works.

1. I begin [a] with the piece, Of shews, which is called an epistle of an unknown author. It seems to have been written by a bishop, then [b] unwillingly separated from his people, and who had not frequent opportunities of writing to them. Tillemont [c] says that, whoever was the author, it is an excellent work: that [d] it was written in the times of heathenism, when [e] exorcisms were frequent in the church, and [f] whilst it was yet the custom to carry the eucharist home. That it was written in the time of heathenism, I think apparent from divers passages. This book is much commended by the [g] Benedictine, who writes the life of St. Cyprian; but yet he does not allow it to be his: for though it has in it those marks of antiquity which have been observed by Tillemont, and though among the works ascribed to Cyprian, none resemble his style more than this, there is no notice at all taken of it by Pontius, and there is in it a difference of style, which may be perceived by all who are well acquainted with Cyprian's works.

2. In this book there are few texts of scripture quoted; which is different from Cyprian's ordinary method, whose works abound with them. However, the author informs us that [h] some at that time endeavoured to defend their practice of frequenting the theatre, by the apostle's allusions to the heathen games, referring particularly to 1 Cor. ix. 25, and Eph. vi. 12: he is likewise supposed to refer to [i] Matt. xxvii. 52. He calls the scriptures of the New Testament [k] sacred writings, and [l] divine scriptures, and [m] heavenly scriptures. He also shews his respect for these books by his indignation against those, who [n] pretended to justify their frequenting the public shews by the authority of the heavenly scriptures. And at the end of his book, or letter, he recommends to Christians, instead of attending the theatre, the study of the scriptures, after this manner; 'I [o] say then, that a good Christian ought to employ himself in diligent reading 'the sacred scriptures; there he will find more worthy objects for the entertainment of his faith and hope.'

3. So far of this book, which, though short, ought not to be reckoned unprofitable to us; and I hope it appears to deserve the account I have here given of it.

III. The second piece ascribed by some to Cyprian is entitled, Of [p] discipline and the benefit of chastity: in the Oxford and Benedictine editions it is called an epistle of an unknown author: the time of it too is uncertain: it is evident from the beginning of it that it was written by a bishop: I shall transcribe [q] the words by and by. The learned Benedictine beforementioned says this [r] piece is very ancient, and not unworthy of Cyprian himself; but the difference of style, and silence of Pontius about it, are good reasons why it ought not to be reckoned the

[a] De Spectaculis. Epistola ignoti auctoris.

[b] Ut me satis contristat, et animum meum graviter affligit, cum nulla mihi scribendi ad vos porrigitur occasio, (detrimentum enim est meum vobiscum non colloqui,) ita nihil mihi tantam lætitiam hilaritatemque restituit, quam cum adest rursus occasio. p. 2. Ed Ox.

[c] Mem. Ec. T. iv. St. Cyprien. art. 22. See also note xxviii.

[d] Quod enim spectaculum sine idolo? quis ludus sine sacrificio? quod certamen non consecratum mortuo? p. 3. a. vid. quæ sequuntur.

[e] Impudenter in ecclesiâ dæmonia exorcizat, quorum voluptates in spectaculis laudat. p. 3. a.

[f] Qui festinans ad spectaculum, dimissus, et adhuc gerens secum, ut assolet, eucharistiam inter corpora obscœna meretricum tulit. p. 3. b. m. [g] Vit. S. Cypr. sect. xxxv.

[h] Apostolus quoque dimicans cæstûs et dimicationis nostræ adversus spiritalia nequitiæ proponit certamen. Rursus de stadiis sumit exempla, coronæ quoque collocat præmia. Cur ergo homini Christiano fideli non liceat spectare quod licuit divinis literis scribere? p. 2. b. in.

[i] Considerabit etiam de sepulcris admirabiles ipsorum consummatorum jam vitas corporum redactas: [consumtorum jam ad vitam corporum (animas) reductas. Baluz. p. 343.] p. 4. b. fin.

[k] Præscribat igitur istis pudor, etiamsi non possunt sanctæ literæ. p. 2. b. f. [l] Vid. supra [h].

[m] See the next note.

[n] . . . tamen, quoniam non desunt vitiorum assertores blandi et indulgentes patroni, qui præstant vitiis auctoritatem, et, quod est deterius, censuram scripturarum cœlestium in advocationem criminum convertunt, . . . Non pudet, non pudet, inquam, fideles homines et Christiani sibi nominis auctoritatem vindicantes, superstitiones vanas gentilium cum spectaculis mixtas de scripturis cœlestibus vindicare, et divinam auctoritatem idololatriæ conferre. . . . Hoc in loco non immerito dixerim, longe melius fuisse istis nullas literas nôsse, quam sic literas legere. p. 2. a. b. ed. Ox. Conf. ed Baluz. p. 339.

[o] Scripturis, inquam, sacris incumbat Christianus fidelis, et ibi inveniet condigna fidei spectacula. . . . Quam hoc decorum spectaculum, fratres, quam jucundum, quam necessarium! intueri semper spem suam, et oculos aperire ad salutem suam. p. 4. b. fin. [p] De Disciplinâ et bono Pudicitiæ.

[q] See below numb. vi.

[r] Ubi supr. sect. 35.

work of that father. Whoever was the author, he has cited the words of divers books of the New Testament.

1. 'This,' says [a] he, 'our Lord taught, when he said, that a wife ought not to be divorced, "saving for the cause of adultery:"' Matth. v. 32.

2. 'Hence he [the apostle] says [b] also, that "the members of Christ ought not to be joined 'to the members of an harlot"..... hence deservedly adulterers do not "inherit the kingdom 'of God:"' 1 Cor. vi. 15 and 9.

3. 'The [c] apostle declares the church to be the "spouse of Christ:"' See 2 Cor. xi. 2.

4. 'Hence [d] also the apostle has observed that "the man is the head of the woman," [1 Cor. xi. 3. Eph. v. 24.] Nevertheless he adds; "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself. For no 'man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ the church.'" Eph. v. 28, 29.

5. 'Hence [e] the apostle says; "This is the will of God, that ye should abstain from forni-'cation.'" 1 Thess. iv. 3.

6. The respect which this bishop had for the writings of the New Testament appears at the beginning of this tract, or epistle, sent to his people. 'I reckon,' says [f] he, 'that I do not 'neglect to discharge some part of my office whilst I endeavour, especially by daily tracts upon 'the gospels, to make some improvements and increases of your faith and knowledge of the 'Lord: for what more useful service is there in the church of the Lord? What is there more 'becoming the office of a bishop than, by instructions from the divine words of the Lord him-'self, to lead the faithful to the enjoyment of the promised kingdom of heaven? This is my 'constant and daily labour and desire, though absent from you: and after my accustomed 'manner I endeavour to be present with you by the discourses I send you, that, being built on 'the firm foundation of the gospel, ye may always "stand armed against all the wiles of the 'devil:"' Eph. vi. 11. And presently afterwards; "For this purpose we not only allege words 'from the sacred fountains of the scriptures, but with the words themselves we join our prayers 'to the Lord, that he will open both to us and you the treasures of his mysteries, and enable us 'to act according to our knowledge: for great will be his misery, "who knew the Lord's will, 'and neglected to do it:"' Luke xii. 47.

7. He concludes with recommending the study of the scriptures; 'I [g] have said a few things 'only, because it is not my design to write a volume, but to send you a discourse [or homily.] 'Do you look into the scriptures, and improve yourselves by the precepts there delivered, 'relating to the virtue I have been recommending to you. My dearest brethren, farewell.'

8. I think we may consider this as an example of the homilies of the time in which this bishop lived: but it would be an additional pleasure to know more exactly the time itself, and the place of his ordinary residence.

IV. The third piece, sometimes ascribed to St. Cyprian, but now generally [h] discarded by learned men as unworthy of that great name, is entitled, Of [i] the praise of martyrdom. Bishop Fell thinks this to be [k] only a declamation written by some one for the exercise of his style.

[a] Hanc sententiam Christus, quando uxorem dimitti non nisi ob adulterium dixit. p. 6. a.

[b] Hinc et illud dicit: Membra Christi membris meretricis non esse jungenda. Hinc merito regnum cœlorum non tenent adulteri. p. 6. a.

[c] Nam si apostolus ecclesiam sponsam Christi pronuntiat. p. 5. a.

[d] Inde et apostolus caput mulieris pronuntiavit virum... Addit tamen et dicit: Quoniam qui uxorem suam diligit, seipsum diligit. Nemo enim carnem suam odio habet, sed nutrit et fovet eam, sicut et Christus ecclesiam. p. 6. a.

[e] Hinc apostolus dicit: Hæc est voluntas Dei, ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione. p. 6. a.

[f] Aliquas officiorum meorum partes non æstimo præterisse, dum semper enitor, vel maxime quotidianis evangeliorum tractatibus, aliquando vobis fidei et scientiæ per Dominum incrementa præstare. Quid enim aliud in ecclesiâ Domini utilius geri, quid accommodatius officio episcopi potest inveniri, quam ut doctrinâ divinorum, per ipsum insinuatâ collatâque, verborum, possint credentes ad repromissum regnum pervenire cœlorum? Hoc certe mei et operis et muneris, quotidianum votivum negotium, absens licet, obtinere connitor, et per literas præsentiam meam vobis reddere conor. Dum vos solito more allocutionibus nissis in fide interpello, ideo convenio, ut evangelicæ radicis firmitate solidati, adversus omnia diaboli prœlia stetis semper armati... Non solum proferimus verba, quæ de scripturarum sacris fontibus veniunt, sed et cum ipsis verbis preces ad Dominum et vota sociamus, ut tam nobis quam vobis et sacramentorum suorum thesauros aperiat, et vires ad implenda, quæ cognoscimus tribuat. Periculum enim majus est voluntatem Domini cognovisse, et in Dei voluntatis opere cessâsse. p. 5. a.

[g] Ego pauca dictavi, quoniam non est propositum volumen scribere, sed allocutionem transmittere. Vos scripturas aspicite, exempla vobis de ipsis præceptis hujus rei majora conquirite. Fratres carissimi, bene valete. p. 8. b.

[h] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 251. n. xv. Basnag. Ann. 258. n. xv.

[i] Liber De Laude Martyrii.

[k] Exercendi styli gratiâ hæc videntur scripta, cum plenos theatri cuneos, et populi strepitum sibi repræsentet prator. Not. p. 8. ed. Oxon.

Basnage[a] and[b] Du Pin speak of it in the like manner. But[c] the learned Benedictine has a more favourable opinion of it, though he does not take it to be a genuine work of St. Cyprian. It appears to me an oration in form, and there is a good deal of affectation in the style. It is allowed to be ancient, but the exact time of it is not easily determined. Considering the character of this book, a short account of it will be sufficient.

1. There are here cited passages of divers books of the New Testament, particularly of the four gospels;[d] of Matthew,[e] Mark,[f] Luke, and[g] John.

2. He has in like manner quoted or referred to the following epistles of Paul; to the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and second to Timothy.

3. He quotes 1 Cor. ix. 24, after this manner; 'It is[h] the voice of the most blessed Paul, 'saying; "Know ye not that they which run in a race strive many, but one receiveth the 'prize? But do you so run that all may obtain."

4. I shall put down a passage of this Latin writer, which may be thought to contain a reference to Heb. xi. but I do not think it to be clear: however, it deserves to be taken notice of for the sake of the sense as well as for the seeming reference. 'If,' says[i] he, 'you are a good 'man, and believe in God, why are you unwilling to lay down your life for him, who you know 'has so often suffered for you; who has been sawn asunder in Isaiah, killed in Abel, offered up 'in Isaac, sold in Joseph, crucified in the flesh? I omit other things, which words cannot express 'nor the mind conceive.'

5. Finally, perhaps he refers to some passages of the Revelation in some words which I intend[k] to put in the margin as an example of this author's oratorical flights. See Rev. xiii. 8; vi. 11; vii. 13, 14.

V. The fourth piece, ascribed by some to Cyprian, is entitled, To, or[l] Against the heretic Novatian; or, Against the Novatian heretic; that hope of pardon ought not to be denied to those who have lapsed. In the late editions it is called a tract of an unknown author. Du Pin calls it a homily. Tillemont,[m] who allows that the style of this work is different from Cyprian's, and that therefore it is not his, thinks however that it might be written soon after the persecution of Decius, and then of Gallus, in the former part of the reign of Valerian, about the year 254 or 255. He refers to[n] two passages of this work, which compared together seem to render his opinion very probable. The[o] Benedictine, author of St. Cyprian's Life, agrees with Tillemont about the age of this piece. He says, it is certain the author was contemporary with Cyprian, and that it cannot be questioned but he lived near the beginning of the reign of Valerian, whilst the church had peace. He supposes him likewise to have been an African, and a bishop. Nevertheless, he does not allow this to be a work of Cyprian. And to the argument taken from the difference of the style he adds another, not insisted on by Tillemont.

[a] Basn. ut supra. [b] Nouv. Bibl. St. Cyprien.

[c] Vit. St. Cyprian. n. xxxv.

[d] Legis, scriptum esse, usque ad quadrantem nos ultimum reddere. [Matt. v. 26.] p. 11. b.

[e] Quæso repetas verba cælestia; nam et vox dicentis est Christi: Qui perdiderit animam suam pro nomine meo, recipiet in hoc seculo centuplum, et in futuro vitam æternam possidebit. [Marc. x. 30.] p. 12. b.

[f] Sicut scriptum est: Qui me confessus fuerit in terris coram hominibus, et ego confitebor eum coram patre meo, et coram angelis suis. [Luc. xii. 8.] p. 11. a.

[g] Sed quoniam ita Dominus suo ore testatus est, esse habitacula penes patrem multa. [Johan. xiv. 2.] p. 14. b.

[h] Vox est beatissimi Pauli, dicentis: Nescitis, quoniam qui in agone currunt, multi certant, unus autem accipit palmam? Vos autem sic currite, ut omnes coronemini, [comprehendatis, Baluz.] p. 15. a.

[i] Si justus es, et Deo credis, quid pro eo sanguinem fundere metuis, quem pro te toties passum esse cognoscis? In Esaiâ sectus, in Abel occisus, in Isaac immolatus, in Joseph venumdatus, in homine crucifixus est; et de cæteris quidem taceo, quæ nec oratio potest dicere, nec animus sustinere. p. 15. a.

[k] O beati, et quibus vere dimissa sunt peccata; si tamen qui Christi compares estis, aliquando peccâstis. O beati, quos a primordio mundi Domini sanguis infecit, et quos merito splendor iste nivei amictûs induerit, et candor stolæ ambientis ornârit! p. 15. b.

[l] Ad Novatianum hæreticum: Quod lapsis spes veniæ non est deneganda.

[m] See Mem. Ec. T. iv. Part i. St. Cyprien. Art. 41.

[n] Cataclysmus ergo ille, qui sub Noë factus est, figuram persecutionis quæ per totum orbem nunc nuper supereffusa ostendit. ... Duplex ergo illa emissio [columbæ] duplicem nobis persecutionis tentationem ostendit; prima in quâ qui lapsi sunt, victi ceciderunt: secunda in quâ hi qui ceciderunt, victores extiterunt. Nulli enim nostrum dubium vel incertum est, fratres dilectissimi, illos, qui primâ acie, id est, Deciana persecutione vulnerati fuerunt, hos postea, id est, secundo prœlio ita fortiter perseverasse, ut, contemnentes edicta secularium principum, [Galli et Volusiani] hoc invictum haberent: quod non metuerunt exemplo boni pastoris animam suam tradere, et sanguinem fundere, nec ullam insanientis tyranni sævitiam recusare. p. 17. b.

[o] Vit. St. Cyprian. n. xxxv.

1. This piece abounds with texts of scripture.

2. 'Whose[a] future ruin,' says he, 'the Lord represents in the gospel, saying; "And he who 'hears my words, and does them not, I will liken him unto a foolish man, who built his house 'upon the sand."'...Matth. vii. 26, 27. This gospel is quoted here in a like manner several times. I have not observed any thing taken from St. Mark.

3. 'Which[b] power the Lord gave to his disciples, as he says in the gospel; "Behold, I 'give unto you power to tread on all the power of the enemy, and upon serpents and scorpions, 'and they shall not hurt you:"' Luke x. 19. In this piece are many texts taken out of this gospel.

4. 'Whom[c] the Lord Christ reckons thieves and robbers, as he himself declares in the gospel 'saying; "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but gets down some other way, 'the same is a thief and a robber;" John x. 1.

5. In this piece are also passages of divers epistles of St. Paul, particularly the epistle to the Romans, first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians; which passages are cited expressly as the apostle's, meaning Paul, though the churches to whom those epistles were sent are not named.

6. 'The[d] scripture saying; "Vengeance belongeth to me: I will repay, saith the Lord." In the margin of the Oxford edition here is a reference put to Heb. x. 30. But the quotation might be taken from Deut. xxxii. 35; or Rom. xii. 19; and very probably was taken from one or other of those places.

7. 'Have[e] you not read, that "the Lord resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." Here too are placed in the same edition James iv. 6, and 1 Pet. v. 5. But the same thing is said also Prov. iii. 34. However, if the writer intended any text of the New Testament, he may be supposed rather to refer to the first epistle of Peter, which was more universally received than that of James, whose authority, it is certain, was not then fully established. Besides, as[f] St. Augustine observes, there is scarce a page of the holy scriptures which does not teach us that "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." There was no occasion therefore for that reference to the epistle of James. However, we have no good ground to say that this author rejected, or did not receive this epistle; for he may have owned it, though he has not quoted it in this work of his.

8. 'Have[g] you not read; "He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in dark-'ness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness has blinded his eyes?" 1 John ii. 11. In another place, 'Whom[h] John calls "antichrists;" referring probably to 1 John ii. 18. or 2 John 7.

9. 'As[i] it is written; "Behold he cometh with ten thousands of his angels, to execute judg-'ment upon all, and to destroy all ungodly men, and to convince all flesh of all the deeds of the 'ungodly, which they have ungodly committed, and of all the ungodly words which sinners have 'spoken of God:" Jude 14, 15.

19. The book of the Revelation is much quoted in this treatise. 'But[k] John speaks more 'plainly [than Daniel before quoted] both of the day of judgment, and of the end of the world, 'saying; "And when he had opened," says he, "the sixth seal, behold there was a great earth-'quake;"...Rev. vi. 12...17. Likewise in the same Revelation John says, this also was revealed 'unto him; "I saw," says he, "a great throne..." xx. 11, 12. Thus he has twice ascribed this

[a] Quorum Dominus ruinam in evangelio futuram his verbis significaverat, dicens: qui audit verba mea, et non facit ea, &c. p. 17. b.

[b] Quam potestatem tradidit Dominus discipulis suis, sicut in evangelio ait:... p. 17. b.

[c] Quos Dominus Christus fures et latrones designat, sicut ipse in evangelio declarat, dicens:... p. 16. b.

[d] Dicente scripturâ: Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam, dicit Dominus. p. 18. a.

[e] Non legisti: Quia Dominus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam? p. 19. b.

[f] ... ut apostolica illa sententia ubique tremenda sit, quæ ait, Quapropter qui videtur stare, videat ne cadat. Nulla enim fere pagina est sanctorum librorum, in quâ non sonet, quod Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. lib. iii. cap. 23.

[g] Non legisti: Quia qui odit fratrem, in tenebris est? &c. p. 19. b.

[h] Quos Joannes antichristos appellat. p. 16. b.

[i] Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis millibus nuntiorum suorum, facere judicium de omnibus, et perdere omnes impios, et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quæ fecerunt impie, et de omnibus verbis impiis, quæ de Deo locuti sunt peccatores. p. 20. b.

[k] Joannes autem et de die judicii et consummatione mundi declarat, dicens: Et cum aperuisset, inquit, sigillum sextum ... Item in eâdem Apocalypsi hoc quoque Joannes dicit sibi revelatum: Vidi, inquit, thronum magnum, et candidum sedentem super eum, &c. p. 21. a. b.

book to John. He has twice more cited it by the name of Apocalypse or Revelation. In the first of those places thus; 'Hear[a] in the Revelation the voice of the Lord justly reproving thee, ch. iii. 17. "Thou sayest," says he, "I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of 'nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and blind, and poor, and 'naked." The other passage is Rev. xvii. 15. In two other places of this treatise it is quoted after this manner; "And[b] since it is written, that the dogs shall remain without:" xxii. 15. Lastly, 'the[c] scripture proclaiming, and saying; "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and 'repent:"'... ii. 5. Thus he has quoted this book six times, beside a reference or two more, which I do not insist on: and he sufficiently shews that he esteemed it a book of authority; but he has no where called the writer apostle, or evangelist. However, it may be reckoned very probable that by John he means the apostle of that name; the same who wrote the gospel and the epistle which he has quoted.

11. The passages that have been already taken from this treatise evidently shew that the scriptures the writer quotes were esteemed by Christians the rule of their faith and practice. Nevertheless, I shall add one or two more, containing some forms of citation, and marks of respect for these books.

12. Having largely quoted some books of scripture, particularly St. Luke's gospel, he says; 'Let[d] us then, my beloved brethren, stir up ourselves as much as possible; and, breaking off 'the sleep of sloth and security, let us be watchful to observe the commands of the Lord: let 'us seek with all our heart what we have lost, that we may find; because "to him that seeketh," 'saith the scripture, "it shall be given, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened:" Matth. 'vii. 7. 8. Let us cleanse our house with a spiritual cleansing, that all the secret and hidden 'parts of our breast, being illuminated by the light of the gospel, may say, "Against thee only 'have I sinned:" Ps. li. 4.

13. We[e] read and adore, says he to the Novatians, and do not overlook the heavenly sen-'tence of the Lord, in which he says; "Him that denies him he also shall deny:" Matt. x. 33. 'Again; hear[f] therefore, ye Novatians, with whom the heavenly scriptures are rather read than 'understood: it is well if they are not interpolated.'

14. We have now taken so much from this writer, that it may be proper to sum up his testimony. He has cited texts of all the four gospels, except St. Mark's; and likewise the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians and the Philippians, the first epistle of St. John, the epistle of St. Jude, and the book of the Revelation. Though he has not quoted all the books of the New Testament, because, it is likely, he had not occasion so to do in this one treatise, yet it may be well supposed his canon differed very little from ours, if at all. And he has given many proofs, in a short compass, of his high respect for the books of the New Testament, and for the doctrine contained in them.

VI. In the late editions of St. Cyprian's works is a treatise[g] of some anonymous author, first published by Rigaltius, entitled, Of rebaptizing; or, Of the[h] baptism of heretics: that they ought not to be baptized again, who have been once baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. This writer is placed by Cave at the year 253. Of this book Du Pin speaks to this purpose: The[i] treatise of the baptism of heretics, published by Rigaltius, against the sentiment of St. Cyprian, is the work of an ancient author, who lived before the time of St. Augustine, and probably at the same time with St. Cyprian. Of this piece Fleury[k] expresseth himself in this manner: The opinion of St. Stephen, and the greatest part of the churches, was at that time defended by a certain author, whose treatise remains, but whose name we know not. He speaks[l] as being a

[a] Audi in Apocalypsi Dominicam vocem justis te objurgationibus increpantem.... p. 16. a. Sicut Apocalypsis docet, dicens; Aquæ, quas vidisti, populi sunt. [cap. xvii. 15.] p. 17. b.

[b] Et cum scriptum sit, Canes foris remansuros. p. 16. a.

[c] Clamante scripturâ, et dicente: Memento unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam. p. 19. b.

[d] Excitemus nos quantum possumus, fratres dilectissimi, et, abrupto inertiæ et securitatis somno, ad observanda Domini præcepta vigilemus. Quæramus totâ mente quod perdidimus, ut invenire possimus: Quia quærenti, ait scriptura, dabitur, et pulsanti aperietur. Mundemus domum nostram munditiâ spirituali, ut secreta quæque et abdita pectoris nostri, vero evangelii lumine radiata, dicant: Tibi soli deliqui... p. 20. b.

[e] Legimus et adoramus, nec prætermittimus cœlestem Domini sententiam, quâ ait negaturum se negantem. p. 19. a.

[f] Audite igitur, Novatiani, apud quos scripturæ cœlestes leguntur potius, quam intelliguntur, parum si non interpolentur. p. 16. b.

[g] Anonymi liber de Rebaptismate. Non debere denuo baptizari qui semel in nomine Domini [nostri] Jesu Christi sint tincti.

[h] De baptismo hæreticorum.

[i] Nouv. Bib. des Auteurs Ec. St. Cyprien. p. 173. Amst.

[k] Fleury's Eccl. Hist. Book vii. ch. 31, p. 438, English version.

[l] Et ideo cum salus nostra in baptismate Spiritûs, quod plerumque cum baptismate aquæ conjunctum, sit constituta,

bishop; and he, perhaps, was St. Stephen himself, or some one of his successors. The Benedictine [a] before quoted delivers his judgment as follows: That the author of this piece was a bishop: and that in the work itself are plain marks of his writing in the third century, and whilst the controversy about the baptism of heretics was on foot, and probably whilst Cyprian was still living. Cave not only admits the episcopal character of this author, and that he was contemporary with Cyprian, but is likewise [b] inclined to think him to have been of the same country.

1. This book is a good deal larger than any one of the four preceding pieces: it affords a very valuable testimony to the books of the New Testament.

2. St. Matthew's gospel is not expressly quoted in this book by name, though there are many references to it, and divers texts transcribed from it. The author says, that the disciples did justly believe our Lord to be the Christ, for several reasons he there mentions; and among others, because [c] his star was seen in the East, and he was diligently inquired of and worshipped by the wise men, and honoured by them with rich and splendid gifts and offerings: Matt. ii. 2...11.

3. And, not to take notice of any other places, he quotes also some of the last words of this gospel in this manner, 'Nor [d] imagine that to be contrary to this argument which the Lord 'said; "Go, teach the nations, baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of 'the Holy Ghost."

4. He expressly quotes St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels both together after this manner; 'In [e] the gospel according to Luke he says to his disciples: "I have another baptism to be 'baptized with." Likewise [in the gospel] according to Mark, he had said to the like purpose to 'the sons of Zebedee; "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I drink of, or to be baptized with 'the baptism that I am baptized with?" See Luke xii. 50; Mark x. 38.

This passage seems to afford a probable argument that, in the code, or collection, or volume, of the four gospels, St. Mark's gospel was placed before St. Luke's. This I suppose to be the meaning of that expression, quoting Mark after Luke; likewise he had said; or, he had said to the like purpose. But I do not mention this as a certain proof. He refers likewise to divers things in [f] the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel.

5. 'As [g] it is written in the gospel according to John, "They also baptized others:"' see ch. iv. 2.

6. He has largely cited the book of the Acts of the apostles, and argues from divers things related in it. He has quoted it at least five or six times expressly by that name: 'And [h] our 'Lord likewise confirming this same word of John, after his resurrection, in the Acts of the 'apostles, commanded them [the disciples], that they should not depart from Jerusalem, "but 'wait for that promise of the Father, which ye have heard of me: for John truly baptized with 'water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:"' Acts i. 3, 4.

7. This author has quoted or referred to several of St. Paul's epistles, particularly the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians, and first to the Thessalonians.

8. 'Because [i] that being baptized in the name of Christ, they "are redeemed with the most 'precious blood" of the Lord:' 1 Pet. i. 19.

9. 'As [k] also the evangelist John says; "Every one that loveth is born of God, and know-

siquidem per nos baptisma tradetur, integre et solenniter et per omnia quæ scripta sunt adsignetur, atque sine ullâ ullius rei separatione tradatur: aut si a minore clero per necessitatem traditum fuerit, eventum expectemus, ut aut suppleatur a nobis, aut a Domino supplendum reservetur. p. 26. b. ed. Ox. confer ibid. Rigaltii notas.

[a] Vit. S. Cyprian. sect. xxxv.

[b] Denique stylus, totaque scribendi ratio, Tertulliani' vel Cypriani ætatem, quin et gentem, satis aperte prodit. H. Lit. P. i. p. 93.

[c] ...quod in Oriente visa ejus stella solicitissime fuisset a magis requisitus et adoratus, et illustribus donis et insignibus muneribus honoratus. p. 25. b. Oxon.

[d] Nec æstimes huic tractatui contrarium esse quod Dominus dixit: Ite, docete gentes, tinguite eos nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti. ibid. p. 25. a.

[e] In evangelio secundum Lucam ad discipulos suos locutus est, dicens: Habeo aliud baptisma baptizari: Item secundum Marcum ad filios Zebedæi, eâdem ratione dixerat: Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibo, aut baptismate, quo ego baptizor, baptizari? p. 28. b.

[f] Vid. p. 25. b.

[g] Et, quod multo gravius est, sicut in evangelio *cata* Joannem scriptum est, etiam alios baptizabant. p. 26. b.

[h] Nam et Dominus, hanc eandem vocem Joannis post suam resurrectionem in Actis apostolorum confirmans, præcepit eis, ab Hierosolymis ne discedere, sed expectare illam promissionem Patris, quam audistis a me, quia Joannes quidem baptizavit aquâ, vos autem baptizabimini Spiritu Sancto non post multos hos dies. p. 22. b.

[i] Quia baptizati in nomine Christi redemti sunt pretiosissimo sanguine Domini. p. 20. a.

[k] Sicut et Joannes evangelista dicit: Et omnis qui diligit, ex Deo natus est, et cognoscit Deum, quia Deus dilectio est. p. 28. b.

eth God, for God is love" 1 John iv. 7, 8. The author therefore had no doubt but that this epistle was written by the same John who wrote the gospel.

10. 'For[a] John teaching us says in his epistle, (1 John v. 6, 7, 8.) "This is he that came by 'water and blood, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the 'Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness, 'the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one."'

11. 'I[b] think, likewise, that I have rightly represented the doctrine of the apostle John, who 'says; "For there are three that bear witness; the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and 'these three are one."'

12. These quotations shew that this bishop, contemporary with St. Cyprian, had not in his copies of St. John's epistle the disputed text concerning the witnesses in heaven: and they afford likewise a strong and cogent argument for the supposition, that neither had St. Cyprian that text in his copies.

13. There are some expressions made use of by this author, which may seem to imply that the books of the New Testament were divided into sections or chapters.

'And, therefore, says[c] he, we shall be obliged to bring together the several paragraphs '[literally short chapters] of the sacred scriptures, relating to this purpose.' Afterwards; 'Forasmuch[d] as it is manifestly declared by our Lord in that sentence, (Matt. x. 33) "Whoso-'ever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." But the phrases used in these places may denote no more than a text or passage, and do not certainly imply that the books themselves, whence they are taken, were divided into larger or smaller sections.

14. We are now, according to our usual method, to observe a few forms of citation, and some tokens of respect for the scriptures.

'Nor[e] shall I omit,' says the author, 'what the gospel deservedly relates; for our Lord 'said to the man sick of the palsy (Matt. ix. 2); "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven 'thee."' Again; 'This[f] we find mentioned in the gospel.' In another place; 'To[g] which 'things perhaps you will weakly answer, according to custom, that the Lord hath said in the 'gospel (John iii. 5;) "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the 'kingdom of God."' To which he replies by an observation upon[h] the New Testament, as he expressly calls it. Farther; 'As[i] the holy scripture declares, out of which we shall bring 'plain proofs of what we assert.' He means particularly the New Testament. 'The[k] holy 'scripture foretold, that they who should believe in Christ, should be baptized with the Spirit:' as John vii. 39; Matt. iii. 11; and in other places. 'As[l] the scripture saith; "Out of his 'belly flowed rivers of living water:"' John. vii. 38. He observes, that[m] the Jews received only the ancient scriptures. 'The scriptures of the New and the Old Testament,' he[n] says, 'clearly 'declare' what he there asserts. Again; of[o] this he 'has no advantage who has not the love 'of that God and Christ who is preached by the law and the prophets, and in the gospel.' 'Because that[p] both prophets and apostles have thus taught; for James says in the Acts of the

[a] Ait enim Joannes de Domino nostro in epistolâ suâ nos docens: Hic est, qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Jesus Christus. Non in aquâ tantum, sed in aquâ et sanguine. Et Spiritus est, qui testimonium perhibet, quia Spiritus est veritas. Quia tres testimonium perhibent, Spiritus et aqua et sanguis. Et isti tres in unum sunt. p. 29. a.

[b] Arbitror autem, et apostoli Joannes doctrinam nos non inepte disposuisse, qui ait: Quia tres testimonium perhibent, Spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et isti tres unum sunt. p. 30. b. 31. a.

[c] Et ideo quæcumque sanctarum scripturarum ad hanc partem pertinentia sunt capitula, necessario in unum congeremus. p. 22. b.

[d] Per hujusmodi clausulam quia manifestissime a Domino dictum est: quicumque me negaverit coram hominibus, negabo eum et ego coram patre meo, qui est in cœlis. p. 28. a.

[e] Sed nec illud omiserim, quod evangelium merito prædicat. Ait enim paralytico Dominus noster, &c. p. 30. b.

[f] Sicuti non solum Petrum hoc passum esse in evangelio deprehendimus. p. 25. a.

[g] Ad quæ fortasse tu continuo impatienter respondeas, ut soles, dixisse in evangelio Dominum: &c. p. 23. a.

[h] Sed in eodem Novo Testamento. p. 23. a.

[i] Sicut declarant nobis sanctæ scripturæ, quarum per singula quæque eorum quæ enarrabimus, adferemus perspicuas probationes. p. 23. a.

[k] Quoniam eos, qui in Christum crediturí essent, scriptura sancta prædixit oportere in spiritu baptizari. p. 23. B.

[l] Sicuti scriptura dicit: Flumina de ventre ejus currebant aquæ vivæ. p. 29. a.

[m] Sicuti nec super Judæos, qui veteres tantum scripturas recipiunt. p. 27. b.

[n] Quamquam scripturæ novi et veteris testamenti manifeste prædicant. p. 28. b.

[o] Quia hoc facto nihil proficit, qui non habet dilectionem ejus Dei et Christi, qui per legem et prophetas et in evangelio hoc modo prædicatur. p. 28. b.

[p] Quia et prophetæ et apostoli ita prædicârunt. Ait enim Jacobus in Actis apostolorum. p. 27. b.

'apostles:' Acts x. 14. Finally he complains of some who advanced things [a] contrary to the precept of the law and of all the scriptures.

Here are many marks of high respect for the books of the New Testament, which are equalled with, or reckoned superior to, those of the Old Testament; and together with them are esteemed the rule of Christian belief and practice. And the apostles are joined with the prophets.

15. There is still a remarkable passage to be transcribed concerning an apocryphal writing, which passage farther confirms the authority of the sacred scriptures of the New Testament.

He argues against some heretics who made use of fire, as well as water, in the administration of baptism. 'But,' says [b] he, 'the principal foundation, (not to mention any other) of this false 'and pernicious baptism, is a book forged by those same heretics for the sake of this very error, 'which is called the preaching of Paul. [Some think it should be Peter. It [c] might be called 'by both these names.] In which book, contrary to all the scriptures, you will find Christ, who 'alone never offended at all, both making confession of his own sin, and almost against his will 'compelled by his mother Mary to receive John's baptism: likewise, that when he was baptized 'fire was seen upon the water; which is not written in any gospel. And when a considerable 'time had passed, you will find also, that Peter and Paul, after they had had a conference together 'about the gospel at Jerusalem, and there had been some mutual difference between them, and 'an agreement had been entered into about the disposition of things for time to come; after all 'these things, I say, you will find them meeting in the city [meaning Rome] as if they had never 'known each other before. And some other things of this kind there are absurdly and shame-'fully forged: all which you may see heaped together in that book.'

16. There are in this treatise many quotations of words of the gospel of St. Matthew. The gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, are expressly quoted by name; as is also the book of the Acts of the apostles, very often; beside other places where passages are taken out of it; but he has not mentioned the name of the writer of that book. Here are likewise quotations, or references, to several epistles of St. Paul; but the epistles themselves, or the persons to whom they were sent, are not expressly named. It is likely that one main reason of this method of citing was, that those scriptures were so well known among Christians, that almost every one would know whence the passages were taken, without citing the epistles by name expressly. Words of the first epistle of St. Peter are adopted by him. The first epistle of St. John is quoted, and ascribed to John the apostle and evangelist: and we have observed several forms of citation, and also marks of the greatest respect for the scriptures, and the New Testament in particular. Finally, he mentions an apocryphal spurious book, on which he has made divers just criticisms, shewing it to be a forgery, and expressing the utmost indignation against it: but he affords no plain proofs that the books of the New Testament were then divided into any chapters or sections.

VII. There is yet another piece, called, [d] A Computation of Easter; of which I shall here give an account, it being placed, in the Oxford edition, in an appendix to St. Cyprian's works; and there being good reason to believe it was written about his time. Du Pin [e] and [f] Tillemont allow the antiquity of it; though they think the difference of style so manifest, as to shew plainly that it is not a work of Cyprian. Cave [g] says it is an ancient tract; and if not written by Cyprian, it is, however, the work of some contemporary. In the Oxford edition of St. Cyprian's works this piece is published as being probably genuine; and in his notes the learned editor delivers his judgment upon it to this purpose, in answer to Seneschal, who had denied it to be written by Cyprian: 'That [h] he will not be positive it is the work of that father; but, if it be 'falsely ascribed to him, yet it is not spurious, or supposititious, but manifestly ancient, and

[a] Contra præceptum legis et omnium scripturarum. p. 22. b.

[b] Est autem adulterini hujus, immo internecini baptismatis, si quis alius auctor, tum etiam quidam ab eisdem ipsis hæreticis propter hunc eumdem errorem confictus liber, qui inscribitur Pauli Prædicatio. In quo libro contra omnes scripturas, et de peccato proprio confitentem, qui solus omnino nihil deliquit, et ad accipiendum Joannis baptisma pene invitum a matre suâ esse compulsum. Item, cum baptizaretur, ignem super aquam esse visum, quod in evangelio nullo est scriptum; et post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem et mutuam altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in urbe quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos. Et quædam alia hujuscemodi absurde ac turpiter in illum librum invenies congesta. p. 30.

[c] Vid. Baluz. Notas ad h. l.

[d] De Pascha Computus.

[e] Nouv. Bibl. St. Cyprien.

[f] Mem. Ec. T. iv. St. Cyprien. art. 65.

[g] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 89.

[h] Ego me vadem non spondeo. Sed si pseudepigraphus sit, at spurius non est, et suppositicius; sed antiquum esse liquet; et Cypriani ætate scriptum, res ipsa docet. Not. p. 63.

'written about that time.' It is indeed, so far as I am able to judge, all over ancient, stating only the errors of the copies, which seem to be not a few.

There are in it divers marks of antiquity: the author [a] concludes his chronology at the fifth year of Gordian, and the consulship of Arrianus and Papus, which is the year of our Lord 243. It is likely, therefore, that [b] he wrote not much after that time. Pagi [c] thinks this book was published in that very year. Farther, the author says, 'that [d] Christ, having been baptized in 'the fifteenth year of Tiberius, was crucified in the sixteenth year of the same reign;' which opinion is ancient, and is more than once insisted on by him. I might add, that [e] the doxology at the conclusion of this work is ancient and unexceptionable.

If Pagi be in the right, that the fifth year of Gordian mentioned in this piece, is the year of its publication, this is an additional argument, beside the difference of style, that it is not Cyprian's; it being probable that he was not converted so soon.

1. Though I do not by any means suppose this to be a work of Cyprian, it deserves to be taken notice of on account of its antiquity. And it is valuable for the testimonies it contains to some facts, as well as the books of the New Testament, which I am now to observe.

2. This writer says, expressly, that [f] there are four gospels; or, as another copy has it, evangelists; and twelve apostles; and that the gospel is one divided into four parts.

3. He has not mentioned the names of the evangelists, but he has quoted words of the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. I shall transcribe a few passages, chiefly to shew the author's method of citing, and his respect for the scriptures in general.

4. 'These [g] are the days, of which the Lord says in the gospel; "And except those days 'were shortened there should be no flesh saved:"' Matt. xxiv. 22.

5. 'Of whom [h] Simeon, a just man, holding him in his hands, said to Mary, his mother; '"Behold this [child] is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which 'shall be spoken against:"' Luke ii. 28, 34.

6. 'And rightly [i] said our Lord and Master himself to the Jews; "If ye were Abraham's 'children, ye would do the works of Abraham:"' John viii. 39.

7. He has a remarkable quotation of the Acts in this manner; 'From [k] Joshua the son of 'Nun to Samuel the judge, and priest of God, according to the blessed apostle Paul, who was 'taught by the Spirit of God, were fulfilled four hundred and fifty years:' See Acts xiii. 20.

This seems to shew at once that the Acts was esteemed a book of the inspired scriptures, and that it was well known; otherwise, the author would have shewn more particularly where these words of the apostle Paul were to be found.

8. He [l] says, 'We are built upon the words of the apostles.' Perhaps he refers to Eph. ii. 20: but whether he does or not, this observation is worthy of our notice.

9. 'Which make,' says [m] he, 'according to the Revelation, "a thousand two hundred and 'sixty days;" in which days that antichrist will make a great destruction; and therefore no 'Christian will be able to offer sacrifice to God, because that most wicked one will begin to sit 'in the temple of God, and to say to the ignorant that he is God; whom our Lord and Saviour

[a] A quo tempore, id est, a passione, usque ad annum quintum Gordiani, Ariano et Papo consulibus, suppleti sunt anni ccxv. p. 70. b. [b] Vid. Not. ed. Ox. p. 70.

[c] Fellus V. C. in notis ad Computum de Pascha, cujus S. Cyprianum auctorem credit, quique perducitur usque ad annum quintum Gordiani, observat, Chronicorum Scriptores res perducere ad annum aliquem insigniorem etiam paulo præteritum; idque in eo opere videri factum, nimirum ad annum Gordiani Imp. ultimum. Verum auctor non ad ultimum Gordiani annum, sed ad ejus Quinquennalia respexit, quibus scriptores de more opera sua publicabant. Pagi Crit. in Bar. A. D. 243.

[d] Hi sunt apostoli, quorum sermonibus ædificati recognovimus Dominum nostrum anno sexto decimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris passum, cum esset ipse annorum xxxi. p. 69. b. . . . . quibus suppletis Dominus Jesus a nativitate suâ baptizatus est a Johanne anno quinto decimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris; cujus anno sexto decimo passus est, et resurrexit. p. 70. b.

[e] Ac propterea Deo Patri Omnipotenti, qui nos ad gratiam tantam vocavit, et divina sacramenta manifestavit, per Jesum Christum filium ejus Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum semper sine cessatione gratias agamus. p. 70. b.

[f] Et sic, per hanc multiformem trinitatem, et ipsæ duodecim horæ evangelium unum in quatuor partes divisum ostenderunt, et tres menses per quatuor tempora, id est, per quatuor evangelia, a Christo electos xii. apostolos nobis demonstraverunt. p. 69. b.

[g] Ipsi sunt dies, de quibus ait Dominus in evangelio, &c. p. 68. b. [h] P. 69. a. b.

[i] Et merito Dominus et Magister noster dicebat Judæis, &c. p. 67. a.

[k] . . . a Jesu filio Nave usque ad Samuelem judicem, et Dei sacerdotem, secundum Pauli B. apostoli sermonem, qui Spiritu Dei edoctus retulit eos implevisse annos CCCL. p. 67. a.

[l] See before note [d].

[m] —qui fiunt dies, secundum Apocalypsim, mille CCLX. in quibus diebus ille antichristus magnam faciet vastationem: et ideo tunc nemo Christianorum poterit Deo sacrificium offerre, quoniam ipse nequissimus incipiet in templo Dei sedere, et ignorantibus se Deum affirmare: quem oportet Jesum Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum spiritu oris sui interficere, et præsentiâ adventus suis evacuare. p. 68. a. b.

'Jesus will kill [or consume] "with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of 'his coming." Here is a quotation of Rev. xii. 6; and a reference to 2 Thes. ii. 4, 8.

10. I forbear to insist on any other allusions to the books of the New Testament or any expressions, that [a] may seem to intend the whole collection of them. He speaks of [b] the holy and divine scriptures in words, which may more directly relate to the Old Testament; but it cannot be questioned, that he had an equal respect for the New; which contains the words of our Saviour, and of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and his apostles.

CHAP. XLVI.

ST. CORNELIUS AND ST. LUCIUS, BISHOPS OF ROME.

I. *St. Cornelius.* II. *St. Lucius.*

I. 'CORNELIUS, [c] bishop of the city of Rome, to whom there are eight of Cyprian's letters [s] still extant, wrote an epistle to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, concerning the synod at Rome, in 'Italy, and Africa; and another concerning Novatus, and of those that had lapsed; a third con-'cerning the acts of the synod; a fourth to the same Fabius, which is very long, and contains 'the rise and condemnation of the Novatian heresy. Having been crowned with martyrdom for 'Christ, he was succeeded by Lucius.' So writes St. Jerom in his Catalogue, or book of Illustrious men.

Fabian, who sat in the see of Rome fourteen years, of whose ordination Eusebius [d] has given us a remarkable history, suffered martyrdom [e] in the month of January 250. After his death there was a vacancy for about the space of sixteen months, upon account of [f] the troubles they were in, during which time the clergy of Rome governed the church. In the beginning of June 251, the heat of the persecution being somewhat abated at Rome, even before the death of Decius, Cornelius was chosen bishop and successor of the above-named Fabian, with the general approbation [g] of the clergy and people of the church of Rome, and the concurrence [h] of sixteen bishops, then in the city, as St. Cyprian writes.

The election, however, was not unanimous. Some, both of the clergy and people of Rome, dissented: by whom Novatus was chosen bishop, who was ordained also by three Italian bishops.

Both Cornelius and Novatus sent abroad [i] letters and deputies to foreign bishops and churches, notifying their election and ordination: but Cornelius's letters and deputies met with, generally the most favourable reception: he therefore was approved of as rightful possessor of that see; and Novatus is esteemed the first antipope, and the first author of schism at Rome.

[a] ... in quibus oportet primo Enoch et Eliam venire, et per suam prophetiam magnæ multitudini evangelium, id est, Novum Testamentum confirmare. p. 68. a.

[b] Multo quidem non modico tempore anxii fuimus et æstuantes, non in sæcularibus, sed in sanctis et divinis scripturis, quærentes invenire, quisnam, &c. p. 63. a.

[c] Cornelius, Romanæ urbis episcopus, ad quem octo Cypriani exstant epistolæ, scripsit epistolam ad Fabium, Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopum, de synodo Romanâ, Italicâ, Africanâ; et aliam de Novatiano, et de his qui lapsi sunt; tertiam de gestis synodi; quartam ad eundem Fabium valde prolixam, et Novatianæ hæreseos causas et anathema continentem. Rexit ecclesiam annis duobus sub Gallo et Volusiano, cui ob Christum martyrio coronato successit Lucius. De V. I. cap. 66.

[d] H. E. L. vi. cap. 29.

[e] Vid. Pagi Crit. 250. n. vii.

[f] —quibus, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultates constitutus. Cleri Roman. Epist. ap. Cyprian. Ep. 30, [al. 31] p 58. Oxon.

[g] Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tum affuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio; cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus—vacaret. Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 104.—qui episcopo Cornelio in catholicâ ecclesiâ de Dei judicio et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, profanum altare erigere,—tentaverit. Id. Ep. 68. Pam. 67, p. 177.

[h] Et factus est episcopus a plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Roma erant, qui ad nos literas honorificas, et laudabiles, et testimonio suæ prædicationis illustres de ejus ordinatione miserunt. Cypr. Ep. 55 [Pam. 52], p. 104. Episcopo in ecclesiâ a sedecim coëpiscopis facto. Ibid. p. 112.

[i] Vid. Cypr. Ep. 44. init. et Ep. 45, [42] p. 87. Oxon.

In [a] October 251, Cornelius convened a numerous council at Rome, consisting [b] of sixty bishops, and a much larger number of presbyters and deacons, who all confirmed his election, and condemned Novatus, and the rigid doctrine he now went into concerning the lapsed. Cornelius likewise took the sentiments of other bishops in Italy, who could not be present at the council held at Rome; which is, probably, what [c] Jerom means by the Italian synod. And the same things having been resolved in a council at Carthage, we have at length the three synods mentioned by Jerom, and the sense [d] Eusebius, whom Jerom copied.

There is little certainly known of Cornelius's life, before he was advanced to this bishopric; except that [e] Cyprian says he had passed through all the lower offices in the church, and behaved well therein.

St. Jerom in his Catalogue, as we have seen already, says that Cornelius was crowned with martyrdom. He speaks to the like purpose [f] elsewhere. St. Cyprian [g] likewise calls Cornelius a martyr: but, though Jerom seems to say that Cornelius died at Rome, it is at present the general [h] opinion that he died at Circumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia, whither he had been banished by Gallus. Jerom having said of Cyprian, that [i] he died on the same day of the month, though not in the same year, with Cornelius, it is concluded that Cornelius died on the 14th of September 252.

Jerom says that Cornelius governed the church two years, under Gallus and Volusian. But those two years must not be reckoned complete; for the most learned critics and chronologers compute that [k] his episcopate was not above one year, three months, and ten days; part under Decius, and part under Gallus: and yet Eusebius gives him [l] about three years. However, he may be supposed to allow him all the space of time from the death of Fabian, including the vacancy of the see. But Du Pin [m] is greatly mistaken in saying that he died near the end of the year 253, having been bishop two years and some months.

Cornelius has a place in Jerom's Catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, who mentions four of his letters sent to Fabius; though it is [n] supposed now, by some learned men, that Eusebius [o] speaks of but three epistles of Cornelius to that bishop of Antioch. However, it cannot be questioned but Cornelius wrote other letters beside those mentioned by Jerom. Eusebius [p] speaks of a letter of his to Dionysius of Alexandria. He likewise wrote several letters [q] to Cyprian, two of which [r] we still have. And Trithemius expressly says, that [s] Cornelius wrote many letters to Cyprian bishop of Carthage, and other letters to others. The eight letters of Cyprian to Cornelius, mentioned by Jerom, still remain.

I shall by and by make use of the long letter to Fabius, mentioned by Jerom, there being considerable fragments of it preserved by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

There are not many texts of scripture quoted in the two remaining letters of Cornelius to Cyprian, or the just-mentioned fragments: but it may be well taken for granted, that he received the same books with Cyprian and other Christians of that age.

I take no notice of the pieces which, without ground, have been ascribed by some to this bishop of Rome. Such as desire farther information of these may consult [t] Basnage, [u] Tillemont, and others.

II. Cornelius, as St. Jerom says, was succeeded by Lucius. Herein he agrees with [x] Euse-

[a] Vid. Pagi Crit. 251. n. xxvi. Basn. 251. n. viii.

[b] Vid. Euseb. l. vi. cap. 43. p. 242. A.

[c] Vid. Pagi ibid. et Tillemont, St. Corneille. Art. 8. p. 33, 34. Tom. iii. P. iii.

[d] Euseb. l. vi. cap. 43. p. 242. B. Conf. eund. p. 245. D.

[e] Nam quod ad Cornelium—non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. Cypr. Ep. 55, [al. 52.] p. 103.

[f] Sub Decio et Valeriano persecutoribus, quo tempore Cornelius Romæ, Cyprianus Carthagine, felici cruore martyrium pertulerunt.——De Vit. Paul. Erem. T. iv. P. ii. Edit. Bened.

[g] Unde illic repentina persecutio nuper exorta sit, unde contra ecclesiam Christi et episcopum Cornelium beatum martyrem, vosque omnes secularis potestas subito proruperit. Cypr. Ep. 61, [al. 58.] p. 144. Si vero apud Cornelium fuit, qui Fabiano episcopo legitimâ ordinatione successit, et quem, præter sacerdotii honorem, martyrio quoque Dominus glorificavit. Id. Ep. 69, [al. 70.] p. 181.

[h] Tillemont, St. Corneille. Art. 16. Pearson. Annal. Cypr. 252. n. xii. xiii. Pagi 252. n. xii. xiii. Basn 252, n. x.

[i] Passus est—eodem die quo Romæ Cornelius, sed non eodem anno. D. V. I. cap. 67.

[k] Vid. Pearson. An. Cypr. 251, n. vi. Pagi 251, n. xix. Tillem. ut supra, Art. 16, p. 70, et note 14.

[l] H. E. l. vii. cap. 2.

[m] Nouv. Bibl. T. i. p. 180. Amsterd.

[n] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 252, n. xi.

[o] H. E. L. vi. cap. 43, p. 242. B. C. D.

[p] —και Κορνηλιῳ τῳ καθ' Ῥωμην γραφει, δεξαμενος αυθις την κατα τε Νοβατε επιστολην. H. E. l. vi. cap. 46, p. 247. D.

[q] Vid. Basnag. ibid.

[r] Apud Cyprian. Ep. 49, 50. [juxta Pamelium.] 46, 48.

[s] Ad Cyprianum Carthaginensem episcopum plures scripsit epistolas, et alias ad alios. Trithem. de Script. Ec. cap. 40.

[t] Ann. 252, n. xii.

[u] Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. iii. Saint Corneille, Art. 17, p. 71, et Note xv.

[x] Lib. vii. cap. 2.

bius, who adds, that Lucius did not sit out full eight months. At present, the day of his ordination and the duration of his episcopate are reckoned [a] uncertain. However, bishop Pearson thought it probable that [b] Lucius was ordained on the 25th of September, and sat five whole months and ten days, dying on the fourth of March 253. Basnage [c] differs very little from him. Lucius was banished from Rome under Gallus; but he soon [d] returned. Of his speedy release there is no reason known, beside the divine goodness. We have a letter of St. Cyprian to Lucius, wherein he congratulates him [e] upon his return from his exile, as he says he had done before upon his ordination and confession. In another letter, written afterwards to Pope Stephen, Cyprian [f] calls Lucius a martyr; but that word is not here to be understood strictly; for, properly speaking, Lucius was only a confessor.

We know of no writings of Lucius [g] but such as are ascribed to him without ground.

CHAP. XLVII.

NOVATUS, OTHERWISE CALLED NOVATIAN.

I. *His history.* II. *His and his followers' peculiar opinions.* III. *The time of his taking up his particular sentiment.* IV. *History of his followers.* V. *His works.* VI. *His character.* VII. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.* VIII. *Scriptures received by the Novatians, his followers.*

St. Jerom's chapter of [h] Novatus, next following that of Dionysius of Alexandria, being short, I shall transcribe it here entire: 'Novatus, [i] presbyter of the city of Rome, having endeavoured 'to invade the episcopal chair in opposition to Cornelius, formed the sect of the Novatians, 'whom the Greeks call pure; not allowing apostates to be received, though they repent. The 'first author of this rigid principle was Novatus, Cyprian's presbyter. His works are such as 'these; Of Easter, Of the Sabbath, Of circumsion, Of the [k] high-priest, Of prayer, Of Jewish 'meats, [another [l] piece, the title of which I do not understand,] Concerning Attalus; and 'many others; and, Of the Trinity, a large volume, being a kind of epitome of a work of Ter-'tullian. Many by mistake consider this as a work of Cyprian.'

There is another authentic account of Novatus in the fragments of the before-mentioned long letter of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, which we have preserved in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. As it is the usual method of this work to take the history of writers, as often as we can, from contemporaries, it is fit we should hear Cornelius.

In this letter, written after the council of Rome, where Novatus and his principles had been condemned, near the end of the year 251, or at the beginning of 252, Cornelius informs Fabius, that several of those, who had sided with Novatus, had now deserted him. 'Maximus,' says [m]

[a] Pagi Crit. 252, n. 14——17.

[b] Annal. Cyprian. 252. n. 15.

[c] Ann. 252. n. 13. [d] Pearson. ib. n. 18.

[e] Et nuper quidem tibi, frater carissime, gratulati sumus, cum te honore geminato in ecclesiæ suæ administratione confessorem pariter et sacerdotem constituit divina dignatio. Sed et nunc non minus tibi et comitibus tuis atque universæ fraternitati gratulamur, quod cum eâdem gloriâ et laudibus vestris reduces vos denuo ad suos fecerit benigna Domini et larga protectio. Cypr. Ep. 61, [al. 58,] init.

[f] Servandus est enim antecessorum nostrorum beatorum martyrum Cornelii et Lucii honor gloriosus.——Illi enim pleni Spiritu Dei et in glorioso martyrio constituti dandam esse lapsis pacem censuerunt. Ep. 68. [al. 67.] p. 179.

[g] Vid. Basnag. ibid. n. xiv.

[h] Of Novatus.] He is now generally called Novatian: but I hope to shew at the end of this chapter, that his true name is Novatus.

[i] Novatianus Romanæ urbis presbyter, adversus Cornelium cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere, Novatianorum, quod Græce dicitur καθαρων [al. καθαρον] dogma constituit, nolens apostatas suscipere pœnitentes. Hujus auctor Novatus, Cypriani presbyter, fuit. Scripsit autem de Pascha, de Sabbato, de Circumcisione, de Sacerdote, de Oratione, de Cibis Judaïcis, de instantiâ, de Attalo, multaque alia, et de Trinitate grande volumen, quasi επιδομην operis Tertulliani faciens; quod plerique nescientes. Cypriani existimant. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 70.

[k] Of the high-priest.] In the Latin, de Sacerdote. But whether my translation be right, I cannot say. Du Pin translates, du Souverain Pontife; Tillemont, sur le Pontife.

[l] Another piece, the title of which I do not understand.] In the Latin of Jerom, de Instantia: in the Greek version of Sophronius, περι των ενεστωτων: by Du Pin translated, de la Fermeté; by Tillemont, sur l'Instance.

[m] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 43, p. 242. D.

he, 'a presbyter among us, and Urbanus, who have acquired great honour by the confessions 'they have made of our religion; and Sidonius, and Celerinus, a man who, through the divine 'mercy, has patiently endured all kinds of torments, and by the strength of his faith, surmount-'ing the weakness of his body, completely vanquished the enemy; all these, he [a] says, having 'detected Novatus's subtilty, his lies, perjuries, unsociable and wolfish disposition, were returned 'to the holy church, giving proofs of all these things in the presence of divers bishops and pres-'byters, and a great number of the laity; lamenting and confessing their fault, that, being 'seduced, they had for a time withdrawn themselves from the church.' And soon after, as Eusebius says, Cornelius adds; 'This [b] wonderful man, this zealous defender of church disci-'pline in all its strictness, when he had determined to seize the episcopate, which was not 'assigned him by heaven, chose out two of his associates, men of an abandoned character: these 'he sent into an obscure corner of Italy, to fetch thence three bishops, simple and illiterate men, 'whom they persuaded to believe that, a difference having arisen at Rome, they ought by all 'means to hasten thither to assist as mediators, together with other bishops, in composing it. 'When they were come to Rome, they being, as I said, persons of little experience, and unac-'quainted with the arts and subtilties of designing men, he shut them up in a private apartment 'with some of his confidants; and when he had made them eat and drink to excess, at four of 'the clock in the afternoon [c] he compelled them to ordain him bishop, by a vain and ineffectual 'imposition of their hands. Not long after one of those bishops came to the church, with tears 'lamenting and confessing his fault; whom we received to communion as a layman, at the 'earnest entreaties of the people. Having deposed the other two, we appointed successors in 'their room, whom we have sent to take possession of their sees. Such disturbances and divi-'sions has this zealous defender of the gospel caused in a church where he knows there are 'forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, and as many sub-deacons; forty-two acolyths, exorcists, 'readers, and porters, fifty-two; and above fifteen hundred widows and other indigent persons; 'who are all maintained by the grace and bounty of the Lord. But no respect for all these, nor 'for the vast multitude of the people of this large and flourishing church, could restrain him from 'so desperate an attempt.' Then, says Eusebius, after some other things intervening, he proceeds; 'And what was the grounds of these aspiring thoughts? upon what worthy deeds of his did he 'build his hopes of a bishopric? was it, that [d] he had been always and from the beginning of the 'church; or had sustained many combats in its defence; or had been in many dangers for the 'sake of religion? No: the [e] first occasion of his faith was a dangerous distemper; and, when 'all hopes of life were gone, he received baptism by the pouring on of water as he lay in his bed, 'if that may be called baptism. Moreover, afterwards, through fear and fondness of life, in 'the time of persecution he disowned his being a presbyter. For being desired by the deacons 'to come out of his chamber, where he had shut himself up, and to comfort and encourage the 'brethren as became a presbyter to do, he was so far from complying with their entreaties, 'that he put them off with scorn, saying he would be no longer a presbyter, and that he was for 'another sort of philosophy.' And to pass over some other things, says Eusebius, he observes; 'Thus [f] behaved this person, who had been made presbyter by the special favour of the bishop 'of that time, when all the clergy and most of the people opposed it; forasmuch as it was not 'a regular thing, to admit a man into the number of the clergy, who had only been besprinkled 'as he was in his bed under a distemper.' Cornelius says likewise, in this letter, that [g] Novatus had obliged his followers to take an oath upon the eucharist, that they would never forsake him, to go over to his adversary. Nevertheless, Cornelius soon after adds; 'He [h] is now left almost alone, 'the brethren deserting him daily, and returning to the church. Whom also Moses, a blessed 'martyr, who among us lately suffered a glorious martyrdom, perceiving the confidence and pre-'sumption of the man, separated from his communion, together with five presbyters, who with 'him had schismatically forsaken the church.' To conclude; Eusebius [i] says, that at the end of this epistle Cornelius expressly mentions the names of the bishops who had met in council at Rome, and there condemned Novatus, and the names of the churches they governed; as also

[a] Ibid. p. 243. A. [b] Ibid. C. D. et p. 244. [c] Αλλ' εκ εστιν· ὡ γε αφορμη τε πιστευσαι γεγονεν,——κ. λ. ib. C. [d] Ὡρα δεκατη. ib p. 243. D. [e] P. 245. A. [f] P. 245. B. [g] Αρα γε δια τὸ εξ αρχης εν τῃ εκκλησια ανεστραφθαι; ib p. 244. B. [h] Ib. C. [i] Ib. D.

the names of those bishops who could not be present at Rome, but by letters had signified their concurrence in the same resolutions, and the names of the cities to which they belonged.

We have now seen the account which Cornelius gives of Novatus; and if there were remaining any letter of Novatus relating to Cornelius and his election, it is very likely we should not be unwilling to produce it. However, having put down these histories from Jerom and Cornelius, I shall endeavour to take in a few other particulars, and make some remarks.

Philostorgius [a] says that Novatus was a Phrygian; but Photius, who relates this from him, adds, that he does not know whence he learned it. Valesius [b] indeed is inclined to give credit to Philostorgius; but I think that [c] Mr. Jackson has shewn it to be very improbable: nor does there appear to be any other ground for that supposition, but that the sect of the Novatians was numerous in Phrygia.

It is probable, from the account which Cornelius gives of Novatus's sickness and baptism, that he was not born of Christian parents. It is generally thought that he was at first a stoic philosopher. So [d] says Cave. And Mr. Jackson [e] thinks this agreed on all hands. But I do not know of any ancient writers who call Novatus a stoic, though his philosophy and eloquence be often mentioned by [f] them. Tillemont was aware of this, and says, 'that [g] the ancients have 'not expressly said what was the philosophy which he professed: but we know that it was the 'stoic philosophy which taught that rigour, and that parity of sins, which Cyprian reproaches 'Novatus with.' And [h] Du Pin is so cautious, as to say no more than that Novatus had been a philosopher before he was a Christian. After the same manner speaks [i] Frederic Spanheim.

Novatus was presbyter of the church of Rome; that is out of question. But Cornelius does not inform us of the name of the bishop by whom he was ordained: it is however very probable that it was Fabian, or one of his near predecessors.

St. Jerom says that Novatus, Cyprian's presbyter, was the first author of the sect which Novatus formed. St. Cyprian who gives a very bad character of his presbyter, confirms [k] that account; making him the principal cause of all the disturbances that happened at Rome: and [l] Pacian who was well acquainted with St. Cyprian's letters, writes to the same purpose. But the Greek writers take no notice of this: nor is there any mention of that African Novatus in the fragments of Cornelius's letter to Fabius, which I have largely transcribed.

Cornelius says, that in the time of the persecution Novatus refused to comfort the brethren, though desired by the deacons; and that he even disclaimed the character of a presbyter, and in effect renounced the Christian religion; saying that he was for another kind of philosophy. But it may be suspected that here is some mistake, or some misrepresentation. It is manifest, that during a large part of the Decian persecution, and for some good while after the martyrdom of Fabian, Novatus maintained his rank, and was in great repute with his brethren the clergy of Rome. For the letter sent to Cyprian in the name of the Roman clergy, and allowed [m] by all to have been drawn up by Novatus, was not written till about [n] the end of August 250: and the anonymous author of the tract against Novatus, joined with St. Cyprian's works, says, 'that [o]

[a] Philost. H. E. L. viii. cap. 15.

[b] Vales. Not. ad Socrat. H. E. L. iv. c. 28. p. 57.

[c] Vid. Jackson. Præf. p. viii.

[d] Novatianus, ex stoïco philosopho Christianus. Cav. Hist. Lit.

[e] Consentiunt autem omnes, ex stoïco philosopho Christiani nomen induisse Romæ. Jackson. ibid.

[f] Jactet se licet, et philosophiam vel eloquentiam suam superbis vocibus prædicet. Cypr. Ep. 55, [al. 52.] p. 112. Quid ad hæc Novatianus?——in perniciem fratrum linguâ suâ perstrepens, et facundiæ venenatæ jacula contorquens; magis durus secularis philosophiæ pravitate, quam philosophiæ dominicæ lenitate pacificus, &c. Id. Ep. 60, [Pam. 57.] p. 142. Ignosco tamen, frater, si quid et tu de tuo auctore præsumis, et Novatiani philosophiam, per quam ille naufragium religionis incurrit, cum Hesiodi auctoritate conjungis. Pacian. ad Sympson. Ep. 2. p. 308. C. ap. Bibl. Patr. T. iv. Ita tuus iste philosophus, sapientiam suam quærens statuere, &c. Id. Ibid. G.

[g] Tillemont, Saint Corneille, Art. iv. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. p. 15.

[h] Bib. des Aut. Ecc. Novatien.

[i] Novatianus, ex philosopho et clinico factus Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyter, &c. Fr. Span. Hist. Ec. Sec. iii. p. 781.

[k] Idem est Novatus, qui apud nos primum discordiæ et schismatis incendium seminavit;—qui in ipsâ persecutione ad evertendas fratrum mentes alia quædam persecutio nostris fuit. Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine suâ debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat, illic episcopum fecit. Cypr. Ep. 52, [al. 49.] p. 97.

[l] Ep. 3. p. 310. E. F. ap. Bibl. PP. T. iv.

[m] Nam in epistolâ suâ ita posuerunt.—Additum est etiam, Novatiano tunc scribente, et quod scripserat suâ voce recitante, et presbytero Möyse, tunc adhuc confessore, nunc jam martyre, subscribente; ut lapsis infirmis, et in exitu constitutis, pax daretur. Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatæ sunt. Cypr. ad Antonian. Ep. 55, [al. 52.] p. 102. Vid. etiam. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. D.

[n] Mense Augusto exeunte clerus Romanus scribit ad Cyprianum literas, &c. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. A. 250. n. xvi. Conf. Pagi Crit. 250. n. xii.

[o] Unde igitur et tam sceleratus, et tam perditus, tam discordiæ furore vesanus, extiterit iste Novatianus, invenire non possum; qui semper in domo unâ, id est, Christi ecclesiâ, proximorum delicta ut propria fleverit, onera fratrum; sicut

'Novatus, so long as he was in the church, bewailed the faults of other men as his own, bore 'the burthens of the brethren, as the apostle directs, and by his exhortations strengthened such as 'were weak in the faith.' Possibly some retirement of Novatus is the foundation of this charge. But every flight or retreat, in time of persecution, is not really blameable; though such things rarely escape censure. There were other good and eminent men about that time who did the same; Cyprian in particular, who yet afterwards had a glorious martyrdom. And Novatus's treatise of Jewish meats was [a] actually written in some retired place: and, as it is a letter, it appears farther from it, that he was upon good terms with those to whom he writes, and that he had written to them more than once, to comfort them, since his retreat; where also he had received divers affectionate letters from them, asking his council and assistance. Mr. Jackson [b] supposeth that this letter, or treatise, was sent by Novatus from the place of his retreat under the Decian persecution near the end of the year 250, to the people of the church of Rome, from whom he was then necessarily absent. If this could be relied upon, it might entirely wipe off the blot which Cornelius has cast upon Novatus: for then it might be reckoned that this retreat is the thing to which Cornelius refers, but gives it a wrong turn; whilst from that letter it appears not to have given offence to any body at that time. But [c] some think that Novatus there writes in the character of a bishop. Then this piece must be supposed to have been written after his ordination, and separation from the church, to those Christians that adhered to him, and stood firm in the persecution they endured, even when he was obliged to be absent from them. If this should be thought most probable, it shews, however, the good temper of Novatus at that time, his concern for the people under his care, his diligence in his charge, and the mutual affection between him and his people; and that both he and they were odious to heathens as well as to catholics: whereas Cyprian [d] intimates, that though Cornelius when bishop was persecuted, the Novatians lived at ease; which might be the case then, and yet at some other time the Novatians might have their full share in the troubles brought upon Christians. Cyprian himself was not insensible of this, though [e] he denies they could gain any honour by it; which I shall not dispute with him at present. But whenever this letter was written, whether before or after his episcopal ordination, it does honour to Novatus. It is not the letter of a man who deserted his charge, or apostatized from the gospel, though he had retired. To all which I would add from Mr. Jackson, who scruples not to call this story of Cornelius [f] a calumny, that [g] Cyprian takes no notice of this fault among all his reproaches of Novatus.

Another thing to be observed of Cornelius's letter is, that it affords unexceptionable evidence of Novatus having been ordained bishop by the hands of three bishops.

Cornelius gives a sad account of the ordination of Novatus, and of the persons and methods by which it was procured: but it ought to be remembered that, in some of the passages above transcribed, he owns that Novatus had with him for a while five presbyters and several confessors; some of whom were of great eminence, and had gained much honour by their confessions. Cornelius, in a letter to Cyprian, giving an account of the return of some of them to the church

apostolus hortatur, sustinuerit, lubricos in fide cœlesti allocutione corroboraverit. Anon. ad Novat. Hæret. p. 19. m. Oxon.

[a] Etsi mihi, fratres sanctissimi, exoptatissimus dies ille,—quo literas vestras et scripta suscipio (quid enim me aliud nunc faciat liberiorem?) tamen non minus egregium diem et inter eximios arbitror computandum, quo similes vobis affectus debitæ caritatis remittens, et ego ad vos compari voto literas scribo. Nihil enim me, fratres sanctissimi, tantis constrictum vinculis tenet,—quam ne jacturam vobis quamdam per absentiam meam putetis illatam, cui remedium connitor dare, dum elaboro vobis me præsentem frequentibus literis exhibere. Quamquam ergo et officium debitum et cura suscepta et ipsa ministerii imposita persona hanc a me literarum scribendarum exposcunt necessitatem.—Quam vero sint perversi Judæi et ab intellectu suæ legis alieni, duabus epistolis superioribus, ut arbitror, plene ostendi. De Cib. Jud. cap. 1. p. 255—258. Ed. Jackson. [b] Præfat. p. xi.

[c] Il le qualifie du nom de lettre, aussi bien que les deux autres dont nous venons de parler; et il l'addresse, Au peuple qui demeure ferme dans l'évangile. [Plebi in evangelio perstanti.] Il y parle en Evêque, et dit, que ceux à qui il écrit, et dont la charge lui avoit été commise, gardoient l'évangile dans toute sa pureté, sans melange d'aucune doctrine fausse ou corrompue, et qu' ils l'enseignoient de la même manière aux autres avec courage et avec force. Par où nous avons lieu de juger que c'étoit depuis son schisme. Il étoit alors absent de son peuple prétendu. Tillemont, Les Novatiens. Art. 3. p. 87, 88.

[d] Quid ad hæc Novatianus?——Agnoscitne jam, qui sit sacerdos Dei? quæ sit ecclesia et domus Christi? Qui sint Dei servi, quos diabolus infestet? Qui sint Christiani, quos antichristus impugnet? Neque enim quærit illos, quos jam subegit; aut gestit evertere, quos jam suos fecit. Inimicus et hostis ecclesiæ, quos alienavit ab ecclesiâ et foras duxit, ut captivos et vinctos contemnit et præterit. Cypr. ad Cornel. Ep. 60. [57] p. 142.

[e] Quamquam, etsi aliquis ex talibus fuerit apprehensus, non est quod sibi quasi in confessione nominis blandiatur; cum constet, si occisi ejusmodi extra ecclesiam fuerint, fidei coronam non esse, sed pœnam potius esse perfidiæ. Ibid. p. 143. init. [f] Præf. p. xi.

[g] Cujusmodi criminis Cyprianus inter omnia opprobria contra illum exaggerata, Ep. 57, non incusavit. Ib. p. xii.

writes, that [a] they owned they had concurred in the ordination of Novatus. From Pacian [b] it may be argued, that Novatus was ordained upon their particular recommendation: and St. Cyprian, in the letter he wrote to the same confessors, to congratulate them upon their return to the church, reminds them [c] 'of the great grief they had given him when they approved of the 'schism and heresy of Novatus: so that it seemed,' he says, 'as if they had left all their glory 'behind them in the prison.' Since then so large a part of the church of Rome, some of them men of eminence, and, in all other matters, of unblemished virtue, approved of the ordination of Novatus; and at last came over to Cornelius, as may be supposed, chiefly for peace sake, and in deference to the sentiments of the majority of their brethren; it may be questioned whether that affair was altogether so scandalous as Cornelius has represented it; and it may be justly suspected that he useth strong and aggravating expressions. Besides, Novatus and his people made grievous complaints, and cast foul reflections upon Cornelius; as [d] appears from one of Cornelius's own letters to Cyprian, and from divers of [e] Cyprian's letters still remaining. Though therefore every thing said by Novatus and his party might not be true, yet it is not impossible but Cornelius himself may have taken some steps which could not be fully justified. So much I think we may be allowed to say in behalf of Novatus, a man, whose faults stand in full light, recorded in the writings of his enemies; not without some aggravations and false colourings, as it seems; whilst we have not remaining one line of his in defence of himself, or against his adversaries.

What became of Novatus, after the contest about the bishoprick of Rome, is not certainly known. Socrates [f] however says expressly, that he suffered martyrdom in the persecution raised by the emperor Valerian. From Pacian, bishop of Barcelona about the year 370, we know that the Novatians gloried in the founder of their sect as a martyr. Sympronian, against whom Pacian writes, affirmed, that Cyprian had made mention of Novatus as a martyr, and having died before him: but [g] Pacian denies the truth of this, and says, that if Novatus did suffer somewhat from heathens, yet he was not put to death. Eulogius, archbishop of Alexandria near the end of the sixth century, another writer against the Novatians, speaks of a book [h] they had among them, called the Martyrdom of Novatus. But he treats it as a forgery, and shews it was false and fabulous. According to his account it was [i] a trifling thing, a little book of a few pages. It may be questioned then whether there be sufficient evidence remaining to satisfy us that Novatus died a martyr: though it may be reckoned probable from the common opinion of his followers, and from the forecited passage of the treatise concerning Jewish meats, written in a place of retreat or banishment, that he was a confessor. Nor does Pacian deny this, but seems to grant as much.

II. Novatus is generally reckoned a schismatic and a heretic. Cordelius, in his letters to

[a] —— tantummodo circumductos commisisse se quoque schismatica, et hæresis auctores fuisse, ut paterentur ei manus, quasi in episcopum, imponi. Cornelius ap. Cyprian. Ep. 49, [46] p. 92.

[b] Invenit [Novatus Carthaginensis] aliquos ex eorum numero, qui tempestatem persecutionis illius evaserant; apud quos hanc ipsam de lapsis receptis Cornelio conflaret invidiam. Dat eorum epistolas ad Novatianum. Ille ex auctoritate epistolarum, sedente jam Romæ episcopo, adversum fas sacerdotii singularis, alterius episcopi sibi nomen assumit. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. F.

[c] Dolebam vehementer, et graviter angebar.——Posteaquam vos de carcere prodeuntes schismaticus et hæreticus error excepit, sic res erat, quasi vestra gloria in carcere remansisset. Illic enim resedisse vestri nominis dignitas videbatur, quando milites Christi non ad ecclesiam de carcere redirent, in quem prius cum ecclesiæ laude et gratulatione venissent. Cypr. Ep. 54, [Pam. 51] p. 99.

[d] Qui [confessores] cum venissent, et a presbyteris quæ gesserant exigerentur, novissime quod per omnes ecclesias literæ calumniis et maledictis plenæ, eorum nomine frequentes missæ fuissent, et pene omnes ecclesias perturbâssent; circumventos se esse affirmaverunt, nec, quid in literis inesset, scisse. Cornel. ap. Cypr. Ep. 49, [al. 46] p 92.

[e] —— quando, literis ab utrâque parte susceptis, tuas literas legimus, et episcopatûs tui ordinationem singulorum auribus intimavimus. Honoris etiam communis memores, et gravitatis sacerdotalis ac sanctitatis respectum tenentes, ea quæ ex diverso in librum ad nos transmissum congesta fuerant acerbationibus criminosis respuimus, considerantes pariter et ponderantes quod in tanto fratrum numero, religiosoque conventu,—nec legi debeant, nec audiri. Neque enim facile promenda sunt, et incaute ac temere publicanda, quæ discordioso stylo scripta audientibus scandalum moveant, et fratres longe positos ac trans mare constitutos incertâ opinione confundant. Cypr. Ep. 45, [al. 42] p. 87. Quod autem quædam de illo in honesta et maligna jactantur, nolo mireris.—— Explorâsse autem collegas nostros scias, et verissime comperisse, nullâ illum libelli, ut quidam jactant, labe maculatum esse; sed neque cum episcopis qui sacrificaverunt communicationem sacrilegam miscuisse.—Sed et quod passim communicare sacrificatis Cornelium tibi nuntiatum est, hoc etiam de apostatarum fictis rumoribus nascitur. Cyprian. ad Antonian. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 105, 106.

[f] Socrat. H. E. L. iv. cap. 28. p. 246. B.

[g] Nam quod, ante passum Novatianum putas, et Cyprianum dixisse subjungis: Præcessit me adversarius meus; vide, quam manifeste respondeam. Novatianus nunquam martyrium tulit, nec ex verbis beatissimi Cypriani auditum istud, aut lectum est.—Porro, etiamsi passus est aliquid Novatianus, non tamen etiam occisus, non tamen coronatus. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 308. G. H.

[h] Eulog. Contr. Novat. Libr. vi. ap. Phot. Cod. 208. p. 530. et Cod. 280. p. 1621.

[i] κακοπλαστον τε και αδιαστολον γραμματιδιον. Ib. p. 1621. m.

Cyprian, gives him[a] both these hard names: and Cyprian likewise speaks[b] in the same manner. What was his schism we have seen; what was his heresy is not quite so clear. St. Jerom, before cited, says Novatus was against receiving apostates, though they repented. And undoubtedly that was his opinion, but perhaps not the whole of it; for, as this dispute had its rise upon occasion of the great numbers of persons who had lapsed some way or other in the Decian persecution, Novatus seems to have extended his severe doctrine to all such; not only apostates, or those who had actually sacrificed, but to others also, who had been guilty of any slip or omission at that time.

Eusebius says that[c] Novatus excluded those from all hopes of salvation who had lapsed in time of persecution, though they gave signs of a sincere conversation and repentance: but Socrates says, his[d] opinion was, that they who had sacrificed in the persecution should not be received to communion: they should be exhorted to repent; but their pardon should be referred to God, who is able and has a right to forgive sins. And this is the principle of the Novatians; which[e] Cyprian ridicules and exposes, and Ambrose[f] condemns, and shews[g] to be extremely absurd and unreasonable.

This, most probably, is the true account: and perhaps Eusebius, and[h] some others, who speak much after the same manner with him, ought to be so understood likewise, though they seem to express themselves differently; for Ambrose too charges them[i] with denying salvation to men. The meaning of those writers I suppose to be this, that the Novatians by their hard-hearted doctrine, and even letting them die out of the communion of the church, discouraged men's[k] repentance, and consequently obstructed their pardon and[l] salvation. Novatus then forbade the receiving to the communion of the church such as had fallen in time of persecution, whilst other Christians were for receiving them after tokens of repentance, suitable to the kind and degree of the offence; some after a shorter, others not till after a longer, time of humiliation and penance; all however who desired it in[m] the near approach of death. In this way of conceiving of this matter we are confirmed by the accounts Eusebius has left us of the epistles of Dionysius of Alexandria to several, upon the doctrine of repentance, and the various degrees or kinds of offences.

But though the controversy upon this head was occasioned by the falls of some under persecution, it is not unlikely that Novatus himself, or his followers afterwards, carried this rigour and severity to other sins, sometimes called mortal, and reckoned more heinous than others; such as adultery, fornication, and the like; withholding the communion of the church from all who were surprised into any of these. So say[n] Pacian, and[o] Socrates, and the[p] author of the Questions

[a] Ut scias quales duces et protectores iste schismaticus et hæreticus lateri suo semper junctos habeat. Cornel. ap. Cyprian. Ep. 50, [al. 48] p. 94. Vid. et ep. 49. p. 92.

[b] Posteaquam vos de carcere prodeuntes schismaticus et hæreticus error excepit. Cypr. Ep. 54. p. 99. Vid. supra not.[c] p. 213.

[c] —ὡς μηκετ' ἐσης αὐτοις σωτηριας ἐλπιδος, μη δ' ει παντα τα εις ἐπιστροφην γνησιαν και καθαραν ἐξομολογησιν ἐπιτελοιεν. Eus. L. vi. cap. 43. init.

[d] μη δεχεσθαι τας ἐπιτεθυκοτας εις τα μυστηρια· ἀλλα προτρεπειν μεν αὐτης εις μετανοιαν, την δε συγχωρησιν ἐπιτρεπειν Θεω, τω δυναμενω και ἐξουσιαν ἐχοντι συγχωρειν ἁμαρτηματα. Socr. L. iv. cap. 28. p. 245. B.

[e] Atque o frustrandæ fraternitatis irrisio! o miserorum lamentantium caduca deceptio!——hortari ad satisfactionis pœnitentiam, et subtrahere de satisfactione medicinam; dicere fratribus nostris, Plange, et lacrymas funde, et diebus et noctibus ingemisce,—sed extra ecclesiam post omnia ista morieris; quæcumque ad pacem pertinent, facies; sed nullam pacem, quam quæris, accipies. Cypr. Ep. 55, [Pam. 52] p. 114. in.

[f] Quid autem durius, quam ut indicant pœnitentiam, quam non relaxent; cum utique, veniam negando, incentivum auferant pœnitentiæ? Ambr. de Pœn. l. i. cap. 1. n. iv. p. 390. Bened.

[g] Frustra enim dicitis, vos prædicare pœnitentiam, qui tollitis fructum pœnitentiæ. Homines enim ad aliquod studium aut præmiis aut fructibus incitantur. Id. ib. cap. 16. p. 413. Conf. cap. 11. p. 404.

[h] — adimendo spem salutis, denegando misericordiam patris, respuendo pœnitentiam fratris. Anonym. ad Novatian. Hæret. apud Cyprian p. 16. a. Oxon. Et tu jam, Novatiane, judicas, et nullam spem pacis ac misericordiæ habere lapsos prædicas. Id. p. 19. infr. m.

[i] Sed quid mirum, si salutem negatis aliis, qui vestram recusatis? Ambr. ib. l. ii. c. 4, [al. 5.] p. 422.

[k] Hinc ergo apparet, Novatianum cum dolo dicere agendam pœnitentiam. Ut quid enim pœniteret, si delictum aboleri negatur? Ex Vet. et Nov. Test. Qu. cii. ap. August. T. iii. in App.

[l] En, qui salutis viam fratribus inexorabili religione præcludat! Pacian. Ep. 2. p. 309. A.

[m] Ut lapsis infirmis et in exitu constitutis pax daretur. ap. Cypr. Ep. 55, [al. 52.] p. 102.

[n] Tractatus omnis Novatianorum, quem ad me confertis undique propositionibus destinâsti, Symproniane frater, hoc continet: quod post baptismum pœnitere non liceat: quod mortale peccatum ecclesia donare non possit; imo quod ipsa pereat recipiendo peccantes. Pacian. Ep. 3. init.

[o] Εν Καισαρεια της Καππαδοκιας τες μετα το βαπτισμα ἡμαρτηκοτας ἐξωθεσι της κοινωνιας, ὡς οἱ Ναυατιανοι. Socrat. L. v. c. 22. p. 288. B.

[p] Novatianus, majora, inquit, crimina nominatim remitti prohibentur, id est, idololatria et fornicatio post lavacrum. Qu. cii. August. T. iii.

out of the Old and New Testament, and [a] St. Ambrose, that the Novatians did not allow the church a right to pardon mortal sins, or greater sins, committed after baptism. And St. Ambrose will have it that [b] Novatus was more rigid than his followers, refusing pardon to all sins, small as well as great. Theodoret therefore says, that [c] among the Novatians repentance is not to be mentioned: and Cyprian in [d] very strong terms calls Novatus not only a deserter of the church, but an enemy of mercy, a murderer of repentance, a teacher of pride, a corrupter of truth, and a destroyer of charity.

This then was the heresy of Novatus; the principle by which he and his people were distinguished from other Christians: for which they arrogated to themselves (as [e] Eusebius, and [f] Augustine, and [g] Ambrose, and [h] other writers intimate), or received from their adversaries, by way of derision, the denomination of pure, or puritans.

Nor does it appear that Novatus went into any other error of moment; for Cyprian is not unwilling to allow that [i] he agreed with catholic Christians upon the doctrine of the Trinity. Sozomen, the ecclesiastical historian, says this [k] was the only innovation made by the founder of the Novatian sect, not to receive penitents to communion: and he adds, that [l] they celebrated Easter at the same time with the Romans. Nevertheless, afterwards there arose a dispute among them upon this point, which divided the sect; as is related by [m] Socrates and [n] Sozomen.

I took notice just now, that Cyprian was not unwilling to allow that Novatus thought rightly about the Trinity; but whether he was really orthodox, or held the Nicene faith, is another question, and a point not so easily decided. From [o] Jerom and [p] Rufinus we learn, that the people of the Macedonian sect at Constantinople were fond of the book which Novatus wrote upon the Trinity, supposing it favourable to their notion about the Spirit. And among the moderns Frederic Spanheim says, that [q] though Novatus maintained a trinity of persons in one Godhead, against Sabellius, and asserted Christ's divinity, yet he speaks in a most dangerous manner of the Spirit, as less than Christ, and a creature. Tillemont [r] says, that, in the 22d and 24th chapters of his book upon the Trinity, he teaches the Son to be less than the Father, and the Spirit to be less than the Son; and that there are in him other things tending to Arianism. Du Pin [s] and [t] bishop Bull are better satisfied with the treatise upon the Trinity. But enough of that matter.

The Novatians are said by several ancient writers to have condemned second marriages as unlawful and sinful, insomuch that they would not receive those to communion who married a second time. So [u] Epiphanius, and [w] Augustine in his book of Heresies: and in another work, entitled, Of the advantage of widowhood, if it be his, he [x] joins them with the Cataphrygians, as agreeing with them in this respect: and Rufinus [y] upon the Creed says roundly, that Novatus, meaning I suppose his sect, forbade second marriages absolutely, and in all cases. Theodoret says

[a] Sed aiunt se, exceptis gravioribus criminibus, relaxare veniam levioribus. Non hoc quidem auctor vestri erroris Novatianus, qui nemini pœnitentiam dandam putavit. Ambr. de Pœnit. l. iii. c. 3. p. 393. B.

[b] Ita nec Novatianus probatur, qui veniam interclusit omnibus. Ambros. ib. vid. et not. [l].

[c] Και παντελως τον της μετανοιας των οικειων συλλογων εξοριζεσι λογον. Theod. H. F. l. iii. cap. 5.

[d] —desertor ecclesiæ, misericordiæ hostis, interfector pœnitentiæ, doctor superbiæ, veritatis corruptor, perditor caritatis. Cypr. ad Corn. Ep. 60, [al. 57.] p. 142.

[e] Καθαρες ἑαυτες αποφηναντων. l. vi. cap. 43. init.

[f] Cathari, qui seipsos isto nomine quasi propter munditiam superbissime atque odiosissime nominant. Augustin. Hær. 38.

[g] Ut sunt doctores Novatianorum, qui mundos se appellant. Ambr. ib. l. [illegible] cap. 1. p. 390.

[h] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1620. v. 50.

[i] Quod vero eumdem quem et nos Deum Patrem, eumdem Filium, eumdem Spiritum Sanctum, nôsse dicuntur, nec hoc adjuvare tales potest. Ep. 69, [al. 76.] p. 183.

[k] Ναυατος μεν γαρ, ὁς αρχηγος εγενετο της αἱρεσεως, τες μεταμελεμενες επι τοις ἁμαρτημασιν εις κοινωνιαν ε προσιετο, και τετο μονον εκαινοτομει. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 24. p. 670. A.

[l] Ibid. [m] Socr. l. v. cap. 21. p. 282.

[n] Sóz. l. vi. cap. 24. l. vii. cap. 18.

[o] Transit ad inclytum martyrem Cyprianum, et dicit, Tertulliani librum, cui titulus est de Trinitate, sub nomine ejus Constantinopoli a Macedonianæ partis hæreticis lectitari. In quo crimine mentitur duo. Nam nec Tertulliani liber est, nec Cypriani dicitur, sed Novatiani, cujus et inscribitur titulo: et auctoris eloquium styli proprietas demonstrat. Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. 2. p. 415. T. iv. Bened.

[p] Vid. Ruf. de adult. Libr. Orig. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 253.

[q] Ac quamquam in unâ deitate personarum Trinitatem distinguit, contra Sabellium, adstruatque Christi divinitatem; tamen de Sp. S. ut minore Christo, et creaturâ, locutus admodum periculose est. Spanh. Hist. Ec. Sec. iii. p. 782.

[r] See Tillemont. Les Novatiens, art. 3.

[s] Du Pin. Bibl. des Aut. Eccl.

[t] Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. x.

[u] Οὑτοι δε ε βελονται διγαμοις επικοινωνειν· ει γαρ τις μετα το βαπτισμα συναφθειη γυναικι δευτερα, παρα τετοις εκ εισδεχθησεται ετι. Epiph. Hær. 59. n. iii. p. 495.

[w] Secundas nuptias non admittunt. Hær. 38.

[x] Aug. de Bono. Vid. cap. 4. T. vi. Bened.

[y] Et quod Novatus solicitavit, lapsis pœnitentiam denegando, et secundas nuptias, cum forte iniri eas necessitas exegerit, condemnando. Rufin. in Symb. Ap. cap. 39. p. 226. ap. Cyprian. Op. edit. Baluz. p. 27. Oxon. ap. Hieron. Oper. p. 142. f. T. v. Benedict.

this [a] was an additional doctrine of the Novatians. Socrates [b] asserts, that the Novatian[illegible] all of one mind upon this head: the Novatians in Phrygia, he says, condemned second [illegible] they of Constantinople had no positive rule concerning this matter; but the Novati[illegible] West received bigamists to communion without scruple. This is likely to be the tr[illegible] had this rigid sentiment, but not all; for it being not a doctrine of Novatus himself, [illegible] afterwards, as Theodoret assures us, all the sect was not agreed in this point. How[illegible] we see another sin, beside apostacy, that excluded men from communion; for the [illegible] that condemned second marriages, esteemed such as married a second time after bap[illegible] unworthy of that privilege.

And perhaps it may be allowed not to be an improbable conjecture, that this princip[illegible] rowed from the Montanists, and therefore prevailed most among the Novatians of Phrygi[illegible] possibly, some few in other places also approved of the same rigid doctrine. Pacian expressly says, that [c] the Novatians made great use of Tertullian; meaning, I suppose, those works of his which were written after he had imbibed the Cataphrygian doctrine. Pacian says likewise, that [d] when Sympronian first wrote to him he did not well know what to think of him; whether he ought to take him for a follower of Montanus, or of Novatus.

It is scarce needful to observe, that they baptized afresh all who came over to them from other sects; because it seems to be a necessary consequence of their refusing communion with other Christians, as not sufficiently pure. This was the doctrine of Novatus himself, as Cyprian allows [e] plainly. He says that herein Novatus aped the catholic church.

I shall add here but one thing more. Eulogius [f] says that the Novatians at Alexandria did not pay due reverence to the martyrs, nor [g] allow that there was any virtue in their reliques. He does not say that this was the common opinion of the Novatians; but it seems to me, that their rigid principles would generally lead them to deny those who suffered in the catholic church to be true martyrs. Nay, [h] the catholics would not allow the Novatians to have any martyrs: how then could the Novatians suppose there were martyrs among their adversaries? especially [i] since they thought the church quite corrupted, ruined and destroyed, by receiving great sinners upon repentance, and communicating with them. They might likewise think themselves obliged to ape the catholics in this, as well as in some other matters: and, besides, the allowing this would be giving an advantage [k] to some arguments brought by the catholics against their relentless unforgiving doctrine; which would be in effect yielding up their cause, and the main ground of dissention and separation.

This is said, supposing Eulogius by martyrs to mean martyrs in the catholic church, since the separation of the Novatians. If he means all martyrs in general, and such as were allowed that character by the Novatians themselves, as having suffered in communion with them, or in the pure times of the church, before the rise of this controversy; then it will be thought by some, that what Eulogius complains of may be esteemed rather a proof of the judgment and good sense of the Novatians, that they had not that excessive veneration for martyrs, which was then become fashionable among Christians.

III. When Novatus embraced the rigid principle above described, is disputed. Some think it was taken up only as acceptable to some people, and as a method of throwing hatred upon Cornelius, who had obtained the see of Rome, and was for allowing the peace of the church to

[a] Οἱ δε τȣτȣ διαδοχοι και ἑτερα τῳ δογματι προςεθεικασι· τȣς γαρ δευτεροις γαμοις ὡμιληκοτας των ἱερων εξελαυνȣσι μυςηριων. Hær. Fab. l. iii. c. v. p. 229. D.

[b] Socr. l. v. cap. 22. p. 288. B. C.

[c] Tertullianus post hæresim suam: (nam multa inde sumpsistis.) Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 314. E.

[d] Cum primum scripseras, Cataphrygem putabam. Id. ib. p. 308. A.

[e] Nec nos movet, frater carissime, quod in literis tuis complexus es, Novatienses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis solicitant:——Nam Novatianus, simiarum more, quæ, cum homines non sint, homines tamen imitantur, vult ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritatem sibi et veritatem vindicare, quando ipse in ecclesiâ non sit.——Sciens etenim unum esse baptisma, hoc unum sibi vindicat, ut apud se esse ecclesiam dicat, et nos hæreticos faciat. Cyprian. ad Jubaian. Ep. 73. p. 198.

[f] —φησι και τȣς εν Αλεξανδρειᾳ Ναυατιανȣς κατα των μαρτυρων τȣ Χριςȣ κενολογȣντας. Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1617. fin.

[g] Ib. p. 1620. in.

[h] See before, p. 46. Note [e].

[i] Nulline apud nos confessores, martyres nulli, nulli immaculati atque integri sacerdotes, quos catenæ, quos ignes, quos gladii probaverunt? Fuere, inquies; sed negatores recipiendo perierunt.—Interim cui persuadere poteris, quod, lapsis receptis, ecclesia tota conciderit? quod, admissis pœnitentibus, admittentium populus negator effectus sit? Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 309. G.

[k] Plurimos comperimus se denuo reformâsse post lapsum, et pro nomine Dei passos. Num possumus his martyrum consortia negare, quibus Dominus Jesus non negavit? Audemus igitur dicere, non esse his vitam redditam, quibus Christus coronam reddidit? Ambr. de Pœn. l. i. cap. 9. [al. 10] p. 401. Et Conf. Anonym. adversus Novatian. ap. Cypr. p. 17. fin. p. 18. init. Oxon.

uch as had fallen in time of persecution, and gave proofs of repentance. So [a] Pacian seems to ay. And [b] Tillemont argues, that Novatus did not make any schism in the church till after he election of Cornelius. But Pearson [c] and [d] some others have thought the schism commenced t the very beginning of 251: which is argued from some words of Cornelius in the letter ormerly abridged by us; where he says that [e] Moses the martyr, who [f] is supposed to have ied early in the year 251, had withdrawn himself from Novatus, and five other presbyters. The earned Benedictine, who writes the life of St. Cyprian, takes [g] a middle way, as he says, between hese two sentiments: he thinks the schism did not break out till after the election of Cornelius, ut that, for some good while before, the foundation of it was laid, and divers steps taken; which I apprehend must be granted: what Cornelius says of Moses seems a good proof of it. Another rgument of this may be, that the ordination of Novatus very speedily followed that of Cornelius, o that the deputies from Novatus arrived in Africa about the same time with those from Cornelius, as appears from [h] St. Cyprian, and is allowed by Tillemont.[i]

Whenever Novatus first approved the rigid maxims upon which his sect was formed, it is ow the [k] common opinion of learned moderns that Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, under Cyprian, was the first author of these measures; agreeably to the passages of Jerom, Cyprian, nd Pacian, which we took notice of some while ago.[l]

In January 251, say [m] Pearson and [n] Pagi, Novatus came from Africa to Rome, and there lrew Novatus, presbyter of that city, into his measures; or as they express it, separated him rom the church. Moses, who before was intimate with Novatus, hereupon shews his dislike of im, and of five other presbyters, of the same sentiments and measures. Moses dies soon after. When the persecution abated, the disturbance broke out, upon account of the election of a ishop at Rome.

But here, in my opinion, arises a very considerable difficulty. Moses is supposed to have lied at Rome in January, or February, 251, and before his death to have shewn a dislike of Novatus, and five other presbyters of Rome, on account of measures they had been led into by Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, lately arrived there. But [o] Tillemont shews it to be very probable that Novatus, Cyprian's presbyter, was yet in Africa in February, if not also in March, the same year. And I own it seems to me most probable that he must have been at Carthage in the month of March: how then is it possible that he should have misled those presbyters at Rome before the death of Moses?

I beg leave therefore to mention a thought, to be considered and examined by the curious: it seems to me that too much regard is paid to what Cyprian writes of his presbyter Novatus, as if he had been the chief author of all the disturbances at Rome. For the Greek writers, who ppear to be well acquainted with the Novatian sect, say nothing of this African Novatus; nor does Cornelius in the fragments of his letter to Fabian of Antioch, preserved in Eusebius, take any notice of him. Indeed Cornelius, in a [p] letter to Cyprian, mentions this person among other

[a] Audite, quæso, et totum ordinem vestri erroris advertite. Cornelius, jam Romæ episcopus a sexdecim episcopis factus, locum cathedræ vacantis acceperat.—Tum forte quidam presbyter Novatus ex Africâ—Romam venit.—Nec multo post, Novatianum istum episcopatu Cornelii anxium, (nam sibi speraverat) cum aliquantis, ut in tali re solet, ex suâ parte fautoribus nutantem impellit, dubitantem fovet, ut magnum aliquid speret, hortatur. Invenit aliquos ex eorum numero qui tempestatem persecutionis illius evaserant; apud quos, hanc ipsam de lapsis receptis Cornelio conflaret invidiam. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. E. F.

[b] See Tillem. Mem. Ecc. T. iii. St. Corneille art. 3. et note iii. [c] Vid. Pearson. Ann. Cyprian. 251. num. i.

[d] Vales. Annot. in Eus. l. vi. c. 43. p. 137. a.

[e] Euseb. l. vi. c. 43. p. 245. C. D.

[f] Vid. Pearson. ib. et Pagi Crit. 251. n. xiv.

[g] Sic mediam inter utrosque viam inibo, ut ex utrâque sententiâ aliquid assumam, aliquid etiam refellam. Etsi enim schisma ante Cornelii ordinationem erupisse non credam, videtur tamen multo ante occultis molitionibus informatam et præparatam. Vit. St. Cypr. ap. Cypr. Bened. p. 84. vid. etiam p. 85, 86. [h] Vid. Cypr. Ep. 44, [al. 41.] Ep. 45, [al. 42.]

[i] Il paroit assez, que ces deux lettres furent apportées en même temps. Et c'est ce qui nous oblige de dire, que la faction de Novatien avoit commencé à se former avant l'élection de S. Corneille, et qu' elle éclata aussitôt que l'on parla de l'élire. Tillem. St. Corneille art. 7. p. 26.

[k] Et l'élection de Corneille——fût néanmoins troublée aussitôt par un schisme tres dangereux, dont Novat fût l'auteur, et Novatien l'exécuteur et le ministre. Tillemont. Saint Corneille, art. 3. p. 10.

[l] See before, p. 43—45. [m] Ann. Cypr. 251. n. i.

[n] Sub initio itaque Januarii Novatus, relicto in Africâ Felicissimo, Romam venit, et separavit ab ecclesiâ Novatianum. Quare Novatianum, antea sibi maxime familiarem, Möyses presbyter et confessor illustris, adhuc superstes, sed paulo ante mortem, a communione suâ separavit, ut habet Cornelius epistolâ ad Fabium Antiochensem episcopum, apud Eusebium. lib. vi. cap. 43. Möyses autem paulo post moritur in carcere, hoc ipso mense exeunte. Pagi Crit. 251. n. xiv.

[o] See Tillem. Mem. Ec. Corneille Art. 3. note iii.

[p] Puto Nicostratum, et Novatum, et Euaristum, et Primum, Et Dionysium illo jam pervenisse. Invigiletur ergo, &c. Corn. ad Cyprian. ap. Cypr Ep. 50, [al. 48.]

legates in the second deputation sent by his rival from Rome to Africa; but he does n[illegible] any thing particularly to his charge: and he there[a] actually calls another person author of t[illegible]sm. It is apparent, from Cyprian's answer to that letter, that[b] Cornelius had never sen[illegible] any account of the conduct of the African Novatus. But Cyprian, upon the bare menti[illegible] name of his presbyter, being full of resentment, goes into a kind of declamation; an[illegible] what that Novatus had done at Carthage, he tells Cornelius a story of what he suppos[illegible] done at Rome: and he seems to think he knew this better than Cornelius himself; at [illegible] time, what he says appears to have no other foundation but suspicion and conjecture.

I would therefore dispose things at Rome about this time in the following order: M[illegible] in January, or the beginning of February, 251: before his death he observed caba[illegible] interest-making for the chair of Rome; which occasioned his shewing a dislike of Nov[illegible] five other presbyters of that city. Perhaps likewise some schemes were now proposed relating to the treatment of the lapsed, which he did not approve of. After his death, and before the election of Cornelius, which happened in June 251, Novatus of Carthage came to Rome, and joined the party of the Roman presbyter of that name: and I suppose he continued to favour that interest; and he may be allowed to have fomented the dissensions at Rome. But, so far as I can perceive, there is no ground for thinking the African Novatus the first author of the Novatian rigid principle, and the Novatian sect, but the conjectural story of Cyprian, and the authority of those few other writers, who have taken things upon trust from him, without any nice inquiry or examination.

As for the exact time when our Novatus took up his rigid scheme of church discipline; whether before or after the ordination of Cornelius, and the particular occasion of it, and whether it was the result of his own serious thoughts, or whether he was led into it by views of private interest, or by the management of some designing and artful adviser; these are matters very much in the dark. I know of no remaining evidence sufficient to afford satisfaction in these points; nor do I see how they can ever be fully cleared up, unless some more of our author's own writings, or of his followers, should be brought to light, which we have no reason to expect.

IV. When Novatus was ordained he and his people were not idle or inactive, but supported his election to the utmost of their power. His deputies, as was observed before, arrived at Carthage about the same time with those from Cornelius. It is now[c] the general opinion of learned men, that Cornelius was ordained on the 4th day of June 251; and those learned men suppose that the deputies of Novatus might come to Carthage with an account of his ordination likewise in the month of July the same year. There[d] matters were held in suspense for a while, till they should receive a clearer account of Cornelius's election.

Novatus sent abroad letters and deputies to many other churches, as is apparent from the epistles of[e] Cornelius and[f] Cyprian, authentic witnesses in this case. And though the churches were generally restored to peace and tranquillity in the space of a few years, as[g] appears from what Dionysius of Alexandria writes in a letter to pope Stephen, it is nevertheless certain that they had been greatly disturbed by this affair. The many epistles or treatises, written by the same Dionysius upon this occasion, are a proof that many relished the rigid doctrine of this sect. Fabius, bishop of Antioch, in particular, had been their friend and favourer. Marcian, bishop of Arles, was firm in the same principle and cause in the time of pope[h] Stephen: nor is it known that[i] he ever deserted them.

Besides, for keeping up their interest, there were new bishops ordained, and set over those who anywhere separated from the catholic church upon the ground of this principle. Of this

[a] Euaristum vero auctorem schismatis fuisse, &c. Ib.

[b] Nam de Novato nihil inde ad nos fuerat nuntiandum, cum magis per nos vobis debeat Novatus ostendi, rerum novarum semper cupidus, &c. Cyprian. Ep. 52, [al. 49] p. 96.

[c] Vid. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. 251, n. vi. vii. viii. ix. Pagi Crit. 251, n. xix. et seqq. Tillem. S. Corneille Art. ii.

[d] Sed cum statuissemus collegæ complures, qui in unum convenieramus, ut legatis ad vos coëpiscopis nostris Caldonio et Fortunato missis, omnia integra suspenderentur, donec ad nos iidem collegæ nostri, rebus illic aut ad pacem redactis, aut pro veritate compertis, redirent. Cypr. ad Corn. Ep. 48 [al. 45] p. 90, 91, Conf. Ep. 44 [al 41]. p. 85.

[e] —novissime, quod per omnes ecclesias literæ, calumniis et maledictis plenæ, eorum nomine frequentes missæ fuissent, et pene omnes ecclesias perturbâssent. Cornel. ap. Cypr. Ep. 49, [al. 46,] p. 22.

[f] —et per plurimas civitates novos apostolos suos mittat.— Cypr. Ep. 55, p. 112.

[g] Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 4. et Pagi Crit. 256, n. xiv. xv.

[h] Vid. Cypr. Ep. 68, [al. 67.]

[i] See Tillem. St. Cyprien. Art. 39.

also there is authentic evidence from [a] Cyprian himself. There [b] seems to have been a new bishop, by name Maximus, appointed for the Novatian party at Carthage, Cyprian's own diocese.

Though therefore Novatus and his principles had been condemned and rejected by most Christian bishops, and by the majority of the clergy and people of their several churches, at the time of Dionysius's writing the forementioned letter to Stephen, Novatus still continued to have a numerous party in many places, separated from the catholic church. However, we find no farther mention made of them in the third century, though that has been distinguished by Cave with the name and title of the Novatian age.

One of the canons [c] of the council of Nice, in 325, relates to them. Socrates [d] says, 'that Con-'stantine, solicitous for peace, and desirous to secure the concord and harmony of the churches, 'invited Acesius, bishop of the Novatian sect, to come to that council. When the creed had 'been composed and subscribed by the synod, the emperor asked Acesius, whether he also 'assented to that creed, and to the determination concerning the feast of Easter? He answered 'the emperor, that there was nothing new in what the synod had determined; for it was the 'same that had been delivered to him as from the beginning, and from the times of the apostles; 'both with regard to the form of faith, and the time of keeping Easter. Whereupon the 'emperor inquiring, What then was the occasion of his separation from the communion of the 'church? he related what had happened under Decius in the time of the persecution, and gave 'him an account of the strictness of their severe rule of discipline; which was, that they who 'after baptism committed any such sin, as the divine scriptures call mortal, should not be 'admitted to a participation of the divine mysteries; they should be exhorted to repentance, but 'pardon ought not to be expected from the priests, but from God, who is able and has authority 'to forgive sins. When Acesius had said this, the emperor replied; Set a "ladder, then, Acesius, 'and go up to heaven alone."

The same story is told by [e] Sozomen, possibly taken from Socrates. It ought however to be observed, that [f] Valesius disputes the truth of this relation: on the other hand, Basnage [g] defends it against the objections of that learned writer.

Those ancient ecclesiastical historians have not particularly informed us of the place where Acesius was then bishop. Tillemont, speaking of this matter, says, Acesius [h] was bishop in those parts; that is, somewhere not very far off from Nice. Basnage [i] argues that he was then bishop of the Novatians at Byzantium. It is certain he [k] was afterwards bishop of that people in that city, then called Constantinople.

In [l] 326, Constantine made a law somewhat favourable to them, allowing them their churches and cemitaries, provided they had never belonged to the catholics. But [m] in the severe edict [n] of 331, or thereabout, the Novatians are joined with the Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, and Cataphrygians, and other heretics: their places of worship are to be taken from them; they are forbidden to assemble in public or private; and their books are to be sought for and destroyed. But [o] it is the opinion of some learned men, that this edict had but little effect with regard to the Novatians. Sozomen's reflections upon this edict are such as these: 'By [p] means of this law 'other sects have been in a manner buried in oblivion: for in the times of the preceding 'emperors [q] all the followers of Christ, though they had different opinions, were considered by 'the Gentiles as all one, and suffered all alike. Nor could they disturb each other, because of 'the common calamities; for which reason, they all had their assemblies without much difficulty: 'and as they frequently met together, though they were few in number, they were not quite

[a] —et per plurimas civitates novos apostolos suos mittat,—cumque jampridem per omnes provincias et per urbes singulas ordinati sint episcopi in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in pressurâ probati, in persecutione proscripti, ille super eos creare alios pseudoëpiscopos audeat. Cypr. Ep. 55, p. 112.

[b] Nam et pars Novatiani maximum presbyterum, nuper ad nos a Novatiano legatum missum, atque a nostrâ communicatione rejectum, nunc istic sibi fecisse pseudoëpiscopum dicitur. Id. Ep. 49, p. 132.

[c] Can. viii.

[d] Socrat. l. i. cap. 10.

[e] Soz. l. i. cap. 22.

[f] Vales. Annot. p. 9.

[g] Basn. Ann. 325, num. xxxiii.

[h] Ce prince fit en effet venir à Nicée Acèse, qui étoit leur évêque en ces quartiers là. Tillemont Les Novatiens. Art. 4. p. 94.

[i] Basn ibid.

[k] Vid. Soz. lib. ii. cap. 32, p. 493, D.

[l] Vid. Basn. Ann. 326, n. iii. iv. Pagi Crit. 326, n ix, x. Tillem. ib. p. 95.

[m] Ap. Euseb. Vit. Const. l. iii. cap. 64, et seqq.

[n] See Tillem. as before, p. 95.

[o] Vid. Basnag. ib. Tillem. as before.

[p] Sozom. l. ii. c. 32.

[q] Επι μεν γαρ των προ ημων βασιλεων, οσοι τον Χριστον εσεβον, ει και τας δοξας διεφεροντο, προς των Ελληνιστων οι αυτοι ενομιζοντο, και κακως ομοιως επασχον· σφας δε αυτες πολυπραγμονειν δια τας κοινας συμφορας ουκ ηδυναντο· και δια τουτο ραδιως καθ' εαυτες εκαστοι συνιοντες εκκλησιαζον. Ibid. p. 493. B.

'broken, but kept up their several interests. But [a] after the publication of this edict, t[illegible]ld 'not meet publicly, it being prohibited; nor privately, the bishops and clergy of e[illegible]city 'narrowly observing them. From that time great numbers of them were induced out [illegible]r to 'join themselves to the catholic church. And they who persisted in their particular s[illegible] 'not leaving successors, their sects died away; forasmuch as they were not allowed to [illegible] 'together, now could they without danger teach their principles privately to any. A[illegible] 'the other sects from the beginning had but few followers, either because of the ab[illegible]y of 'their opinions, or the unskilfulness of their teachers: but the Novatians having goo[illegible]ers, 'and being of the same mind with the catholic church upon the doctrine of the D[illegible] 'numerous from the beginning, and have continued to be so, without suffering muc[illegible] 'law: and the emperor himself, as may be supposed, softened it of his own accord with regard 'to them, designing rather to fright than hurt his subjects. And moreover Acesius, then bishop 'of that sect at Constantinople, being esteemed by the emperor for the sanctity of his life, it is 'likely, spoke a good word for the church under his care. As for the Cataphrygians, in other 'parts of the empire they declined, as most others did, excepting only in Phrygia, and the 'neighbouring countries; where from the time of Montanus, they have been numerous, and still 'continue so to be.'

The Novatians suffered together with the catholics in the Arian persecution under Constantius, about [b] the year 356. Agelius, then bishop of the Novatians at Constantinople, [c] saved himself by flight: but many of his people eminent for piety, suffered greatly at that time. 'The 'Arians,' as Socrates [d] says, 'demolished many churches in divers cities, by order of Macedo-'nius, their bishop at Constantinople. The emperor's edict, and the violence of Macedonius, 'threatened likewise a church of the Novatians at Constantinople. Its ruin was near, and the 'persons were at hand to whom the execution was committed: but the Novatians prevented them 'after a sort; for, gathering together in a great multitude, and being assisted likewise by a good 'number of well-meaning catholics, they pulled down the church, and conveyed all the materials 'to another place without the city.' So writes Socrates. And Sozomen [e] confirms his account. About the same time the church [f] of the Novatians at Cyzicum was quite demolished by Eleusius, the Arian bishop of that city, an intimate friend of the forementioned Macedonius.

The Novatians however had honourable satisfaction made them afterwards. With the leave [g] of the emperor Julian they rebuilt their church at Constantinople in a splendid manner, calling it now Anastasia. As for their church that had been pulled down at Cyzicum, Julian sent [h] orders to Eleusius to rebuild it in two months time at his own expense, upon the pain of a very heavy forfeiture.

Under [i] Valens again the Novatians, as well as others who held the consubstantial doctrine, were forbidden to worship at Constantinople. The churches of the Novatians were shut up, and their bishop Agelius was banished: but the emperor's displeasure against the Novatians [k] was moderated by Marcian, a pious and learned man, who formerly had a military post in the imperial palace, but was now presbyter in the church of the Novatians, and had been appointed preceptor in polite literature to the emperor's daughters Anastasia and Carosa. In regard to him therefore the churches of the Novatians, which for some while had been shut up, were opened again. Nevertheless, even after this, the [l] Novatians were not quite void of disturbance from the Arians. So writes Socrates: and to the same purpose Sozomen, who [m] adds, that Agelius was soon recalled from his banishment, and officiated in the churches as before.

In the year [n] 383, Theodosius had a synod, or conference, at Constantinople, for putting an end to those dissensions which there were in the empire by reason of different sects of religion. And [o] Socrates says that the emperor was so well pleased with the orthodoxy of the Novatians, in holding the doctrine of the consubstantiality, that he gave them leave to assemble for divine

[a] μετα δε τουτον τον νομον, ουτε δημοσια εκκλησιαζειν ηδυναντο κωλυομενοι, ουτε λαθρα, των κατα πολιν επισκοπων και κληρικων παρατηρουντων· κ. λ. ib. C.

[b] See Tillemont, Mem. Tom. vi. P. ii. Les Ariens Art. 63.

[c] Vid. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 38, p. 142, B. C.

[d] καθηρουν μεν ουν οι αρειανιζοντες, Μακεδονιου κελευοντος, αλλας τε πολλας κατα πολεις εκκλησιας. Socrat. ib. p. 143. A.

[e] L. iv. cap. 20. p. 570. C. D.

[f] Socrat. l. ii, cap. 38, p. 144. A. B.

[g] Socr. ib. p. 143, D. 144, A.

[h] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 11. Sozom. l. v. cap. 5, p. 601.

[i] Vid. Socrat. l. iv. cap. 9.

[k] Socr. ib. et l. v. cap. 21.

[l] Socrat. ib. p. 218, B. C.

[m] Sozom. l. vi. cap. 9, p. 649, C.

[n] Vid. Basn. 383, n. vi. et Tillemont Les Novatiens, Art. 5, p. 98, 99.

[o] Vid. Socrat. l. 5, cap. 10, p. 269, B. C. cap. 22, p. 280, B. et Conf. Sozom. l. viii. cap. 1. p. 754. D.

worship in cities; and appointed that their churches should enjoy the same privileges with those of his own sentiments.

Tillemont [a] observes that the Novatians are never named in the laws of Theodosius against heretics, though they were put in that rank in 381, by an œcumenical council. He [b] adds that [c] Socrates, to prove the affection which Theodosius had for this people, says, that emperor pardoned Symmachus at the request of Leontius, bishop of the church of the Novatians at Rome, about the year 388.

Socrates [d] speaks of their sees at Constantinople, Nice, Nicomedia, and Cotiæus in Phrygia, as the chief sees of that sect in the fourth century; in the east at least, for he supposeth them to be besides very numerous in [e] the West.

What were their numbers in these cities does not appear. Socrates [f] seems to say they had three churches within Constantinople, beside that which was destroyed: but perhaps he means no more than that they had three in all.

The pieces written against them by [g] St. Ambrose, [h] Pacian, the [i] anonymous author of the Questions out of the Old and New Testament; the notice taken by [k] Basil, [l] Gregory Nazianzen; the accounts given of them by Socrates and Sozomen in their ecclesiastical histories, are proofs of their being numerous, and in most parts of the world, in the fourth and fifth centuries. Not to insist now particularly on [m] Philaster, [n] Epiphanius, [o] Augustine, [p] Theodoret, who have written professedly of heretics and their opinions. St. Jerom likewise frequently confutes the Novatians in his commentaries, and in his epistles. Among the epistles of Isidore of Pelusium, who flourished about the year 412, there [q] are two against the Novatians. And that they subsisted in some parts after this, appears from the books [r] of Eulogius bishop of Alexandria, written against them not long before the end of the sixth century.

The vast extent of this sect is manifest from the names of the authors who have mentioned them, or written against them, and from the several parts of the Roman empire in which they were found. And [s] Socrates mentions one Mark, bishop of the Novatians in Scythia, who was present at Constantinople with Paul in his last sickness, who died in the year 439.

The Novatians had among them some men of note and eminence. Not to say any thing more of Acesius, already mentioned, [t] Socrates and [u] Sozomen have celebrated Eutychian as a worker of miracles; a man of this sect in the time of Constantine, who lived a solitary life upon the mountain Olympus in Bithynia.

Agelius succeeded Acesius as bishop of the Novatian people at Constantinople: he enjoyed that honour, as [x] it seems, near fifty years, dying in the sixth year of the reign of Theodosius, that is, the year of Christ 384. Socrates says of him, 'that [y] he lived an apostolical life: he went 'bare-foot, and wore but one coat, according to the precept in the gospel.' Sozomen [z] writes of this bishop exactly to the same purpose, only in different words: as before shewn, he saved himself by flight in the Arian persecution under Constantius: he was banished by Valens, but obtained a speedy release at the intercession of Marcian. Though Agelius, as both these ecclesiastical historians assure us, was a very pious person, he [aa] was not a man of great abilities; however, he had under him Sisinnius, a man of fine parts and learning: he was of use to his bishop in the forementioned conference at Constantinople in 383, though he was then only reader.

When Agelius died, Sisinnius was presbyter in the church of the Novatians; and Agelius nominated him to [bb] be his successor: but his people rather desired Marcian, who had been so

[a] Tillem. Les Novatiens, p. 99. [b] Ibid.
[c] Socrat. l. v. cap. 14, p. 273, C.
[d] Socrat. l. iv. cap. 28, p. 246, Conf. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 24.
[e] l. vii. cap. 11. Conf. cap. 9.
[f] εἰς δε τας αλλας τρεις (τοσαυτας γαρ εντος της πολεως εἰχεσιν οἱ των Ναυατιανων εκκλησιας) συνερχομενοι αλληλοις συνηυχοντο. Socr. l. ii. cap. 38, p. 144, A.
[g] Ambr. de Pœnit. libri duo.
[h] Pacian. ad Sympron. Epist. tres.
[i] Qu. cii. ap. Augustin. Tom. iii. in app. Bened.
[k] Basil. ad Amphil. Can. i. Ep. 188, p. 268, A. Bened.
[l] Gr. Naz. Orat. 39, p. 635, 636.
[m] Philast. Hær. 82. [n] Epiph. Hær. 59, p. 493, &c.
[o] Aug. de Hær. cap. 38.
[p] Theod. Hær. Fab. l. iii. cap. 5.
[q] Isid. l. i. Ep. 338, 339.
[r] Ap. Phot. cod. 208, p. 528, cod. 280, p. 1597.
[s] L. vii. cap. 46, p. 390.
[t] Socrat. l. i. cap. 13. [u] Sozom. l. i. cap. 14.
[x] Vid. Socrat. l. v. cap. 12, in. et cap. 21. in.
[y] Socr. l. iv. cap. 9.
[z] Sozom. l. vi. cap. 9.
[aa] συσηναι δε λογοις περι τα δογματος εκ ισχυεν, αναγνωσηι υπ' αυτω, Σισιννιον ονομα, προς το διαλεχθηναι προεβαλλετο. Socr. l. v. cap. 10. p. 267.
[bb] Lib. v. cap. 21. p. 280, C. D.

serviceable in the persecution under Valens. Agelius complied with them, provided that Sisinnius should succeed Marcian, as he did in 395.

Socrates[a] enlarges in the character of Sisinnius. He was educated, together with the emperor Julian, under Maximus the philosopher: he was skilled in all parts of philosophy, especially in logic: he was an excellent disputant; insomuch that Eunomius was shy of entering into argument with him, and often avoided him: he had great understanding in the scriptures; was eloquent; and had a good knowledge of the world: he was moreover a man of ready wit. Socrates, to[b] whom the reader is referred, has recorded some of his remarkable sayings. He was 'in great reputation for his learning, and upon that account was respected by all his successors: 'he was likewise honoured with the esteem and affection of many of senatorian rank: he published 'a good number of books: but he appeared too nice in his language, and affected poetical 'phrases: he was therefore more admired as a speaker than a writer: for indeed there was a 'certain gracefulness in his person, in his speech, his garb, his aspect, and every motion of his 'body. In a word, he was beloved by men of all sects, especially by the bishop Atticus.' So writes Socrates.

Sisinnius died[c] in 407, and[d] was succeeded by Chrysanthus, son of Marcian, immediate successor of Agelius. Chrysanthus in his younger years had a military post in the palace. In the reign of Theodosius the First he was governor in Italy, and after that vicar of the British islands: in both which charges he behaved with great reputation. Being advanced in years, he returned to Constantinople, and put up for præfect of that city: but, instead of that, he was against his own will compelled to accept of a bishoprick: for Sisinnius, when near his end, having mentioned him as a fit person to succeed him, and his people looking upon what Sisinnius said as a law, earnestly entreated him to accept the episcopal office. Whereupon Chrysanthus fled. But the people, having found him in Bithynia, at length prevailed upon him by their importunity. 'He was,' as Socrates says, 'a man of signal prudence and modesty; and by his means the 'churches of the Novatians were not only upheld, but increased. He was liberal to the poor 'out of his own estate; but[e] received nothing from the churches under his care, beside two 'loaves of the sacred bread every Lord's day. Such was his concern to promote the interest of 'his people, that he took Ablabius, the best rhetorician of that time, out of the school of the 'sophist Troilus, and ordained him presbyter.' Socrates says, that his polite and ingenious sermons were extant in his time. He adds, that Ablabius was afterwards bishop of the Novatians at Nice, at the same time teaching rhetoric.

By all these things we see plainly, that under good catholic princes the Novatians enjoyed great liberty of worship, and were admitted to places of trust and honour.

Chrysanthus was succeeded by[f] Paul, who had been a teacher of the Latin tongue; but, laying aside that employment, he betook himself to an ascetic life. Whilst he was bishop he was almost universally beloved at Constantinople. He died in 439. Socrates says, that[g] at his funeral he in a manner united all sects of religion into one church; for they all accompanied his body to the grave, singing psalms, he having been greatly esteemed for the simplicity and integrity of his manners.

Cassiodorus, who wrote about the middle of the sixth century, makes mention of[h] a learned Novatian, whom he knew, named Eusebius; who, like Didymus of Alexandria, was blind from his childhood: he was exceedingly well acquainted with authors and books, as well as things, and shewed a wonderful strength of memory: he usually resided in Asia. Cassiodorus does not say any thing of his quality. Possibly the loss of eye-sight discouraged his accepting any offices civil or ecclesiastical. However, he made a good improvement of his leisure: he stored his mind with useful knowledge, and was communicative in conversation as he had opportunity.

[a] Lib. v. cap. 21. et l. vi. cap. 22.
[b] Ib. l. vi. cap. 22.
[c] Socr. l. vii. cap. 6, p. 343, C.
[d] Ib. cap. 12.
[e] και πρωτος τοις πλουσιοις οικοθεν χρυσιον διενειμεν· απο τε των εκκλησιων ουδεν εδεξατο, πλην κατα κυριακην δυο αρτους των ευλογιων ελαμβανεν. Ib. p. 348, D.
[f] Socrat. l. vii. cap. 17. init.
[g] Ib. cap. 46.
[h] —— nisi de partibus Asiæ quemdam ad nos venire Eusebium nomine contigisset, qui se infantem quinque annorum sic cœcatum esse narrabat,——Hic tantos auctores, tantos libros in memoriæ suæ bibliothecâ condiderat, ut legentes probabiliter admoneret, in quâ parte codicis, quod prædixerat, invenirent. Disciplinas omnes et animo retinebat, ex expositione planissimâ lucidabat.——Hoc etiam Josephum, Origenem, et Hieronymum commemorâsse in suis opusculis asserebat.——Cujus instructione commonitus, multos codices antiquos reperi, qui apud me habebantur incogniti. Quem tamen adhuc Novatianæ pravitatis errore detentum, misericordiâ Domini suffragante, rectæ fidei credimus illuminatione complendum. Cassiod. Instit. l. v. p. 512.

I do not here reckon Socrates and Sozomen among the great men that have done honour to this sect; because, though they sometimes speak favourably of them, and therefore by some have been taken for Novatians, there is [a] good reason to think they were catholics.

However, from the several instances that have been mentioned, it may be inferred, that this people had among them not a few men of polite learning and fine accomplishments.

Though there were Novatians in some places at the latter end of the sixth century, or afterwards, as we have seen, yet it is probable that they declined after the middle of the fifth century, if not sooner.

Socrates, having given an account of the ordination of Cyril, who succeeded Theophilus at Alexandria in 412, says; 'From [b] that time the bishoprick of Alexandria exceeded the bounds 'of the priesthood, and exercised a kind of princely authority and government; for Cyril imme-'diately shut up the churches of the Novatians, and took away all their sacred vessels and orna-'ments: and as for their bishop Theopemptus, he deprived him of all he had.'

The same ecclesiastical historian, having mentioned the names of several bishops of Rome, as Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius, adds: 'After [c] Anastasius succeeded Innocent, who was the first 'that persecuted the Novatians at Rome, taking away from them many churches.' This pope Innocent [d] was ordained in 401, and died in 417.

Afterwards Socrates writes to this purpose: 'After [e] Innocent, Zosimus governed the church 'of Rome for the space of two years: and after him Boniface presided in that church three 'years, who was succeeded by Celestinus. This [f] Celestinus also [as Innocent had begun to do] 'deprived the Novatians at Rome of their churches, and forced their bishop Rusticula to assemble 'them in private houses in some obscure place. For until that time the Novatians had flourished 'mightily at Rome, having a great number of churches, and large congregations: but envy laid 'hold of them also; the bishoprick of Rome, like that of Alexandria, having long since surpassed 'the sacerdotal dignity, and assumed secular power and authority: for which reason those 'bishops would not allow these persons to meet together freely, though they were of the same 'opinion with themselves: they commended them indeed for their soundness in the faith, but took 'away from them every thing they had. The bishops of Constantinople acted in a different 'manner; treating the Novatians with abundance of affection and mildness, and permitting them 'to assemble within the walls of the city, as has been shewn.'

Celestinus is supposed to have possessed the see of Rome from the year 422 to 432.

I conclude my history of the Novatians with these passages of Socrates, which are recommended to the reader's observation.

V. We saw formerly a catalogue of the works of Novatus in Jerom, but not complete: for Jerom says, there were many other beside those expressly named by him. Trithemius likewise, having mentioned the same books that Jerom does, adds; 'that [g] Novatus wrote many letters to 'divers persons; and that, besides, he is said to have written some other pieces, but he was not 'acquainted with them.'

1. A very few only of those works have come down to us. We have however a small piece, entitled, Of Jewish meats, which is supposed to be the same that Jerom mentions. Mr. Jackson, whose edition of Novatus, or Novatian (as he calls him,) I make use of, thinks this [h] treatise, or epistle, was written in the year 250, before the end of the Decian persecution: but of this, I think, we cannot be positive: for, as [i] before observed, it may be questioned whether this treatise

[a] Vid. Vales. de Vita et Scriptis Socratis atque Sozomeni; et Basnag. Ann. 439, num. v. et Tillem. Les Novatiens, Art. vii. Tom. iii. P. iii. p. 110.

[b] Και γαρ εξ εκεινε, ἡ επισκοπη Αλεξανδρειας παρα της ιερατικης ταξεως καταδυναστευειν των πραγματων ελαβε την αρχην· ευθεως εν Κυριλλος τας εν Αλεξανδρεια Ναυατιανων εκκλησιας αποκλεισας, παντα μεν αυτων τα ἱερα κειμηλια ελαζεν· τον δε επισκοπον αυτων Θεοπεμπτον παντων, ὡν ειχεν, αφειλετο. Socr. l. vii. cap. 7.

[c] μετα δε Αναστασιον Ιννοκεντιος· ὁς πρωτος τας εν Ρωμη Ναυατιανες ελαυνειν ηρξατο, πολλας τε αυτων εκκλησιας αφειλετο. Ib. cap. 9.

[d] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 402, xix. 417, iv. et seqq.

[e] Ib. cap. 11.

[f] Και ἑτος ὁ Κελεστινος τας εν Ρωμη Ναυατιανων εκκλησιας αφειλετο, και τον επισκοπον αυτων Ρυστικλαν κατ' οικιας εν παραξυστῳ συναγειν ηναγκασεν· αχρι γαρ τοτε Ναυατιανοι μεγαλως επι της Ρωμης ηνθησαν, εκκλησιας πλειστας εχοντες, και λαον πολυν συναθροιζοντες. κ. λ. ibid.

[g] Epistolas plures ad diversos, alia insuper nonnulla, scripsisse dicitur, quæ ad notitiam meam non venerunt. Trithem. de Script. Ec. cap. 44.

[h] Priorem [de Cibis Judaïcis] scripsit efflagitante plebe Romanâ, cum sub persecutione Deciana (quæ exorta est Romæ anno 249 exeunte, et post annum deferbuit, ineunte anno 251) secessisset; quod plane innuit in primo epistolæ capite; adeo ut hæc scriberetur anno 250, forte sub finem anni. Jackson. Præf. p. xi.

[i] See before, p. 46.

was not written by Novatus after his episcopal ordination, and after his separation from the church; consequently, after the middle of the year 251. I allow it was written in some time of trouble, and in a place of retreat or banishment; but what was that time does not appear; whether the persecution of Decius, or Gallus, or Valerian: therefore the date of it must be left uncertain. Du Pin[a] says, it appears probable to him that this piece was written after that Novatus was become the head of a party, during the persecution of Gallus and Volusian.

2. There is also still extant the treatise, Of the Trinity, or, Of the rule of faith, which Jerom calls a large volume. I think this[b] book is now generally allowed by learned men to be the work of our Novatus: and it is the largest piece of his now remaining. Concerning the time of writing it Mr. Jackson[c] mentions two opinions; the first, Pamelius's and his own, that it was written before the schism, which began in 251; the other, that of Dr. Cave; who supposed that this work was composed after the schism, not before the year 257; here being notice taken of the heresy of Sabellius, which appeared about that time. Mr. Jackson might have mentioned a third opinion, that of[d] Baronius; who thought this book was not published by Novatus till about the year 270, as supposing him not only to argue against Sabellius, whom he mentions by name, but also against Paul of Samosata, whom he does not name. And[e] Tillemont thinks this opinion not improbable, though not certain.

Let us consider Mr. Jackson's arguments. In the first place he asks; How[f] will Cave prove that Sabellius was not known in the world for his heresy before 257? But to this there is an obvious answer at hand, that Cave is not singular in his supposition. It is the opinion of very many learned men, that Sabellius did not publish his particular sentiments till 254 or 255, or thereabout, as I have observed in another[g] place. And secondly, it is very easily proved that Sabellianism was not known long before the year 257: for in that year Dionysius of Alexandria sent Pope Xystus or Sixtus the second an account of what he had said and written in that controversy, which had its rise in Ptolemais in Egypt; and therefore probably had not been on foot above a year or two, or three at the most. Therefore Sabellianism was not known in the West before the year 255, or 256, or 257. This argument needs not to be enlarged upon. I should think that any man may perceive from the history of the third century, particularly from what we have written concerning Novatianism, that, supposing Sabellianism to have appeared before 250, and allowing it likewise to have been at all different from the common and prevailing sentiment of Christians at that time, such was the vigilance of the bishops of the church, Dionysius would have sent an account of it to Rome long before 257. What a noise did Novatianism make; how many deputies were there sent to and fro? what a number of letters and treatises were there written upon that subject in the space of a very few years? I think then that Dionysius's account of the rise of Sabellianism is an invincible argument that it did not appear in Egypt before 254, or 255, or 256. Therefore this book of Novatus could not be written before 256, or 257. It is not very unlikely that, soon after the first intelligence of this doctrine came to Italy from Dionysius, or from some other person, Novatus, much disliking it, composed this treatise of the Trinity: and possibly he was as well qualified to treat the subject as any man in the West.

If this argument needed any farther enlargement, it might be added, that the catholics of Pentapolis, who disliked some expressions of Dionysius in his writings against Sabellius, laid their charges against him before his namesake of Rome, whose episcopate begun in 259: therefore Dionysius had but lately written in this controversy. If his work had been published long ago, these offended catholics would not have deferred their accusations till 259, or 260, nor have chosen to bring them to Dionysius of Rome, the ancient and honoured friend and correspondent of him of Alexandria.

Nevertheless, Mr. Jackson thinks that[h] the heresy of Sabellius began about 220, that is, 30

[a] Bibl. des Auteurs Ecc. Novat. p. 182.

[b] See Du Pin. Bibl. Novatien. Baron. Ann. 272, xv. Tillem. Les Novatiens, Art. 3.

[c] Statuendum restat (quantum possumus) quo tempore conscripsit Novatianus librum de Trinitate. Et cum Pamelio omnino arbitror ego illum hoc opus composuisse, antequam in schisma incideret, quod fuit inceptum 251. Aliter quidem judicat doctiss. Cavius, hac ductus ratione, quod hæreseos Sabellianæ meminit, quæ (ut dicit Cavius) circa annum 257 exorta est. Jackson. Præf. p. xii. xiii.

[d] Baron. Ann. 272, n. xv.

[e] See Tillem. Les Novatiens, Art. iii. p. 89.

[f] Sed quomodo probaverit Cavius Sabellium propter hæresin non esse notum ante an. 257? Hæc est mera viri docti conjectura, &c. Ib. p. 13.

[g] See before, Vol. i. p. 616.

[h] Et tandem exhinc apparet, triginta circiter esse annos inter schisma Novatiani et incœptam hæresin Sabellii; et Cavius ratione temporis erravit fere triginta et septem annos. Ib. p. 18.

years before the schism at Rome; consequently Cave is mistaken no less than thirty and seven years concerning the time of Sabellius.

Mr. Jackson would support his opinion by the chronicles of [a] Isidore of Seville, and [b] Ado, which place Sabellius about the year 220: but chronicles written, one in Spain in the seventh, the other in Gaul in the ninth century, are of little authority against Dionysius, a contemporary upon the spot. It is likely those chroniclers mean Noetus; who might appear, or be famous, about that time: they might confound these two persons, their opinions agreeing in the main, as is supposed; and Sabellius being more known than Noetus, as we are informed by the learned [c] Augustine, who is certainly a good witness in this matter, and assures us that even in his time Noetus was known to very few, and that these two heresies were reckoned one and the same. It is an additional argument that these chroniclers mean Noetus, or confound him and Sabellius, in that they make no distinct mention of the former. There is the more reason to think Ado means Noetus when he speaks of Sabellius, because he joins Hippolytus with him; and it is generally supposed that Hippolytus wrote against Noetus in his book against all heresies, and that this was the last heresy in that work. In short, Noetianism and Sabellianism were confounded, and reckoned one and the same heresy, by the Latins in the time of Augustine and afterwards: and the best use that can be made of these two chroniclers is to confirm the common supposition, that Noetus either appeared, or was condemned, about the year 220, or soon after.

Lastly, Mr. Jackson says, it is [d] not likely that Novatus should write so good a book, in all things conformable to the catholic doctrine, after he had fallen into his detestable schism, and an opinion so contrary to the divine goodness and mercy.

How detestable his schism was I cannot say, though I do not justify his conduct: for, whatever pretensions he might have to the chair of Rome, on account of his eminent learning, or uncommon services, or the expectations given him, possibly by a large number of the clergy and people of that church; yet, when another was chosen, as [e] Cyprian observes, it might be his duty to acquiesce. Nor is it unlikely that as good books as this of Novatus upon the Trinity have been written by men who have had false apprehensions of the divine goodness and mercy in some respects. Finally, I wonder why Mr. Jackson should make a question of Novatus writing, at any time, a book upon the catholic principles about the Trinity, when there appear not any traces of a difference upon this point between him and his followers and the catholics of that time. It is not unlikely that Novatus was from the beginning, and always continued to be, as orthodox in that, and most other matters, as Christians generally were in that age.

Upon the whole, I believe there are very few but must be of opinion that this treatise, the principal remaining work of Mr. Jackson's author, was not written till somewhile after his detestable schism, as Mr. Jackson calls it.

I cannot forbear observing here, though it is not necessary, that several of the ancient writers concerning heresies confirm the more common opinion of the time of Sabellianism, particularly Epiphanius and Augustine: their order is this; Noetians, Valesians, Novatians, Angelics, Apostolics, Sabellians. They supposed therefore that Novatianism sprang up in the space of time between Noetus and Sabellius.

From what has been said, the conclusion is very evident; that the earliest probable date of this work is that assigned by Cave, which is the year 257, several years after the author's episcopal ordination.

[a] —— hoc diserto testimonio confirmat Isidorus Hispalensis, qui in chronico ad annum a mundo condito 5419, sive anno Domini 221, sub imperio Aurelii Antonini Heliogabali scribit ortum fuisse Sabellium hæresiarchum. Ib. p. 18.

[b] Huic vero convenit Ado Viennensis, quo auctore, Sabellius erat hæresiarches anno circiter 220, imperante Aurelio Heliogabalo, sub cujus imperio simul cum Hippolyto vixisse tradit Ado. Verba illius sunt in chronico ab. an. 220, ad an. 224. 'Sabellius hæresiarches oritur. Hippolytus episcopus, 'multorum conditor opusculorum, temporum canonem con-'scripsit, et huc usque perduxit.' Id. ibid.

[c] Sabelliani ab illo Noëto, quem supra memoravimus, defluxisse dicuntur.——Sed quâ causâ duas hæreses eas Epiphanius computet, nescio; cum fieri potuisse videamus, ut fuerit Sabellius iste famosior, et ideo ex illo celebrius hæc hæresis nomen acceperit. Noëtiani enim difficile ab aliquo sciuntur; Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum. August. Hær. cap. 41.

[d] Nec, quantum cogito, verisimile est illum condidisse tam egregium librum in omnibus catholicæ doctrinæ et pietati primævæ ecclesiæ apprime consonum, postquam in schisma detestandum et sententiam bonitati et misericordiæ divinæ adversantem se demersisset. Ibid.

[e] Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tum affuit suffragio,——cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus——vacaret.——Quisquis jam episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est; nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem qui ecclesiæ non tenet unitatem; quisquis ille fuerit, multum de se licet jactans, et sibi plurimum vindicans. Cypr. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 104.

3. Beside these two treatises, which we suppose to be the same that are mentioned by Jerom, there is extant a letter of the Roman clergy to Cyprian, written during the vacancy of the see, after the death of Fabian, in August 250. It is allowed that [a] Novatus drew up this epistle, and [b] it is much commended.

4. There is still another letter, written before the end of the same year to Cyprian. These two letters are among [c] Cyprian's. But it is not so certain that Novatus had the chief hand in penning this, as the former. Mr. Jackson, however, has done well in publishing it together with the other things ascribed to Novatus.

5. In these pieces there is not, that I remember, any thing concerning the particular sentiment which Novatus is supposed to have maintained after his episcopal ordination; or relating to the differences between him and some other Christians: yet surely there must have been such things. It may be argued from [d] Cyprian's letters: and [e] Jerom speaks of epistles of Novatus that were schismatical.

6. St. Jerom in his Catalogue, among other works of Novatus, mentions two with these titles, Of Easter, Of circumcision. And, in the appendix to St. Jerom's works, there are two treatises, or epistles, without the name of the author; one entitled, Of the celebration of Easter; the other, Of the true circumcision. The former of these is now allowed to be [f] St. Augustine's and is published [g] among his letters: as for the other, it is generally allowed to be the work of some later author than Novatus, forasmuch as here is express mention made of the Manicheans and Arians: nor is there [h] any good reason to take it for a work of St Jerom: it must therefore be looked upon as the composition of some anonymous writer: whose time is uncertain. I shall take notice of a few things observable in it.

1. Here are many quotations of the books of the Old and New Testament, or references to them.

2. The author several times quotes the first [i] chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

3. He takes notice of [k] the enrolment of Cyrenius, or Cyrinus, as he calls him, in Luke ii. 1—5.

4. He also expressly quotes [l] the beginning of St. John's gospel.

5. He cites Rom. ix. 4, 5, very remarkably in this [m] manner: "To whom pertaineth the adoption and the glory, and the covenant, and the giving of the law, and the service and the promises; of whom also is Christ according to the flesh, who is blessed for ever."

6. In this piece is likewise cited [n] the beginning of St. John's first epistle; and there are passages out of many other books of scripture, as before observed: but I do not think it needful to take any farther notice of particular citations in this work.

VI. I do not draw the character of Novatus: I am not satisfied to make such an attempt upon the ground of those few writings of his that remain, when there were so many more, and the history we have of him is so imperfect. I find, however, that [o] learned moderns do allow

[a] Additum est etiam, Novatiano tunc scribente, et, quod scripserat, suâ voce recitante, &c. Cypr. ad Antonian. Ep. 55 [al. 52] p. 102.

[b] Mense Augusto exeunte, clerus Romanus scribit ad Cyprianum.——Sunt autem hæc cleri Romani literæ præclare scriptæ, et literis ipsius Cypriani pene æquandæ: ex quibus de ingenio et eloquentiâ Novatiani judicium ferri potest. Ille enim hanc epistolam exaravit. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. 250. n, xvi. Conf. Pagi Crit. 230. n. xii.

[c] Ap. Cypr. Ep. 30, 36, [al. 30, 31.]

[d] Sed enim supervenerunt postmodum aliæ literæ tuæ,—— in quibus animadverti animum tuum Novatiani literis motum nutare cœpisse, &c. Cypr. ad ant. Ep. 55 [al. 52] p. 101. et passim.

[e] ——simulque epistolas Novatiani, ut, dum schismatici hominis venena cognoscimus, libentius sancti martyris Cypriani bibamus antidotum. Hieron. ad Paul. Concord. Ep. 10. [al. 21] p. 17, in Ed. Bened. Ego Origenem propter eruditionem, sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium; &c. Id. ad Tranquill. Ep. 56 [al. 76], 589. f.

[f] Vid. Martian. Annotat. ap. Hieronym. T. v. p. 175.

[g] Augustin. Ep. lib. 2, Ep. 55. Bened. [al. 119. T. ii.]

[h] Vid. Censuram epistolæ de verâ circumcisione, apud Hieron. T. v. p. 150.

[i] Foris scriptus est, cum evangelista ait: Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. De Verâ Circumcisione, ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 153, m. Foris scribitur per Matthæum: Christi autem generatio sic erat: Cum esset desponsata mater ejus Maria Joseph. Ib. infra, med. pag.

[k] Rogo hic, ubi sub Cyrino censûs investigatio? ubi edictum Cæsaris? ubi necessitas profitendi? Ib. p. 162. in.

[l] Intus scribitur, cum per Joannem dicitur: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Ib. p. 153, infr. m.

[m] Quorum adoptio est filiorum, et gloria, et testamentum, et legislatio, et obsequium, et promissa: ex quibus etiam est Christus secundum carnem, qui est benedictus in secula. Ib. p. 151. in.

[n] Cum beatus Joannes invisibilem et visibilem, Deum et hominem, brevi quasi charactere signaverit. Sic enim ait: Quod fuit ab initio, fratres, quod audivimus. Ecce libri illius interiorem partem. Quod sequitur: Et vidimus oculis nostris, et manus nostræ palpaverunt de verbo vitæ. Ecce libri pars exterior, &c. p. 154. init.

[o] Novatianus Stoicorum philosophorum scita profitebatur,

him wit, or good natural parts; learning and eloquence, or a fine pen: and Jerom of old, who was better qualified to judge than we are, in several respects, especially because he had more of this writer's works than we have, in a letter to pope [d] Damasus, speaking of Tertullian and Novatus, calls them very eloquent men.

The sentiment of Novatus upon church discipline is often spoken of by ancients and moderns, as contrary to the divine goodness and mercy. Upon this account he has been called [b] a man of a most cruel disposition, and has been said to charge God himself with cruelty. Nevertheless, in his book of the Trinity he appears to have had honourable sentiments of the Deity, saying [c] that God excels all other beings in benevolence, goodness, justice and mercy. Nor did he deny the power or will of God to pardon great sins after baptism; though he would not allow such a power in the church, or to be lodged with the ordinary ministers of the gospel.

I would add, that he may be thought to have one advantage, in that all his litigious and controversial writings, if there were any such, are lost: for, next to the happiness of escaping disputes and controversies, may be reckoned the having them buried in oblivion: but though this may be esteemed an advantage to him, I cannot tell whether it be so to us. It is not unlikely that, if more of his works were in being, we, as well as [d] Jerom, should be willing to read them. Since he is upon record, as author of a fact that subsisted for several ages, it might be desirable to know from himself the grounds he went upon. The writings of catholic authors, it is to be hoped, would afford a sufficient preservative against infection: and, together with the venom of his erroneous doctrine, there might have been conveyed to us somewhat healing and nourishing.

I have given above the true reason why I decline drawing the character of Novatus. As Du Pin saw no occasion to be so scrupulous, it is by no means fit my readers should be deprived of the 'commendation he has given the founder of the Novatian sect. 'This author,' says [e] he, 'had 'abundance of wit, learning, and eloquence: his style is pure, neat, and polite: his expressions 'are chosen, his thoughts natural, and his reasonings just: he is full of citations of texts of 'scripture, that are much to the purpose: moreover, there is a great deal of method and order 'in those treatises of his which we have: and he always expresseth himself with mildness and 'moderation.' What greater character could be desired by a catholic writer!

VII. Though the pieces of Novatus, and especially the treatise of the Trinity or the Rule of faith, abound with texts of the Old and New Testament, there are not many books of either cited expressly and by name.

1. A great number of passages are quoted out of St. Matthew's gospel. 'Him,' says [f] he, 'the ancient prophecies, as well as the gospels, testify to be the son of Abraham, and the Son of 'David.' Here is probably a reference to the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. The words of Matt. i. 23, are [g] quoted by him in another place. Once more: 'So [h] Christ himself says; '"Lo I am with you unto the end of the world:"' chap. xxviii. 20.

2. To St. Mark's gospel there are very few, if any, references. However, we may take a passage or two to be considered. 'If [i] it belong to God only to forgive sins, Christ forgiveth sins:' see Mark ii. 5, 6, 7. 'God [k] is not worshipped by the belly, nor with meats, which the Lord says 'perish, and are purged in the draught, according to the course of nature:' See Mark vii. 19.

3. 'They [l] also urge and insist upon what is said in the gospel of Luke: "The Holy Ghost 'shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that holy 'thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God:" chap. i. 35.

homo acerrimi ingenii, multijugæ doctrinæ, nec facundiæ vulgaris. Admon. in Ambros. libr. de Pœnit. T. ii. p. 385. ed. Bened.

[a] Non quod non potuerim et ad illas aliquid respondere, sed quod ab eloquentissimis viris, Tertulliano nostro scilicet et Novatiano, Latino sermone sint editæ. Hieron. Ep. 125. T. ii. p. 563. Bened.

[b] Quis ante crudelissimum Novatianum crudelem Deum dixit, eo quod mallet mortem morientis quam ut revertatur et vivat? Vincent. Lir. Comm. p. 335. Paris. 1669.

[c] ——et omnibus divitiis ditior, omni prudentiâ prudentior, et omni benignitate benignior, omni bonitate melior, omni justitiâ justior, omni clementiâ clementior. De Reg. Fid. cap. 2. p. 24. Jackson.

[d] See before, note [e], p. 60.

[e] Biblioth. p. 182.

[f] Hunc enim Abrahæ filium, hunc David, hunc non minus et vetera prædicta et evangelia testantur. De Regula Fidei, cap. 9, p. 58.

[g] Et vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum, Nobiscum Deus. Ib. cap. 24 [al. 19], p. 186.

[h] Sic Christus ipse dicit, Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi. cap. 12, p. 87.

[i] Quod si, cum nullius sit, nisi Dei, peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit. De Reg. Fid. c. 13. p. 97, 98.

[k] Deus ventre non colitur, nec cibis, quos Dominus dicit perire, et en secessu naturali lege purgari. De Cib. Jud. cap. 5, p. 275.

[l] Proponunt enim atque illa prætendunt, quæ in evangelio Lucæ relata sunt,——Spiritus Sanctus veniet in te.— De Reg. Fid. cap. 24 [al. 19]. p. 186.

4. 'For, [a] "And the word," says John, "was made flesh, and dwelled among us:" John i. 14. This [b] gospel is expressly quoted as John's several times by this writer.

5. The book of the Acts of the apostles is no where expressly quoted, or very plainly referred to, in the remaining pieces of Novatus: but it may be reckoned probable that he has an eye to the history contained in the first chapters of that book when he says; 'The [c] Holy Spirit, the 'comforter, whom Christ had promised to the disciples, is he who explained to them the evangelic 'mysteries, and illuminated them with the knowledge of divine things; by whom being con-'firmed, they endured bonds and imprisonments for the name of the Lord, and triumphed over 'the powers of the world, and over all torments.' I place in the margin [d] another passage, in which he quotes the words of Joel: which are also alleged by St. Peter, Acts ii. 16, 17. See Joel ii. 28.

6. I proceed to St. Paul's epistles.

1. The epistle to the Romans is often quoted as St. Paul's by this presbyter of the church of Rome, who was afterwards chosen bishop by a part of the same church. 'The [e] apostle Paul writes in his epistle: "Whose," says he, "are the fathers, of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is over all God blessed for ever." Rom. ix. 5.' In the epistle penned by Novatus, sent to Cyprian by the presbyters and deacons of the church of Rome in 250, it is said: 'Other-'wise [f] the apostle had not so commended us, saying: "That your faith is spoken of throughout 'the whole world.' Rom. i. 8.

2. 'Lastly, [g] the apostle Paul knew this harmony and unity, with a distinction of persons; 'for, writing to the Corinthians, "I," says he, "have planted, Apollo watered, but God gave 'the increase:"' intending 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7, 8.

3. 'Lastly [h] the apostle Paul: "Having," says he, "the same spirit, as it is written, I 'believed, therefore have I spoken: we also believe, and therefore speak."' 2 Cor. iv. 13.

4. 'And [i] in another place [the apostle Paul:] "Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, 'but God is one."' Gal. iii. 20. Words of this epistle are several times cited by this writer as the apostle Paul's.

5. 'Of [k] whom the apostle Paul: "He that descended is the same that ascended above all 'heavens, that he might fill all things." Eph. iv. 10.

6. 'But [l] why should we pass by that place in the apostle? "Who being in the form of 'God, did not earnestly seek to be like God;" or, "to be equal with God."' Philip. ii. 6—12. That Novatus understood this text after that manner, was shewn [m] formerly.

7. "For whether, says [n] the apostle, "they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or 'powers, things visible and invisible, by him all things consist."' Col. i. 16, 17.

8. There are not in Novatus any passages taken out of the first or second epistle to the Thessalonians.

9. 'The [o] apostle Paul also: "Who only," says he, "hath immortality, and dwelleth in the 'light which no man can approach unto."' 1 Tim. vi. 16.

[a] Nam et Verbum, inquit Joannes, caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis. Ib. c. 10. p. 74.

[b] Ac sic Joannes nativitatem Christi describens. De Reg. Fid. cap. 13. init. Si enim Joannes dicit, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. cap. 17 [al. 25], init. et passim.

[c] Hic est enim——qui evangelica sacramenta distinxit, qui in ipsis inluminator rerum divinarum fuit, quo confirmati pro nomine Domini nec carceres nec vincula timuerunt; quinimo ipsas seculi potestates et tormenta calcaverunt. Ib. c. 29, p. 220.

[d] Est enim per Joëlem prophetam repromissus, sed per Christum redditus: In novissimis, inquit, diebus effundam de Spiritu meo super servos et ancillas meas. Ib. p. 218.

[e] Quod si et apostolus Paulus, Quorum, inquit, patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula, in suis literis scribit. cap. 13. p. 99.

[f] Quoniam nec tantas de nobis laudes apostolus protulisset, dicendo: Quia fides vestra prædicatur in toto mundo. p. 269.

[g] Denique novit hanc concordiæ unitatem, cum personarum tamen distinctione. Nam, cum ad Corinthios scriberet, Ego, inquit, plantavi, &c. de Reg. Fid. cap. 27 [al. 22.]

[h] Denique apostolus Paulus, Habentes, inquit, eumdem spiritum. cap. 29. p. 219.

[i] Et alio in loco: Mediator autem unius non est, Deus autem unus est. cap. 30. p. 230.

[k] De quo apostolus Paulus: Qui descendit, ipse est qui ascendit super omnes cœlos. cap. 17, [al. 25] p. 134,

[l] Cur autem——illum prætereamus apud apostolum locum? Qui cum in formâ Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse. De Reg. Fid. cap. 22, [al. 17] p. 173, 174, 175. Hic ergo, quamvis esset in formâ Dei, non est rapinam arbitratus æqualem se Deo esse. p. 176. vid. etiam quæ ibidem sequuntur, et p. 177, 178.

[m] See p. 21.

[n] Sive enim, inquit apostolus, throni, sive dominationes, sive virtutes, sive potestates, visibilia et invisibilia, omnia per ipsum constant. cap. 13. p. 94.

[o] Apostolus quoque Paulus: Qui solus, inquit, habet, immortalitatem, &c cap. 30 p. 230.

10. 'And [a] Christ is said to be "one master:" Matt. xxiii. 8, 10. 'but yet we read that 'the apostle Paul also is a "master," or teacher. 2 Tim. i. 11.

11. 'Under [b] whom [Christ] it is now rightly said: "To the pure all things are pure,—"' Titus i. 25.

12. The epistle to Philemon is no where quoted, or referred to, in the remaining works of Novatus.

13. With regard to the epistle to the Hebrews, I shall take what may deserve any notice in this writer. He observes, 'It is [c] assured of Christ, both by prophets and apostles, that he 'sitteth at the right hand of the Father.' See Heb. i. 3. But this is so often spoken of in the New Testament, in the gospels, Acts, and epistles, that it cannot afford any argument for the epistle to the Hebrews. Again, he says, 'that [d] Christ is found to be greater and better not 'than one angel only, but than all the angels.' See Heb. i. 4. "Being made so much better than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." But this is too often said in the New Testament, as Eph. i. 21; Philip. ii. 10; Col. i. 16,—18: and therefore here is no proof of a reference to the epistle to the Hebrews. Mr. Hallet, having allowed that St. Cyprian and our Novatus had not quoted this epistle, adds: 'There [e] are many passages in 'the epistle to the Hebrews very pertinent to the purpose of their writings; upon which account 'it looks very likely that they were of the same opinion with some others of the Latin church at 'that time, who did not, as [f] Jerom tells us, receive this as a canonical epistle.'

I infer then, that the epistle to the Hebrews was not received by Novatus as an epistle of the apostle Paul. Indeed [g] Epiphanius [h] and Jerom seem to say that the passage in the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. vi. 4—8, was the main text by which the Novatians, and even Novatus himself, had been misled. But, however it may have been with the Novatians in after times, I think there can be no reason to suppose that Novatus himself insisted upon this passage; his remaining works afford a decisive argument that he did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews: nor does the anonymous author of the piece, Against the Novatian heretic, usually joined with St. Cyprian's works, take any notice of this text. We know likewise, from the several authors who wrote against the Novatians, that there were other texts of scripture alleged by them in support of their peculiar notion: they argued from [i] the words of Christ in Matt. x. 33: "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him also will I deny before my Father which is in heaven:" from [k] Matt. xii. 32: from [l] Acts viii. 22; and from [m] 1 John v. 16: not to mention any other texts.

What has been just now said is of use to shew the mistake of some moderns, who have supposed that many catholic Christians among the Latins were induced to set aside the epistle to the Hebrews, because the Novatians perverted a passage in the sixth chapter of it. Much to our purpose are the observations of Beausobre and Lenfant: 'For [n] it is false,' say they, 'that 'the church of Rome did not acknowledge the epistle to the Hebrews, because the Novatians 'abused the words of chap. vi. 4, 5, 6, to exclude from the benefit of repentance and from the 'peace of the church those who, after baptism, had fallen into idolatry or other crimes. There 'is no likelihood that the church of Rome would reject a book which had been held for canoni-'cal, because some new heretics endeavoured to make an advantage of it for the support of their 'errors: besides, it is certain that at Rome they counted but thirteen epistles of St. Paul before the 'rise of the sect of the Novatians: as appears from the testimony of Caius, presbyter of Rome, 'who wrote at the beginning of the third century: whereas [o] the heresy of Novatus, likewise

[a] Et magister unus Christus est dictus; at enim legimus, quod magister sit etiam apostolus Paulus. ib. p. 233.

[b] Sub quo merito jam dicitur: Omnia munda mundis. De Cib. Jud. cap. 5. p. 273.

[c] Aut cum sedere ad dextram patris et a prophetis et ab apostolis approbatur. De Reg. Fid. cap. 26. p. 201.

[d] Qui non uno, sed omnibus angelis et major et melior inveniatur. ib. cap. 20, [al. 25] p. 162.

[e] See his Introduction to his Paraphrase and notes upon the epistle to the Hebrews, p. 18.

[f] Hieron ad Dardan. Ep. 129.

[g] Συμβαλλει δε αυτοις το ρητον του αποστολου ειρημενον (Heb. vi. 4—8.) Epiph. Hær. 59. n. ii. p. 494. A. B.

[h] Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt non posse renovari per pœnitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt ubimet Filium Dei, et ostentui habuerunt, consequenter hunc errorem solvit, et sit. Hieron. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 193. Bened.

[i] Ad Novatian. Hæret. p. 18. a. ap. Cyprian.

[k] Vid. Q. cii. ex Vet. et Nov. Test.

[l] Sed soles alio dolo fraudem hanc velle contegere, dicens eodem sensu etiam Petrum apostolum dixisse Simoni: Age pœnitentiam ab hac malitiâ tuâ, si forte remittatur tibi. ib.

[m] Unde nec illa quæstio vestra quidquam poterit adferre ponderis, quam sumitis de epistolâ Johannis dicentis: Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem, petat, &c. Ambr. de Pœnit. l. i. cap. 10. Conf. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 312. G.

[n] Car il est faux, que l'église de Rome n'ait pas reconnu l'epître aux Hébreux, &c. Préf. sur l'Ep. aux Hébr. n. ii. p. 413, 414.

[o] Or l'heresie de Novat, aussi prêtre de Rome, ne commença qu'après le milieu de ce siècle là. ib. p. 414.

'presbyter of Rome, did not begin to appear till after the middle of that age.' So those learned writers: and I think their argument conclusive.

But yet it must be owned that Philaster, who flourished about the year 380, says, 'in his time[a] 'it was customary in some places to omit the reading of the epistle to the Hebrews; and that 'one reason of that practice was the advantage which the Novatians endeavoured to make of it.' Nevertheless this does not alter my opinion of the forementioned argument of those commentators. Philaster only informs us what was the practice of some churches in his time, near the end of the fourth century: as for the sentiments of the Latin Christians in the former part of the third century, and downward till below the middle of it, we need no information from him; being already sufficiently informed about them by Tertullian, Caius, the works of Cyprian, and Novatus himself, not to mention now any other writers.

7. Our next article will take in the seven catholic epistles, and the book of Revelation.

1. There are no references in this author to the epistle of St. James, nor to the first or second epistle of St. Peter. However, we shall observe, with regard to the last mentioned epistle, that he says: 'The[b] several parts of the world are so firmly connected together as not 'to be dissolved by any power, till he alone who made it shall command it to be dissolved for 'affording a better state for us.' See 2 Pet. iii. 11, 12, 13. Again, he speaks of the[c] world's hastening to the fiery day of judgment: see 2 Pet. iii. 7. But this was so common an expectation, that the present world should be sometime destroyed by fire, that these expressions, in my opinion, are not sufficient to determine a particular reference to this epistle. Mr. Jackson,[d] in a note upon the first cited passages, owns that this was an expectation of the stoics.

2. 'For[e] John also says: "No man hath seen God at any time." 1 John iv. 12. Again, 'We[f] find it written, that God is called love, and that he is called light;' see 1 John iv. 8, and i. 5.

3. I remember not any thing in this writer relating to the other two epistles ascribed to St. John.

4. There is nothing in Novatus taken out of the epistle of St. Jude.

5. 'But[g] there is a woe appointed to those who add, and to those who take away,' See Rev. xxii. 18, 19. But whether this will be reckoned material I cannot say.

8. We are next to observe some forms of citation and general divisions of the scriptures, and afterwards some marks of respect for them.

1. "Of[h] two sparrows," saith the Lord, "one does not fall without the will of your father;" see Matt. x. 29, 30. 'Although[i] we hasten to other things, yet that I think ought not to be 'omitted which the Lord saith in the gospel for representing his majesty: "Destroy this temple 'and in three days I will raise it up again."' John ii. 19. 'Lastly[k] in the gospel; "the hour 'cometh," saith the Lord, "when neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem, shall ye worship 'the Father."' John iv. 21. And in like manner in other places, as may be seen in part in what has been transcribed. He also calls the New Testament in general[l] the evangelic scripture.

2. 'This[m] same Jesus, the Son of God, we read to be promised in the Old Testament, and 'observe exhibited in the New Testament.' 'Him the ancient prophecies, as well as the gospels, 'testify to be the son of Abraham:' see before Numb. vii. 1. 'Justly[n] do we believe and hold,

[a] —— Et quia addiderunt in eâ quædam non bene sentientes, inde non legitur in ecclesiâ: etsi legitur a quibusdam, non tamen in ecclesiâ leguntur populo, nisi tredecim epistolæ ipsius, et ad Hebræos interdum. Et quia et factum Christum, dicit in ea, inde non legitur. De pœnitentiâ autem propter Novatianos æque. Philast. Hær. 11.

[b] ——ut ex disparibus elementis ita sit unus mundus istâ coagmentata conspiratione solidatus, ut nullâ vi dissolvi possit, nisi quum illum solus ipse qui fecit, ad majora alia præstanda nobis, solvi jusserit. de Reg. Fid. cap. 2. p. 19.

[c] Sive quoniam ad igneum diem judicii mundus iste festinat. ib. cap. 8. p. 56.

[d] Stoici contra (prope cum Christianis) igne dissolutum iri statuebant. Not. ii. p. 19.

[e] Nam et Joannes, Deum nemo, inquit, vidit unquam. cap. 18, [al. 26.] p. 136.

[f] Invenimus enim scriptum esse, quod Deus caritas dictus sit,——et quod Deus lux dictus est. cap. 7. in.

[g] Sed væ est adjicientibus, quomodo et detrahentibus, positum. cap. 16, [al. 24.] p. 123.

[h] Ex duobus, inquit Dominus, passeribus unus non cadet sine Patris voluntate. cap. 8. p. 53.

[i] Illud non arbitror prætermittendum, quod in evangelio Dominus ad significantiam suæ majestatis expressit dicendo. cap. 21, [al. 16] init.

[k] Denique in evangelio, Veniet hora aiebat Dominus, &c. cap. 6. p. 44.

[l] Præsertim cum animadvertat scripturam evangelicam —— cap. 13. p. 96.

[m] Hunc enim Jesum Christum——et in veteri testamento legimus esse repromissum, et in novo testamento animadvertimus exhibitum. cap. 9. in.

[n] Merito secundum institutionem veteris et novi testamenti, et Deum et hominem Christum Jesum et credimus et tenemus. cap. 17, [al. 25] p. 128.

'according to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, that Christ Jesus is God and man.' The phrase of Old and New Testament is frequent in this writer.

3. He calls the scriptures sacred and divine, and at the same time shews their use and authority for confirming the truth of doctrines, or for confuting errors. 'That[a] Christ is not 'only man, but God also, is proved by the sacred authority of the divine writings.' 'The[b] divine 'scripture easily detects and confutes the frauds of heretics.' Again: 'The[c] divine scripture of the Old and New Testament.' And[d] sacred scriptures,[e] heavenly scriptures: this last is a common expression in our author. He[f] affirms the scriptures are infallible: he[g] says it is one and the same spirit that spoke in the prophets and the apostles: but he gives the advantage to these. Among the offices of the Holy Spirit he mentions this as one, that[h] he guards the gospels.

9. We are now to sum up the testimony of this writer. We have not seen in him passages of all the books of the New Testament commonly received at that time: but there is no reason to think he differed upon this head from other Christians; there not having been any accusations brought against him upon that account. Every one knows now what are the books I mean: the four gospels, the Acts, thirteen epistles of St. Paul, the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John: most of these we have seen quoted by him; and it may be taken for granted that the rest also were a part of his canon. He likewise received the book of the Revelation: we saw a passage in him which may be supposed to refer to it. Besides, we know it was received by St. Cyprian of Africa, with whom the church of Rome held a friendly correspondence. It was also received by the anonymous writer[i] against the Novatian heretic, supposed contemporary with Novatus. This book is much quoted in that piece; which is an argument that it was a book of authority with those against whom he wrote. We perceive farther, from the writings of Novatus, that he did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as a part of sacred scripture, for he never quotes it; though there are in it many texts, which he would certainly have reckoned to be to his purpose, if the epistle had been of authority with him. As for the disputed catholic epistles, that of James, the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and that of St. Jude, we have no clear evidences what was his opinion of them. He had a great regard for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament commonly received. We have seen in him many undeniable proofs of that peculiar respect which was shewn the scriptures by all Christians in general, as esteeming them books of authority, by which all disputes and controversies were to be decided. Finally, it ought to be observed, that there is not in this learned Latin writer of the third century any, the least, notice taken of spurious apocryphal Christian writings.

VIII. It remains only that we observe the sentiments of the Novatians concerning sacred scripture. Having before carried down their history a good way below the time of their founder and first leader, it may be thought requisite to make a distinct article of their testimony: but a short one will suffice.

1. For, as we meet not with any complaints against them relating to this matter, it may be concluded that they had all along the same canon with the catholic Christians of the several countries where they lived.

2. Philaster[k] expressly says that the Novatians agreed with the catholic church in receiving the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; which is not contradicted by Epiphanius, Theodoret, or Augustine, who also have written professedly of heretics and their opinions. Socrates, giving an account of the difference between the catholics and Novatians, assures us, that each[l] side endeavoured to support itself by the authority of the divine scriptures.

3. This account is confirmed by the arguments of those writers who designedly confute the

[a] Quia Christus non homo tantum, sed et Deus divinarum literarum sacris auctoritatibus approbatur. cap. 26, [al. 21] in.

[b] Sed enim scriptura divina hæreticorum et fraudes et furta facile convincit et detegit. cap. 24, [al 19.] p. 187.

[c] Quandoquidem non tam veteris quam etiam novi testamenti scriptura divina. cap. 26, [al. 29] p. 201.

[d] Scripturæ sanctæ. cap. 30, p. 229.

[e] Et poteram quidem omnium scripturarum cœlestium eventilare tractatus. cap. 21, [al. 16.] init. Sed quo modo hoc tenemus et legimus et credimus, sic scripturarum cœlestium nullam partem præterire debemus. cap. 30, p 230.

[f] Non utique ex scripturarum cœlestium vitio, quæ nunquam fallunt cap. 30, p. 232.

[g] Unus ergo et idem spiritus, qui in prophetis et apostolis, nisi quoniam ibi ad momentum, hic semper. cap. 29, p. 219.

[h] ——evangelia custodit. cap. 29, p. 223.

[i] See before p. 62.

[k] Novatiani surrexerunt post persecutionem postremam a Novato quodam, qui, sicut ecclesia catholica, credebant antea, vetus Testamentum et novum accipientes. Philastr. Hær. 82.

[l] ἐτω δε αμφοτεροων επιστελλοντων τα εναντια, και εκ των θειων ογκρουντων ἁ εκατερος ελεγεν. Socrat. l. iv. cap. 28. p. 245, D.

Novatians; for, in their arguments, they quote to them as books of authority all the books commonly received by Christians; particularly [a] the Acts of the apostles.

4. It is probable, likewise, that they kept pace with the catholics in admitting the epistle to the Hebrews. That some of them in some places received this epistle, may be inferred from the passages of Epiphanius and Jerom before quoted: and St. Ambrose, in his books upon this controversy, considers [b] the objection taken from Hebr. vi. 4,—8, as does [c] Eulogius of Alexandria; who likewise says that [d] they argued from Hebr. x. 26, 27; but I do not observe that Pacian, or the anonymous author of the Questions out of the Old and New Testament, in writing against this sect, take any notice of the objection founded upon the passage in the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. It is therefore my opinion, that, whilst the catholics were not agreed in receiving this epistle, so long there were also different sentiments about it among the Novatians.

5. I can say little concerning the opinion which these people had about the disputed catholic epistles.

6. As for the book of the Revelation, it was certainly received by them: it is quoted by most, if not all, the authors who write against them.

[a] The Acts are quoted by several writers in their arguments against the Novatians, as Epiphan. Hær. 59, n. viii. p. 500, & Ambros. de Pœnit. l. i. cap. 8. p. 399, E. cap. 10, p. 403, B. C. Quid Paulus apostolus? erubescit, cum Atheniensem illum versum et dixit et comprobat! Nam in Actis apostolorum ita ponit, &c. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 308. B. C. Vid. etiam Qu. ex V. et. N. T. Qu. cii.

[b] Cum igitur tam evidenti et ipsius apostoli, et scriptorum ejus exemplo redarguantur, tamen adhuc obniti volunt, et auctoritatem aiunt apostolicæ sibi suffragari sententiæ, allegantes scriptum ad Hebræos: Impossibile enim, &c. Ambr. de Pœnit. l. ii. cap. 2. p. 417. C. D.

[c] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1604.

[d] Ib. p. 1609. in.

A NOTE UPON CHAP. XLVII.

It is commonly said, by learned moderns, that the Greek writers of the church have mistaken the name of Cornelius's rival, calling him Novatus,* and confounding this presbyter of Rome with the presbyter of Carthage: whereas his name, they say, was Novatianus, or Novatian. So Cave and Ruinart, and Petavius, not to mention any more. Hosce duos nominum similitudine decepti perpetuo fere confundunt scriptores Græci. Cav. H. L. in Novatian. Quin et ad ipsum Novatianum, quem Eusebius Novatum vocat, Græcorum more, qui Novati et Novatiani nomina sæpius confundunt. Ruin. Act. M. Sinc. et Sel. de S. Dionys. Alex. n. vii. p. 180. Græci enim Novatum et Novatianum inter se confuderunt, similitudine nominum decepti. Quo in errore fuit Eusebius noster. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. vi. c. 45.

1. My first argument therefore in support of the present assertion is, that this presbyter of Rome is generally called Novatus by the Greek writers; by Eusebius, and Socrates, and Sozomen, and divers others: and I know of no reason why they should be deceived herein. Eusebius had before him the letter of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, and the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to this presbyter, and divers other letters of the same Dionysius, upon the controversy about receiving the lapsed: and the two last mentioned ecclesiastical historians were well acquainted with the Novatians at Constantinople, who may be supposed to have known the name of the founder of their sect. Let me add here, to all the Greek writers already mentioned, Athanasius; who expressly says, that the Novatians were so called from Novatus; ἀπὸ Νοβάτου Νοβατιανοί. Orat. i. contr. Ar. p. 407. B.

2. There are still remaining in Latin authors traces of their agreement with the Greek writers upon this head. For this I allege the words of J. A. Fabricius: Eusebii et Rufini editiones Νοβάτῳ Novato vi. 45. Sed Novatiano utique fuit illi nomen, non Novato, qui episcopum Romanum se contra Cornelium ordinari passus est anno 251, quo has ad eum literas Dionysius Alex-

* See note [h], p 43.

andrinus exaravit. Fabric. not. (f) ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 69. Rufinus therefore, in his translation of Eusebius, at the place referred to, has Novatus, as Fabricius owns. I shall next allege a passage taken from the notes of the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works: Romana editio ubique Novatum fecit e Novatiano: qua mutatione inductus in errorem Petavius Ambrosium nostrum iis patribus a quibus ambo hæresiarchæ inter se confunduntur, accensuit. Verum doctissimus vir secus sensisset, si quam aliam editionem, aut quemlibet manu exaratum codicem consuluisset. Not. in Ambros. de Pœnit. l. i. cap. 3. p. 393. Hence then I learn, that in the Roman edition of St. Ambrose's works is Novatus, where in other editions we now have Novatianus. Indeed the Benedictine editors of Ambrose say, that all the manuscripts have Novatianus. But, in answer to this, two things may be said: 1. That it is likely the Roman editor did not put Novatus without some reason. 2. It is very likely that in some manuscripts of divers Latin authors the name of the presbyter of Rome may be found written Novatus; and what is to be farther offered will confirm this supposition. I therefore proceed in the second argument. The Benedictines themselves have so printed his name in their edition of St. Hilary of Poictiers: Nam in urbe Roma sub Novato et Sabellio et Valentino hæreticis factum concilium, ab Orientalibus confirmatum est. Hilar. ex. op. Hist. Fragm. iii. p. 1320. F. Et vid. ibidem annotata. Farther, I find his name frequently printed Novatus in the edition of St. Jerom's works by Martianay, a Benedictine likewise, of the congregation of St. Maur. Quid respondebit Novatus negans pœnitentiam, &c.? Hieron. Comm. in Joel. cap. 2. p. 1358. in Tom. iii. Hæc diximus, non quo juxta Novatum tollamus spem pœnitentiæ. Id. in Amos, cap. 5. p. 1407. m. Facessat itaque Novatus errantibus manus non porrigens.——Id. in Ep. 38, [al. 61] T. iv. p. 307. Ego Originem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, &c. Ep. 56, [al. 76] p. 589. ib. Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, &c. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 195. m. Non est loci hujus, ut pœnitentiam prædicem, et quasi contra Montanum Novatumque scribens, dicam, &c. ad Ocean. Ep. 84, [al. 30] p. 659. Montanus et qui Novati schisma sectantur, nomen sibi munditiæ præsumsere. In. Ep. ad. Tit. cap. 1. p. 414. f. I have put down all these passages out of Martianay's edition of Jerom's works, hoping I may rely upon him for the right readings. I observe, indeed, that, in the index of matters at the end of St. Jerom's fourth tome, Martiany distinguishes between Novatian, and Novatus the presbyter of Carthage; supposing that where Jerom mentions Novatus he intends this last person, and not the presbyter of Rome: but, I believe, most learned men will think Martianay mistaken: Jerom plainly speaking of a writer, and the principal author of the Novatian sect; therefore he must intend the presbyter of Rome: for Cyprian's presbyter is never reckoned a writer. And though the Benedictine editors of Ambrose affirm that, in the manuscripts of that father's work de Pœnitentia, the name of this person is written Novatian; yet there are certainly two or more Latin authors, who write it Novatus: those Benedictines seem not able to deny it. They blame Petavius for reckoning Ambrose among the fathers, by whom these two presbyters have been confounded: but they were not pleased to cite Petavius, nor to refer to the place where he speaks of this matter. I shall therefore transcribe here the passage which I suppose to be intended by those Benedictines: Sic igitur Novatianorum secta ab ambobus illis auctoribus profecta, a posteriore præsertim, hoc est, Novatiano, magnum incrementum accepit. Sed Græci, uti dixi, Patres unum duntaxat sectæ conditorem nominant, Novatum sive Ναυατον, Romanum presbyterum: quemadmodum Euseb. l. 6. cap. 45. Theodoretus, Epiphanius hoc loco, Gregorius Nazianz. adeoque Socrates,——et complures alii. Imo etiam e Latinis Augustin. l. de Hær. Philastrius, Ambr. in L. de Pœn. Distinguit autem Cyprianus passim in Epist. et Pacianus, ac Latini omnes, qui de hac hæresi subtilius disputarunt. Petav. Animadv. ad Hær. lix. T. ii. Epiphan. p. 226. Here then are two more Latin authors to be added to the foregoing, Philaster and Augustine; their words are these: Novatiani surrexerunt post persecutionem postremam a Novato quodam——Philast. de Hær. cap. 82. Cathari, qui seipsos isto nomine, quasi propter munditiam, superbissime atque odiosissime nominant, secundas nuptias non admittunt, pœnitentiam denegant, Novatum sectantes hæreticum: unde etiam Novatiani appellantur. Aug. de Hær. cap. 38. Vid. eund. De Utilit. Jejun. cap. 9. n. 11. et contr. Crescon. l. ii. c. 1. n. 2. These are two material witnesses, Latin authors, who wrote professedly of heresies; and the latter of them a man of great learning. I must add here that Rufinus, not only in his version of Eusebius before taken notice of, but in his explication of the creed likewise, has Novatus: Et quod Novatus sollicitavit, lapsis pœnitentiam denegando, et secundas nuptias, cum forte iniri eas

necessitas exegerit, condemnando. Symb. Ruf. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 130. f. Pelagius writes the name in the same manner: Quamvis ergo tota epistola contra Novatum sit, &c. Pelag. in. 2. Cor. cap. 2. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1015. In the decree of Gelasius his name is written Novatus. Ap. Labb. Conc. T. iv. p. 1265. I shall mention one author more: Fuerunt hi enim aliquantò nobiscum, sed quodam Novato auctore disrupti sunt: non tamen hæreticis coæquandi, quia non a confessione catholica, sed a caritate dissentiunt. Consult. Zach. et Apoll. l. i. c. 17. ap. Dacher. Spic. T. x. p. 89. And I make no doubt but the name of our Roman presbyter will be found so written in the manuscripts of many Latin authors, if consulted.

3. The common appellation of this people shews that the name of their leader was Novatus, not Novatian. If his name had been Novatian, his followers would have been called by the Greeks Ναυατιανιαιοι, or Ναυτιανιζαι, Novatianists: whereas they are always called by them Ναυατιανοι· and in like manner by the Latins Novatiani, Novatians, from Novatus. This is evident from the passage of Augustine, before cited; and from a passage in his answer to Cresconius, a Donatist and grammarian: Tuque potius eis facis injuriam, cum scribis, in Latino sermone, non nisi Latinam regulam probans, Donatianos a Donato, sicut ab Ario et Novato Arianos et Novatianos, velles vocari. Contr. Crescon. l. ii. c. 1. n. 2. T. ix. To these passages innumerable others might be added. I recollect but one exception among the Latin writers: Nec nos movet, frater carissime, quod in literis tuis complexus es; Novatianenses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis sollicitant. Cypr. Ep. 73, p. 198. This passage is cited in Augustine in the same manner: De Baptismo contra Donatistas. l. iii. cap. 12. Therefore I do not dispute the genuineness of this reading: but no one will suppose that this one instance can assure us of the right name of the author of the sect: for if his name had been Novatian, the common appellation of his followers would have been Novatianenses, or Novatianistæ, and we should have found it continually in Latin authors: as we too, upon that supposition, should call them Novatianists, not Novatians. Nay, though we had found these people several times called Novatienses, it could not have amounted to a proof that their leader was called Novatianus, if there were a great deal of evidence to the contrary. It is allowed that the name of Pelagius is rightly so written in Latin, and his followers therefore generally called Pelagiani. Yet they are not seldom called Pelagianistæ, a word derived immediately from Pelagianus, not from Pelagius. But no body therefore concludes that the name of their leader was Pelagianus, and not Pelagius. I put down only an instance or two of that way of writing the appellation of that sect. Adversus Pelagianistas quoque novos nostrorum temporum hæreticos——per annos fere decem laboravit. Possid. de Vit. August. cap. 18.——illosque Manichæos, Donatistas, Pelagianistas,——ex magna parte defecisse,——congaudens. Id. ib.

4. I know not of any one, in any age, called Novatian, unless the person in dispute was so named: but there have been many called Novatus: as Junius Gallio, Seneca's elder brother, born at Corduba in Spain, whose original name was M. Annæus Novatus. Beside the presbyter of Carthage under Cyprian, there was at that time a bishop in Africa named Novatus, who was present at the council of Carthage in 256. Vid. Cypr. Tr. p. 230. Novatus, a bishop, was present at the council of Milevi in Africa, in the year 416. Vid. Augustin. Ep. 176, [al. 92]. The same Novatus, or another bishop of that name, is afterwards mentioned by Augustine, in a letter written about the year 429. A sanctis fratribus et coepiscopis meis Urbano et Novato, qualis sis vir et quantus accepi. Aug. Ep. 229, [al. 262.] A letter of Augustine written in 405, is sent to one Novatus, supposed to be the same Novatus, bishop of Sitifi, who was present at the conference at Carthage in 411. Vid. Aug. Ep. 84, [al. 242.] et August. Vit. a Benedictin. concinnat. l. vi. cap. 6. n. 4, et Collat. Carthag. n. 143. et 204. There was formerly a place at Rome called Thermæ Novati: from whom so called, I do not enquire. Vit. Montfauc. Diar. Ital. cap. 14. p. 203. There is likewise a writer of this name whose work indeed I never saw; but it is to be found in divers curious libraries: this is the title. Novatus Catholicus de humilitate et obedientia. Vit. Montf. Bib. Mss. T. i. p. 46, 67, 1373.[a] This consideration alone is sufficient to render it probable that the person of whom we are speaking was called Novatus: for it is not likely he should have a name by which no other man was ever called.

5. Some learned moderns seem to have supposed that the name of this person was Novatus.

[a] So I wrote in the first edition: but the book is easy enough to be found. It is in Bib. PP. Maxima, T. v. p. 1082, 1093, where it makes little more than one folio page. It is also in Bib. PP. Morell. Paris, 1644, T. ii. p. 75, &c.

I guess that Beausobre and Lenfant were of this opinion, because they write his name in French Novat: as may be seen in a passage formerly quoted, p. 63, note °. In Du Fresne's Latin translation of the Paschal Chronicle, the name Novatus is preserved, p. 271, D. 272. A Paris. 1688. And I am apt to think it will be found, (though this single instance only now offers itself to me,) that several learned moderns have kept the name Novatus in their Latin translations of Greek writers.

Obj. I can think of but one objection of moment, which is, that this person's name is always written Novatian by St. Cyprian: and it must be owned that this is a considerable difficulty: nevertheless, I think it ought not to prevail against so much evidence as we have seen on the other side. The case seems to me to be this; Cyprian would have it that his presbyter Novatus was the principal author of the disturbances at Rome, [See before p. 51.] And therefore he called the presbyter of Rome Novatian, as if he had been only a follower of Novatus of Carthage: and, having once given him that name, he used it ever after. Moreover, having occasion, or being of himself mightily disposed, frequently to mention these two presbyters together, no shorter way of distinguishing them could be thought of, than to call one Novatus, the other Novatianus: and St. Cyprian having often called him of Rome Novatian, I suppose he was without scruple followed by many Latin writers; though, I think, not universally; far from it: for we have seen above sufficient evidence that, notwithstanding Cyprian's way of writing, there were not a few ancient Latin authors, who always, or generally, called the presbyter of Rome, and Cornelius's rival, Novatus.

It will be thought by some that I have dwelt too long upon so trifling a thing as a man's name: but, having long ago had doubts about it, I have chosen to put down here the collections I had made upon the point. Let others make what use of them they think fit.

CHAP. XLVIII.

DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF ROME.

I. *His history and works.* II. *His character.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. DIONYSIUS of Rome has been already mentioned by us in the history of his contemporary and namesake of Alexandria. He [a] was first presbyter, afterwards bishop of Rome. His predecessor Xystus, or Sixtus the second, suffered martyrdom [b] under the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, on the sixth day of August, in the year of Christ 258. It is now the general opinion [c] of learned men that, after the death of Xystus, the see of Rome was vacant almost a whole year, that Dionysius was ordained bishop of that city on the 22d day of July 259, and died the 26th of December 269.

In the time of his episcopate, probably near the beginning of the sole reign of Gallienus, not long after the defeat of Valerian by the Persians, and therefore about the year of our Lord 260 or 261, the Christians at Cæsarea in Cappadocia were in great distress; occasioned, as it seems, by the inroads of some barbarous people: for St. Basil [d] in one of his epistles says, 'that 'Dionysius wrote to the church of Cæsarea, and by his letters comforted them when under 'affliction, and likewise sent some persons to redeem those of the brethren that had been taken

[a] Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 7. p. 254. A

[b] Xystum autem in cœmeterio animadversum sciatis octavo iduum Augustarum die. Cypr. Ep. 80. [al. 82] p. 238. Jam de Xysto, bono et pacifico sacerdote, ac propterea beatissimo martyre, ab urbe nuntius venerat. Pont. de Vit. Cyprian. p. 8. m. Sixti martyris, et Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopi. Hieron. ad Ctesiph. Ep. 43. p. 476. fin. Bened.

[c] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 258. n. vii. 271. x Basnag. Ann. 259. n. viii. Tillem. Mem. T. iv. St. Denys Pape.

[d] Οιδαμεν γαρ, μνημης ακολθια, παρα των παλερων ἡμων αιτηθεντων, και απο γραμματων των επι και νυν πεφυλαγμενων παρ' ἡμιν, διδασκομενοι, Διονυσιον εκεινον, τον μακαριωτατον επισκοπον, —— επισκεπτομενον δια γραμματων την ἡμετεραν εκκλησιαν των Καισαρεων, και παρακαλεντα τες πατερας ἡμων δια γραμματων, και πεμπειν τες απολυτρωμενες εκ της αιχμαλωσιας την αδελφοτηλα. Basil. Ep. 70. [al. 220] T. iii. p. 164. B. C. Bened.

'captive.' The memory of this benefit, St. Basil says, was preserved at Cæsarea, not only by the tradition of their ancestors, but also by the letter of that good bishop in their possession.

He was appealed to in the affair of Sabellianism, and probably in the beginning of his episcopate, in [a] the year 260, or soon after. 'Some catholics of Pentapolis,' as Athanasius [b] writes, 'dissatisfied with some expressions used by Dionysius of Alexandria in his writings upon that 'argument, went to Rome, and accused him there to his namesake Dionysius, bishop of Rome: 'and he, having heard them, wrote at once against the followers of Sabellius, and against those 'opinions for which Arius has been expelled the church; declaring that the opinions of Sabel- 'lius, and of those who say the Word of God is a creature, a workmanship, and made, though 'directly opposite to each other, were equally impious. He also wrote to Dionysius, to inform 'him of the things laid to his charge; who immediately replied, entitling his book, A con- 'futation and apology.' So writes Athanasius in his epistle concerning the opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria. In another work he says; 'When [c] some brought accusations to the bishop 'of Rome, against the bishop of Alexandria, as if he had said the Son was a creature, and not 'consubstantial to the Father, the synod at Rome was offended, and the bishop of Rome sent 'the judgment of them all to his namesake. He afterwards vindicated himself, entitling his 'book, A confutation and apology: and thus he writes to him;' that is, to Dionysius of Rome.

There was therefore a synod at Rome, which had some concern in this business: but, whether it was convened upon occasion of the accusations brought against Dionysius of Alexandria, or whether his accusers found it assembled, and laid their charges against him before Dionysius of Rome, and the whole synod, is not clear. Hence also we perceive that Dionysius of Rome wrote in that controversy; but whether one piece only, or a treatise, and an epistle besides to Dionysius of Alexandria, is not certain. A large fragment of what he wrote upon this point remains cited in a work of Athanasius. I shall transcribe a part of it presently.

It should be observed, that Dionysius, whilst presbyter only, [d] wrote to his namesake of Alexandria upon the question of the baptism of heretics. And now, I think, we have mentioned all the works of this bishop of Rome, of which we have any certain notice: I mean the letter just named, the letter to the Cæsareans mentioned by Basil, and what he wrote in the Sabellian controversey: for Jerom has not allotted him any distinct article in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: and as for decretal, or other epistles ascribed to him, they are allowed [e] by learned men to be spurious: nor does there remain any thing of his genuine writings, beside the fragment just mentioned.

To this Dionysius was sent one of the letters about baptism, written by Dionysius of Alexandria, as [f] shewn formerly: as also another letter by the same person concerning one [g] Lucian. To him likewise were [h] addressed the four books concerning Sabellianism, written by the same Dionysius of Alexandria, as we are assured by Eusebius; with whom Athanasius agrees when he says, the vindication which that bishop made of himself, entitled, A confutation and apology, was inscribed to Dionysius of Rome. And lastly, to him, and Maximus, bishop of Alexandria, by name, as well as to all other bishops and clergy, and the universal church, was directed [i] the Synodical epistle of the council of Antioch, which condemned Paul of Samosata: but Dionysius dying before the end of the year 269, he never saw it: and possibly he was dead at the time of writing it, though the fathers of the council had not received any account of his death.

II. We are not without proofs of the eminence and distinction of this bishop for his personal merit, as well as the dignity of his see. His epistolary correspondence and friendship, whilst yet presbyter only, with the great Dionysius of Alexandria, is an argument he was a man of more than common accomplishments. Eusebius, who read the fourth letter of the Alexandrian

[a] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 259. n. viii.

[b] ——ανηλθον εις την 'Ρωμην, και κατειρηκασιν αυτω παρα τω ὁμωνυμω αυτω Διονυσιω τω επισκοπω 'Ρωμης· κἀκεινος ακουσας εγραψεν ὁμως κατα τε των τα Σαβελλιω δοξαζοντων, και κατα των φρονουντων ταυτα ἁπερ και Αρειος λεγων εξεβληθη της εκκλησιας·——επεστειλε δε και Διονυσιω δηλωσαι, περι ὡν ειρηκασι κατ' αυτου· και αντεγραψεν ευθυς αυτος, και επεγραψε τα βιβλια ελεγχου και απολογιας. Athan de Sent. Dionys. T. i. p. 252.

[c] Αλλα τινων αιτιασαμενων παρα τω επισκοπω 'Ρωμης τον της Αλεξανδρειας επισκοπον, ὡς λεγοντα ποιημα, και μη ὁμοουσιον τον υἱον τω πατρι, ἡ μεν κατα 'Ρωμην συνοδος ηγανακτησεν, ὁ δε της 'Ρωμης επισκοπος την παντων γνωμην γραφει προς τον ὁμωνυμον ἑαυτου. κἀκεινος λοιπον απολογουμενος το μεν βιβλιον επιγραφει ελεγχου και απολογιας. γραφει δε ταυτα προς εκεινον. Athan. de Synodis, p. 757. F.

[d] Vid. Eus lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 252. C.

[e] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 269. n. iii. Basn. 259. n. ix. Tillem. Mem. St. Denys Pape. p. 701, 702.

[f] See before, ch. xliii. n. vi. vol. i. p. 615.

[g] See the same, ibid.

[h] See the same, numb. vii. vol. i. p. 616.

[i] Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 30. init.

bishop upon baptism, which we have not, observes, that from the testimony there given him it may be perceived that [a] Dionysius of Rome was a very learned and admirable man. Basil, in the place before quoted, styles him [b] 'a most blessed bishop, illustrious for the orthodoxy of 'his faith, and every other virtue:' and he [c] elsewhere mentions him together with Irenæus, Clement of Rome, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and other ancient ecclesiastical writers of chief note. I need not insist any farther upon the regard which Athanasius has shewn him.

III. However, I am now to transcribe from Athanasius a part of the fragment of this bishop of Rome, which he has preserved: It will represent to us his respectful manner of speaking of the scriptures in general: and it contains quotations out of some books of the New Testament.

'The true disciples of Christ,' says [d] Dionysius, 'know very well that a Trinity is taught by 'the divine scriptures; but that neither the Old nor the New Testament teaches three Gods.' Afterwards: 'But [e] the Son always was, if he "is in the Father," as he himself says: (John 'xiv. 11.) and if Christ be his word and wisdom and power, as ye know the divine scriptures 'say, Christ is.' He argues: 'Was [f] he made, who is "the first-begotten of every creature?"' Col. i. 15. 'He observes, that [g] in many places the divine oracles say Christ was begotten; no 'where that he was made.' Finally, at the conclusion of the fragment: "For [h] I," says he, "and the Father are one." And, "I in the Father, and the Father in me." John x. 30; xiv. 10, 11.

This is all I have to produce from Dionysius: though it be little, it suffices to shew the concurrence of this bishop of Rome with other Christians of that time in acknowledging the divine scriptures, and divine oracles, to be the rule of faith by which all doctrines were to be tried. He likewise, as well as others, teaches us where these oracles are to be found; namely, in the Old and New Testament, which contain all the scriptures that were in the strictest sense sacred and divine.

CHAP. XLIX.

COMMODIAN.

I. *His history and work.* II. *Select passages.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. COMMODIAN, a Latin author, formerly supposed by some to have lived in the time of Constantine, near the beginning of the fourth century, now [i] with more reason reckoned contemporary with St. Cyprian, or to have lived soon after him, is not at all mentioned by St. Jerom. As Gennadius, who wrote near the end of the fifth century, has given Commodian a place in his book of Ecclesiastical writers, I place [k] the whole article entire at the bottom of the page.

He speaks loosely [l] of its being then two hundred years from Christ to his own time. It is

[a] Εξ ἡς γνωναι παρεστιν, ὁπως και αυτος ὁτος λογιος τε και θαυμασιος ἡρος τε κατ' Αλεξανδρειαν Διονυσιῳ μεμαρτυρηται. Eus. l. vii. c. 7. fin.

[b] Διονυσιον εκεινον, τον μακαριωταῖον επισκοπον, παρ' ὑμιν επι ορθοτητι πιστεως, και τῃ λοιπῃ αρετῃ διαπρεψαντα. Basil. ut supra.

[c] Ειρηναιος εκεινος, και Κλημης ὁ Ρωμαιος, και Διονυσιος ὁ Ρωμαιος κ. λ. Id. de Sp. S. cap. 29. p. 60. Bened.

[d] Οὑτοι γαρ τριαδα μεν κηρυττομενην ὑπο της θειας γραφης σαφως επιστανται, τρεις δε Θεους ὁτε παλαιαν ὁτε καινην διαθηκην κηρυττουσαν. ap Ath. de Decret. Nicen. Syn. T. i. p. 231. F. Bened.

[e] Αει δε ην, ει γε εν τῳ πατρι εστιν, ὡς αυτος φησι· και ει λογος και σοφια και δυναμις ὁ Χριστος· ταυτα γαρ ειναι τον Χριστον αἱ θειαι λεγουσι γραφαι, ὡσπερ επιστασθε. ib. p. 232. A.

[f] Ποιημα ὁ πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως——; ib. D.

[g] Και πολλαχοῦ δε των θειων λογιων γεγενησθαι—λεγομενων ——κ. λ. ibid.

[h] Εγω γαρ, φησι, και ὁ πατηρ ἑν εσμεν· και εγω εν τῳ πατρι, και ὁ πατηρ εν εμοι· ibid. E.

[i] They who desire to know more of Commodian and his time, and the editions of his work, will do well to consult Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 136, &c. and Fabr. De Verit. Rel. Christ. p. 227, &c. I make use of Davies's edition at the end of Minutius Felix. Cantabr. 1712.

[k] Commodianus, dum inter seculares literas etiam nostras legit, occasionem accepit fidei. Factus itaque Christianus, et volens aliquid studiorum suorum muneris offerre Christo, suæ salutis auctori, scripsit mediocri sermone, quasi versu, librum adversum Paganos. Et quia parum nostrarum attigerat literarum, magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata, quam nostra firmare. Unde et de divinis repromissionibus adversum illos vili satis et crasso, ut ita dixerim, sensu disseruit, illis stuporem et nobis desperationem incutiens, Tertullianum, et Lactantium, et Papiam auctores secutus. Moralem sane doctrinam, et maxime voluntariæ paupertatis amorem optime prosecutus, studentibus inculcavit. Gennad. De V. I. cap. 15.

[l] ——Cur annis ducentis
fuistis infantes?——Instr. vi. p. 202.

likely, therefore, that [a] it was not quite three hundred years since Christ when he wrote: nor are there any expressions throughout the work that should induce us to think he lived after the alteration of the state of things made by the conversion of Constantine. Cave therefore seems to have rightly concluded that he wrote about the year 270.

It is no improbable conjecture, that Commodian was a native of Africa: it is certain he [b] was originally a heathen: it appears from his acknowledgments in many places.

It may be argued that he was not an illiterate person; for, as he himself says, he [c] was converted by reading the law; that is, as [d] Rigaltius understands him, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Gennadius plainly supposeth him to have been acquainted with secular authors before he read the sacred scriptures.

The only work of this author mentioned by Gennadius is still in being; consisting of eighty sections, or instructions, all acrostics, in a style between verse and prose.

Gennadius calls it a little book against the Pagans: but no one can suppose that to have been the title originally: it is more likely that [e] it was in general entitled instructions. Nor is it against heathens only; Christians likewise are here instructed and admonished as [f] Rigaltius clearly perceived.

In the former part of the work Commodian derides and exposes the heathen deities and their worship: this was an easy thing: herein, for certain, the Christians triumphed; and Commodian's thoughts are both just and acute. He likewise instructs the [g] Jews; and not content with this he also instructs Christians. This was yet a greater and more difficult attempt. To confute error by reason and argument is a laudable performance; but it may be soon done, and without much labour: to persuade men to act as Christians and friends of truth, requires more time and pains. Commodian aimed at this difficult work: and accordingly he instructs [h] catechumens, the [i] faithful, [k] Christian women, the [l] inferior clergy, the [m] pastors or bishops of the church, [n] and the aged; not to mention any other particulars.

Commodian [o] had no office in the church; but he endeavoured to be useful by propounding good instructions: and if he was not a fine writer, he was an honest man and a zealous Christian.

II. Having given this history of Commodian, and his work, I shall make some extracts out of him, for shewing the sentiments of Christians at that time.

1. He often says that [p] the heathen people were deceived and imposed upon by their priests.

2. Commodian [q] believed that men have free-will; that they are born reasonable beings, not brutes; and that with the help of those means which God affords them, they are able to convert themselves from error and sin, if they will but use their natural powers, and exercise thought and consideration.

[a] Vid. Davis. not.

[b] Ego similiter erravi tempore multo,
Fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis. Instr. i. p. 199.
Gens et ego fui perversâ mente moratus. Instr. xxvi. p. 221.
Et ego, qui moneo, idem fui, nescius errans. Ib. xxxiii. p. 226.
——de cloacâ levatus.——Ib. lxiii. p. 253.

[c] Abstuli me tandem inde, legendo de lege. Instr. i. p. 199.

[d] Legem hic et alibi passim appellat libros utriusque Testamenti. Rigalt.

[e] Ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo verum. Instr. i. p. 199.

[f] Libello suo Commodianus titulum fecit Instructiones, scilicet ad paganos, ut ab idolorum cultu ad veram Christianæ legis philosophiam convertantur: quinetiam ad Christianos ipsos, ne obliti Christianorum ad secularia redeant. Rigalt. in Præf. ap. Davis. p. 197. [g] Instr. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. xl. [h] ib. n. xlvi. [i] n. xlvii. xlviii. et passim. [k] n. lix. lx.

[l] Mysterium Christi, zacones, exercite caste.
Idcirco ministri facite præcepta magistri. Instr. n. lxviii.

[m] Pastor, si confessus fuerit, geminavit agonem, &c. n. lxix. [n] ibid.

[o] Non sum ego doctor, sed lex docet ipsa clamando. num. lxiii. p. 256.

[p] Vos autem seducunt sacerdotes pauci. Instr. viii. p. 205.
Deludunt vos pauci scelerati vates inanes,
Extricare suam dum quærunt vitam.
Subornant aliis esse sub mysterio falsum,
Inde simulantes concuti numine quodam,
Majestatemque canunt, et se sub figurâ fatigant, &c. num. xvii. p. 212.

[q] Gens, homo, tu frater, noli pecus esse ferinum,
Erue te tandem, et tecum ipse retracta.
Non utique pecus, nec bestia es, sed homo natus.
Tu te ipse doma sapiens, et intra sub arma. num. xxxiv. p. 227.

3. He shews what [a] was the common opinion of Christians at that time concerning the fall of the angels.

4. Commodian [b] heartily embraced the doctrine of the expected millennium. He deserves to be added to authors [c] formerly mentioned.

5. He mentions [d] the Lord's day: and, as [e] Rigaltius understands it, the passage shews that Christians had love-feasts upon that day.

6. What he says [f] of antichrist may deserve the notice of the curious.

III. Nothing remains but that we observe the scriptures cited by him.

1. Commodian quotes several books of the Old Testament; and in one place [g] Tobit.

2. He expressly speaks of the [h] Old Testament, which prophesied of Christ: therefore there was another which was called the New Testament: he likewise in the same place speaks of the old and new law.

3. He quotes or alludes to divers things [i] in the gospels.

4. He refers to the history of St. Stephen [k] in the Acts of the apostles.

5. He quotes divers of St. Paul's epistles; as [l] the first to the Corinthians, the [m] epistle to the Philippians, the [n] epistles to Timothy and Titus.

6. I cannot well tell whether [o] he refers to the epistle of St. James.

7. He plainly refers [p] to 1 John ii. 15.

8. He very frequently transcribes or refers to the [q] book of the Revelation, and once [r] expressly quotes it.

9. Commodian's respect for the scriptures appears many ways, in frequently adapting the words of it, and in the manner of quoting it.

10. He quotes [s] the writings of the blessed Paul as of authority: in one place, [t] Paul, or rather God by him, says. He refers [u] all men to the law, that is, the scriptures, in order to their understanding religion.

[a] Cum Deus Omnipotens exornaret mundi naturam,
Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam.
— — — —
Tanta fuit forma feminarum, quæ flecteret illos,
Ut coinquinati non possent cœlo redire. num. iii.

[b] Reddere decrevit nos ipsos in aureo seclo. n. xxix. p. 224. Conf. n. xxxiv. p. 228.
De cœlo descendet civitas in anastasi primâ.
— — — —
Resurgemus illi, qui fulmus illi devoti.
— — — —
Recipiuntque bona, quoniam mala passi fuere.
Et generant ipsi per annos mille nubentes.
Comparantur ibi tota vectigalia terræ, &c. n. xliv. p. 237, 238. vid. et n. lxxx. [c] See Vol. i. p. 641.

[d] De die Dominicâ quid dicis? Si non ante locavit,
Excita de turba pauperem, quem ad prandium ducas. num. lxi. p. 254.

[e] Hic vero locus indicat, ævo Commodiani in ecclesiâ diebus Dominicis agapas in usu fuisse. Rigalt. [f] Vid. num. xli.

[g] Prandia ab eo prospice Tobiâ, qui semper
Omnibus omnino diebus cum paupere sumpsit. num. lxi. p. 254.

[h] Est Dei lex prima fundamentum posteræ legis.
— — — — —
Nam testamentum vetus de illo proclamat. Instr. xxv. p. 220.

[i] Idcirco cœcus cœcum in fossam deducit. num. xxvii. p. 220.
Unde Deus clamat, stulte, hac nocte vocaris. n. lxiv. p. 256. Vid. Luc. xii. 20. Vid. n. lv. p. 247, et alibi passim.
In talibus spes est vestra de Christo refecto. n. lxi. vid. Matth. xxv.

[k] Rectam qui diligit Stephanus sibi vitam in iter. n. lxii. p 254.

[l] Crux autem stultitia facta est adulteræ genti. n. xxxvi. p. 229.

[m] Vobis autem Deus est venter, et præmia jura.
Suggerit hoc Paulus apostolus, non ego duplex. n. xxxi. p. 225. vid. ad Philip. cap. iii.

[n] Apostolus autem tales jubet esse magistros.
Sit patiens rector, &c. n. lxix. p. 260.

[o] Maledicti retine linguam, unde Dominum adoras. n. lxiii. p. 255. Vid. Jac. iii. 9.

[p] Nolite diligere mundum, neque ambitum ejus. n. lvii. p. 249.

[q] Vid. Instr. xli. xlii. xliii. lxxx. et passim.

[r] ——ut ferunt operta Joannis. n. xliii. p. 237.

[s] Audi vocem, quæ vis Christiani manere,
Beatus Paulus qualiter te ornari præcipit. n. lx. in.

[t] Apostolus Paulus clamat, immo Deus per ipsum. n. lviii. p. 250.

[u] Omnipotentis enim in lege quærite cuncti.
— — — — —
Lex docet, in medio ciet, consulite pro vobis. n. xxii. p. 217.

11. It is pleasing to observe this high respect for scripture running through the writings of all early Christians in general.

CHAP. L.

MALCHION.

I. *His history, and testimonies to him.* II. *Remarks, and his testimony to the scriptures.*

I. Says Jerom in his [a] Catalogue: 'Malchion, a most eloquent presbyter in the church of Antioch, 'who had taught rhetoric in the same city with great applause, held a disputation with Paul of 'Samosata, bishop of the church of Antioch, who had revived the opinion of Artemon: which 'disputation was taken down by short-hand writers, and is still extant. There is also another 'large epistle written by him in the name of the synod, and directed to Dionysius and Maximus, 'bishops of Rome and Alexandria. He flourished under Claudius and Aurelian.'

So Jerom in the above-mentioned work. Malchion [b] is again mentioned by him in his letter to Magnus among other ancient Christian authors.

Eusebius, in his account of the last council of Antioch, in the affair of Paul, speaks of Malchion after this manner in his ecclesiastical history: 'But [c] the person who especially convicted 'and confuted him, when he endeavoured to conceal himself, was Malchion, an eloquent man, 'and a sophist, president of the school of Greek literature at Antioch; who for his uncommon 'soundness in the faith of Christ, had the honour to be made a presbyter in that church. Being 'the only person of all present that was able to detect that subtle and deceitful man, he entered 'into dispute with him: which disputation was taken down by short-hand writers, and we know 'it to be still extant.'

Theodoret calls this person Malachion: he [d] says that he was formerly a sophist, afterwards ordained presbyter; that he disputed with Paul, and convicted him of holding the opinion he was charged with.

These are the principal remaining accounts of Malchion, and testimonies to him; for I think it scarce worth observing, what is said by so late a [e] writer as Trithemius, that Malchion taught rhetoric at Antioch with applause many years: and yet perhaps he concluded as much from an expression of [f] Theodoret. Indeed we do not find much notice taken of Malchion in ancient writers. The Greek Christians however have put him into their calendar for the service he did in opposing Paul of Samosata, as has been observed by Valesius [g] and others.

II. Having put down these testimonies to this author, I propose to mention some observations.

1. It is probable that Malchion was originally a heathen: Jerom does not expressly say so; but he says he taught rhetoric at Antioch with reputation; which is near the same with what [h] he says of Cyprian, who certainly was at first a heathen. Nor does Eusebius expressly say it: but

[a] Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, quippe qui in eâdem urbe rhetoricam florentissime docuerat, adversum Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurarat, excipientibus notariis disputavit; qui dialogus usque hodie exstat. Sed et alia grandis epistola ex personâ synodi, ab eo scripta, ad Dionysium et Maximum, Romanæ et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopos, dirigitur. Floruit sub Claudio et Aureliano. De V. I. cap. 71.

[b] Necnon presbyterorum Pamphili, Pierii, Luciani, Malchionis. ad Mag. Orat. ep. 83, [al 84] p. 656, m.

[c] μαλιστα δ' αυτον ευθυνας επικρυπτομενον διηλεγξε Μαλχιων· ανηρ τα τε αλλα λογιος, και σοφιστης, των επ' Αντιοχειας Ἑλληνικων παιδευτηριων διατριβης προεστως· ȣ μην αλλα και δι' ὑπερβαλλȣσαν της εις Χριστον πιστεως γνησιοτητα πρεσβυτηριȣ της αυτοθει παροικιας ηξιωμενος· ουτος γετοι, επισημειȣμενων ταχυγραφων, ζητησιν προς αυτον ενστησαμενος, ἡν και εις δευρο φερομενην ισμεν, μονος ισχυσε των αλλων κρυψινȣν οντα και απατηλον φωρασαι τον ανθρωπον. Eus. l. vii. c. 29.

[d] Μαλχιωνος δε τινος προτερον μεν σοφιστευσαντος, ὑστερον δε τȣ πρεσβυτερȣ τιμηθεντος χειροτονιᾳ, την προς τον Παυλον ποιησαμενȣ διαλεξιν, εφωραθη τον Χριστον ανθρωπον λεγων, κ. λ. Theod. Hæret. Fab. L. ii. c. 8. p. 223, B.

[e] ——quippe qui rhetoricam in eâdem civitate multis annis florentissime docuit. Trithem. de script. Ecc. cap. 45.

[f] ——ὑστερον δε πρεσβυτερȣ τιμηθεντος χειροτονιᾳ. vid. not. [d].

[g] Vales. Annot. in Eus. l. vii. cap. 29. Vid. et Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. Paul de Samosates, art. 5, p. 268.

[h] Vid. de. V. I. cap. 67.

that he taught Greek literature, as I have translated him; or [a] profane learning, as Du Pin renders the same phrase. And Theodoret, as well as Eusebius, says, that Malchion was at first a sophist. I presume these testimonies therefore may afford a probable argument that Malchion was originally a heathen; but whether they are sufficient to put the point beyond dispute I cannot say.

2. Malchion was an author, or a Christian writer. The Disputation or conference, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom, must be reckoned his. It was, as we may well suppose, published by him, and not by Paul; and both Eusebius and Jerom speak of it as extant in their times; but it appears to me somewhat probable that Eusebius had never read it: he says we know it to be still extant: if he had seen it I suppose he would have expressed himself differently.

Jerom ascribes likewise to Malchion the epistle of the last council of Antioch, of which we have large fragments in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical history: indeed Cave [b] makes a doubt of this: he suspects that Jerom said it of his own head, without any good authority: but most other [c] learned moderns, whom I have consulted, allow that epistle to have been composed by Malchion: I mean particularly Fabricius, Tillemont, and Fleury. Du Pin does not declare his opinion: he only observes that Jerom says Malchion was also the author of the letter written in the name of the synod against Paul of Samosata. I see no good reason to dispute Jerom's account; and the piece shews its author; Malchion was a sophist, and the epistle is a common place of accusation.

We have no certain account of any other works of Malchion, beside the disputation and epistle just mentioned. Jerom mentions these two only, without so much as hinting there were any other. Trithemius indeed says that [d] Malchion composed several excellent works of great use against heretics; but that is a mere flourish: he mentions none by name but the two we have taken notice of already.

3. There is nothing now remaining of Malchion that can be depended on as genuine, beside the fragments of the synodical epistle in Eusebius, of which I gave a large account [e] formerly. It has been observed by [f] several learned men, that Leontius of Byzantium, who lived near the end of the sixth century, has quoted two [g] passages of the Disputation or conference with Paul: but Du Pin says it [h] is not altogether certain that they are genuine. Tillemont [i] observes likewise, that there is a passage out of it in the letter of Peter the deacon to Fulgentius, and other African bishops: which Peter flourished in the same sixth century, but earlier than Leontius above-named; it is only a part of [k] what is cited by Leontius. I have not made any use of these fragments in my history of Paul [l] formerly given: nor do I intend now to take any thing out of them.

Trithemius expresseth himself as [m] if that Disputation was in being in his time: but [n] Fabricius well observes, in a note upon him, that those words mean no more than that it was extant in the time of Jerom, not of Trithemius. The same observation, I suppose, ought to be applied to [o] Bede in the eighth, and [p] Freculph in the ninth, century; who likewise speak of this piece as extant in their times: but they only transcribe Jerom: and it is he in all these places, who is to be understood to say it was then extant; that is, in his time.

If the citations of Leontius and Peter the deacon are not to be relied upon, then we have not any certain notice of this work after Eusebius and Jerom: what has been the occasion of so great neglect of this piece I cannot say; but, methinks, it is pity it is not still extant.

4. I would observe, in the fourth place, that Malchion was the principal director of the last council of Antioch concerned about Paul of Samosata. In the first council moderate principles prevailed: in the last [q] council, when Firmilian was dead, and several other eminent bishops absented for some reason or other, very different measures were taken: these, as I formerly [r] intimated, may be chiefly ascribed to Malchion. We have now seen further proof of that supposition; Eusebius assures us that Malchion only, and no other, was able to detect or confute

[a] —les sciences profanes. Du Pin. Bibl. p. 193.
[b] Cav. Hist. Lit. in Malchion.
[c] Vid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. vi. c. 4. Tom. xi. p. 346. Cette lettre fut composée par Malquion. Tillem. ut supra, p. 630. See likewise Fleury's Ecc. Hist. B. 8. ch. iv. p. 479.
[d] Edidit nonnulla præclara opuscula, quæ suo tempore ad fidei Christianæ defensionem contra hæreticos multum conducere videbantur. Trithem. de Scr. Ec. cap. 45.
[e] Vol. i. p. 621, &c.
[f] Fabric. ut supra. Vales. ut supr. Tillem. ib. p. 630.
[g] Vid. Baluz. Concil. p. 19,—22.
[h] Mais il n'est pas entièrement certain, qu'ils fussent veritables. Du Pin in Malchion, as above, p. 193.
[i] Tillem. ub. supr. p. 629.
[k] Vid. Baluz. Conc. p. 21. [l] Vol. i. p. 620.
[m] ——De quibus exstat opus insigne dialogorum contra Paulum Samosatenum. Trithem. ut supr.
[n] Extabat Hieronymi tempore, non Trithemii. Fabric.
[o] Vid. Bed. Chr. p. 22, Cantabr. 1722.
[p] Freculph. Chr. T. iii. l. iii. c. 11. ap. Bib. Patr. Tom. xiv. p. 1166, D. [q] See Vol. i. p. 621. [r] P. 623.

Paul: and Jerom, besides, informs us that the large epistle written in the name of that council was composed by Malchion: what better evidence can be desired of this matter? Nor is this my thought only. Du Pin, speaking of Malchion, says; 'he [a] had a famous dispute with Paul of 'Samosata in the second council of Antioch, held in 270; and, after having detected the 'errors which that heretic endeavoured to conceal, he [b] caused him to be condemned by the 'council.'

5. I observe, in the fifth place, what was Malchion's opinion concerning the doctrine of the Trinity does not clearly appear. Eusebius speaks of Malchion as a man of uncommon soundness in the faith of Christ: but if Eusebius was an Arian, as some think, and if that character relates to the doctrine of the Trinity, this testimony, instead of assuring us of Malchion's orthodoxy upon that head, may rather occasion a suspicion that he Arianised. There is another thing, which may occasion a doubt whether Malchion held the Nicene faith. The council of Nice established the homousian, or consubstantial doctrine: but it is said that the council of Antioch (in which, as has been shewn, Malchion directed and governed) rejected the word consubstantial as improper. This has been taken notice of by several ancient writers of the fourth century; [c] Athanasius, [d] Hilary of Poictiers, and [e] Basil. This therefore, if the council of Nice be the standard of orthodoxy, casts a suspicion upon that of Antioch; and [f] there is no small difficulty in reconciling these councils: but I may not stay to inquire exactly into that matter: it is sufficient for me at present to give these hints, and refer to those ancient writers above-named, and some [g] learned moderns of great note, who have endeavoured to reconcile this contradiction, real or apparent; and to shew that, notwithstanding the different sentiments and conduct of these two councils with regard to this word, yet they both held the same doctrine.

6. With regard to Malchion's canon of scripture: as we have nothing of him remaining besides the above-mentioned fragments in Eusebius, and I have formerly [h] observed the notice taken of scripture in the synodical epistle of the council of Antioch, I have nothing farther to add here upon this head, but only to say, That it ought to be taken for granted that Malchion owned and respected those scriptures which were generally received at that time among Christians: but what was his opinion concerning the books of the New Testament, then doubted of by some, cannot be certainly known.

CHAP. LI.

ANATOLIUS, AND THREE OTHERS, BISHOPS OF LAODICEA.

I. *Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, his history and works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.* III. *Eusebius, likewise bishop of Laodicea.* IV. *Stephen.* V. *Theodotus, bishops of the same city.*

I. Says Jerom: 'Anatolius, [i] a native of Alexandria, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, flourished 'under the emperors Probus and Carus. He was exceedingly well skilled in arithmetic, geo-

[a] Du Pin, as before, p. 193.

[b] —— il le fit condamner par le Concile, ib.

[c] Δια τουτ' εικοτως ευλαβηθεντες το τοιουτον σοφισμα του Σαμοσατεως, ειρηκασι, μη ειναι τον Χριστον ὁμοουσιον. Ath. de Synod. p. 759. B.

[d] Male homousion Samosatenus confessus est: sed numquid melius Arii negaverunt? Octoginta episcopi olim respuerunt; sed trecenti et decem octo nuper receperunt, &c. Hil. de Syn. n. lxxxvi. p. 1200. Conf. Facund. l. x. c. 6.

[e] Και γαρ τω οντι, οἱ επι Παυλῳ τῳ Σαμοσατει συνελθοντες, διεξαλον την λεξιν, ὡς εκ ευσημου. Basil. Ep. 52. [al. 300.] p. 145. B.

[f] De hac synodorum αντιλογια laborârunt theologi, qua veteres, qua neoterici. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 29. a. m.

[g] Petav. de Trin. l. iv. c. 5. num. ii. iii. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 1. num. ix. x. xi. Basnag. Ann. 269. num. vi. Tillem. ut Supr. Paul de Samos. art. 5. p. 631, 632.

[h] See vol. i. p. 625.

[i] Anatolius Alexandrinus, Laodiceæ Syriæ episcopus, sub Probo et Caro imperatoribus floruit. Miræ doctrinæ vir fuit in arithmeticâ, geometriâ, astronomiâ, grammaticâ, rhetoricâ, dialecticâ. Cujus ingenii magnitudinem de volumine, quod super Pascha composuit, et decem libris de arithmeticæ institutionibus, intelligere possumus. Hier. de V. I. c. 73.

'metry, astronomy, grammar, rhetoric, logic. The greatness of his capacity may be perceived 'from his work concerning Easter, and from his ten books of institutions of arithmetic.'

Probus reigned from 276 to August 282; Carus the remainder of that year, and all 283. Nevertheless, Cave has placed Anatolius as flourishing about the year 270, and not much amiss; Eusebius, whom he succeeded, having died, as is [b] supposed, in 269 or 270; though some [c] think not before 272.

Anatolius is placed in Jerom's Chronicle at the third year of Probus; the year of Christ 278, after this manner: 'Anatolius, [d] bishop of Laodicea, well acquainted with all the principles of 'the philosophers, is now much celebrated.'

Nor did Jerom forget Anatolius [e] in his letter to Magnus.

Jerom undoubtedly was indebted to Eusebius for what he knew of this person. Now therefore we will see what Eusebius himself writes of him in his Ecclesiastical history.

He says 'that [f] Anatolius was an Alexandrian, and bishop of Laodicea after Eusebius; and 'that for eloquence, and for skill in philosophy and the Greek literature, he was the most eminent 'person in his time; being a complete master of arithmetic, geometry, and likewise of logic, 'natural philosophy, and rhetoric: for the sake of which qualifications, as is said, he was desired 'by the people of Alexandria to set up a school for the Aristotelian philosophy.'

When that request was made we cannot say exactly; but, if ever, undoubtedly before he left Alexandria, and was advanced to the episcopal office. Nor is there any certain information given us of his complying with that request: though Fabricius in [g] one place scruples not to say, without hesitation, that he set up such a school at Alexandria.

Anatolius and his friend Eusebius performed signal services for the people of Alexandria, both Christians and others; when Bruchium, or Pyruchium, one of the quarters of that city, in which too was the citadel, suffered under the extremities of a siege. Anatolius was shut up in Bruchium; Eusebius was without among the Romans, the besiegers. One of those services is particularly related by [h] our ecclesiastical historian, to whom I refer. Anatolius had the better opportunity to be useful to the public by means of the high esteem he was in: for Eusebius says, that [i] with universal consent he had pre-eminence above all the magistrates or senators of Alexandria, that were in Bruchium.

Learned men [k] find no small difficulty in settling the time of this siege. Tillemont thought it [l] to be in the reign of Gallienus in 263 or 264; Basnage [m] in 262 or 263; whose opinions seem to me more probable than their's who place it later.

Soon after that siege was over Anatolius [n] left Alexandria.

Our historian tells us 'that [o] Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, ordained Anatolius 'bishop, intending that he should succeed him: and it is certain that for a short time they both 'presided together in that church: but Anatolius, [p] going to Antioch to be present at the council 'called upon the occasion of Paul of Samosata, as he was passing through Laodicea, was detained 'there by the brethren, Eusebius being dead.'

It is reasonable to think that our historian must mean the last synod in the affair of Paul, which was held in 269. After this he says nothing farther of Anatolius. But here he died; for, as the historian adds, he [q] was succeeded by Stephen, the last bishop of Laodicea, before the persecution of Diocletian began.

[a] They who desire to see what learned moderns say of Anatolius may consult Cav. H. Lit. T. i. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 637——643. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ii. p. 274, &c. T. v. p. 277.

[b] See Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 641. Basnag. Ann. 269. n. ix.

[c] Pagi. Ann. 269. n. ix.

[d] Anatolius, Laodicenus episcopus, philosophorum disciplinis eruditus, plurimo sermone celebratur. Chr. p. 177.

[e] Ep. 83. [al. 84.]

[f] Γενος μεν και αυτος Αλεξανδρευς· λογων δ' ενεκα, και παιδειας της Ἑλληνων, φιλοσοφιας τε, τα πρωτα των μαλιστα καθ' ἡμας δοκιμωτατων απενεγκαμενος, ἁτε αριθμητικης,—ελληλακως εις ακρον. ὡν ενεκα και της επ' Αλεξανδρειας Αριστοτελες διαδοχης την διατριβην, λογος εχει προς των τηδε πολιτων συστησασθαι αυτον αξιωθηναι. Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 284. D. 285. A.

[g] Anatolius—Alexandriæ scholam Aristotelicam constituit, factus deinde episcopus in Syriâ Laodicenus circa A. Chr. 270. Bib. Gr. T. ii. p. 274.

[h] L. vii. c. 32. p. 285. et 286. A.

[i] Μυριας μεν ὡν τοδε και αλλας αριστειας εν τη κατ' Αλεξανδρειαν τε Πυρσχειε πολιορκια μνημονευσιν· ἁτε των εν τελει προνομιας εξαιρετε προς ἁπαντων ηξιωμενε· ib. p. 285. A.

[k] Vid. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 269. n. ix. x. xi.

[l] See his Hist. des Emp. in Gallien, art. 12. T. iii. P. iii. p. 974, 975, et p. 1175.

[m] Basn. Ann. 262. n. iii.

[n] Eus. ib. p. 286. B.

[o] Τοτω πρωτος—Θεοτεκνος χειρας εις επισκοπην επιτεθεικε. ib. p. 288. A.

[p] Eus. ib. A. B.

[q] Και τε Ανατολιε δε τον βιον μεταλλαξαντος, της εκειστε παροικιας ὑστατος των προ διωγμε καθισταται Στεφανος. ib. p. 288. B.

'Anatolius,' says [a] Eusebius, 'did not write many books: however, from those which have 'come down to us may be perceived both his eloquence and his extensive knowledge and learn-'ing, particularly from his work concerning Easter.'——'The [b] same Anatolius left also the 'Principles of arithmetic in ten books, and likewise some other works, monuments of his dili-'gence in studying the divine scriptures, and of his understanding therein.'

Eusebius has inserted in his Ecclesiastical history [c] a long passage of Anatolius's book upon Easter, or his Paschal canons, as he there calls it: and Ægidius Bucherius has published the same work in an ancient Latin version said to be Rufinus's; which is generally allowed to be, for the main at least, the genuine work of Anatolius. It is thought by some, that there are remaining fragments of his other work, the Institutions of arithmetic. Fabricius [d] has published some fragments in Greek, which he supposed to be of Anatolius.

There were others of this name, which ought to be distinguished from our Anatolius. Fabricius [e] has mentioned several. Cave [f] also well argues, that our Anatolius is different from him whom [g] Eunapius speaks of as master of Jamblichus: though [h] Valesius confounded them; and [i] Basnage is pleased to signify his approbation of Valesius's opinion.

Anatolius, in the passage [k] cited by Eusebius from his Paschal canons, mentions several Jewish writers; Philo, Josephus, Musæus, and others more ancient; two of the name Agathobulus, called rabbins, or masters; and Aristobulus, one of the seventy translators of the Old Testament, or part of it. He likewise [l] mentions some book of Enoch: and in that part of his work, which we have in Latin only, very honourable mention is made of [m] Origen.

II. As there remains but a small part of the work of Anatolius, except what is the Latin translation, a brief account of his testimony to the scriptures will suffice.

1. He quotes 'as from the gospel [n] these words: Now the first day of the feast of unleavened 'bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him; "Where wilt thou that we prepare for 'thee to eat the passover?"' Matth. xxvi. 17. And see Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7.

2. He quotes also those [o] words of the Lord; "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." Matth. xxvi. 38. And in the same manner and in the same place, the words of Luke xv. 6.

3. He [p] expressly mentions John the evangelist, the same that leaned on the Lord's breast.

4. He quotes [q] very respectfully the direction of the apostle in Rom. xii. 15, intimating that it ought to be attended to as spoken by the Lord himself.

5. In the passage of the Paschal canons, preserved by Eusebius, there is a manifest reference to the latter part of the third chapter of St. Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians: 'But,' says [r] he, 'all these proofs are not necessary for those from whom the veil of the law of Moses 'is taken off; who may with "open face" always "behold as in a glass Christ," and the things 'of Christ, both his doctrine and his sufferings:' see 2 Cor. iii. 14—18: and in the Latin translation of this work we find the words of [s] 2 Cor. vi. 14.

6. He speaks [t] with respect of the Old as well as the New Testament.

[a] Ου μεν εν εσπεδασθη πλειστα τω Ανατολιω συγγραμματα· τοσαυτα δ' εις ημας εληλυθε, δι' ων αυτε καταμαθειν δυνατον ομε το, τε λογιον και πολυμαθες· εν οις μαλιστα τα περι τε πασχα δοξαντα παριστησιν. ib. p. 286. B. C.

[b] Και αριθμητικας δε καταλελοιπεν ὁ ἁγιος εν ὁλοις δεκα συγγραμμασιν εισαγωγας, και αλλα δειγματα της περι τα θεια σχολης τε αυτε και πολυπειριας. ib. p. 287. D. 288. A.

[c] Εκ των περι τε πασχα Ανατολιε κανονων. κ. λ. p. 286. C. D. et p. 287.

[d] Bib. Gr. l. iii. c. xi. T. ii. p. 275—278.

[e] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 277. Vid. et T. ii. p. 275.

[f] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 136.

[g] Eunap. Vit. Jambl. init.

[h] Ann. in Euseb. p. 158.

[i] Ann. 269. n. ix.

[k] Eus. p. 287.

[l] Παρασατικα και τα εν τω Ενωχ μαθηματα. ib. p. 287. D.

[m] Sed et Origenes, omnium doctissimus, et calculi componendi perspicacissimus (quippe qui et χαλκευτης vocatus,) libellum de Paschate luculentissime edidit. Anatol. ap Bucher. p. 439.

[n] Contra evangelii dictum, dicentis: Primâ autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum. Quin dubium non est, quin xiv. dies sit in quo discipuli Dominum interrogaverunt, secundum morem antiquitus sibi constitutum: Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere Pascha? p. 443. sub. fin.

[o] Aliud enim est secundum quod ab apostolo, imo a Domino præceptum est, cum contristato contristari [Rom. xii. 15] et cum cruce passo compati, ipso dicente: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem: aliud cum victore inimicum antiquum triumphante, ac summo triumpho devicto adversario lætante collætari, ipsomet præcipiente: congratulamini mihi, quia inveni ovem quam perdideram. Anatol. ib. p. 445.

[p] Quorum exemplum sequentes usque hodie omnes Asiæ episcopi (quippe qui et ipse ab auctore irreprehensibili, Joanne scilicet evangelistâ, et pectoris Domini incubatore, doctrinarum sine dubio spiritualium potatore,) regulam susceperunt. ib. p. 44.

[q] See before note [o].

[r] Παριημι δε τας τοιαυτας των αποδειξεων υλας απαιτων, ων περιηρηται μεν το επι τε Μωϋσεως νομω καλυμμα· ανακεκαλυμμενω δε τω προσωπω λοιπον ηδη Χριστον και τα Χριστε αει καλοπτρ.ζεσθαι, μαθηματα τε και παθηματα. Eus. ib. p. 287, D.

[s] Quia solemnitas Dominicæ resurrectionis lux est. Et non est communicatio luci cum tenebris. Anat. ap. Bucher. p. 443.

[t] Quod in veteri quidem testamento non potest probabiliter inveniri, Domino per Möysen præcipiente: Septem diebus commedetis azyma, &c. ib. p. 443.

7. He says of some, that [a] they can by no means prove their point by the authority of the divine scripture.

8. Though this be little, here is sufficient to shew that this learned Alexandrian concurred with other Christians in a high respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament: and it is likely that his canon was much the same with that of Origen.

III. It may be proper to take notice here of Eusebius, not only because he was predecessor of Anatolius in the see of Laodicea, but also because he was of Alexandria, and they were intimate friends whilst they lived in their native city.

Though Eusebius was not an author, and therefore is wanting in Jerom's Catalogue, and in many other histories or ecclesiastical writers, he was a man of no small consideration, and is mentioned as [b] an eminent person in Eusebius's or Jerom's Chronicle.

It is likely my readers may remember that this Eusebius has been already mentioned with honour in this work, in our history of Dionysius of Alexandria. Eusebius was then a deacon in that church. The words of Dionysius speaking of the state of affairs there in the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, and which were [c] formerly cited, are these: 'the deacons that survive after 'those that have died of the plague are Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon: Eusebius, I say, whom God 'qualified from the beginning [referring here, it is likely, to his conduct in the Decian persecution], 'and furnished with great resolution and ability for fulfilling the office of ministering to the con-'fessors in prison, and for burying the bodies of the perfect and blessed martyrs, not without the 'utmost peril.'

Our historian, having finished his quotation of that letter of Dionysius, adds: 'It [d] ought to 'be observed that Eusebius, whom Dionysius calls deacon, was afterwards bishop of the church 'of Laodicea in Syria.'

Eusebius, still deacon, accompanied Dionysius when he made his confession before Emilian the præfect of Egypt in 257, as [e] formerly shewn.

His settlement in Laodicea is related by his namesake, the ecclesiastical historian, in this manner: 'Socrates [f] was succeeded in the care of the church of Laodicea by Eusebius a native of 'the city of Alexandria. The occasion of his removal was the affair of Paul. Passing through 'Syria upon that account he was seized by those who were concerned for the interest of religion 'in those parts, who would by no means let him return home. He was succeeded by Anatolius; 'one good man coming after another, as the saying is.'

It may be well supposed that the time of Eusebius's going into Syria was the year 264, or thereabout, when the first council was held at Antioch upon the case of Paul of Samosata: then Eusebius entered upon this see, and was succeeded by Anatolius about the year 270.

IV. 'After [g] the death of Anatolius,' as we are informed by our historian, 'Stephen was 'advanced to the presidentship of that church, and was the last bishop there before the persecu-'tion: he was admired by many for his eloquence, and philosophy, and Greek learning. How-'ever, when the persecution broke out he did not behave like a philosopher; but shewed himself 'rather to be a dissembler, and mean spirited.' What was his fault is not certainly known: we may be disposed to think that he apostatized, and renounced the Christian religion; though Eusebius does not expressly say it: thereby, as I apprehend, shewing both his sincerity as an historian, and his tenderness for the reputation of a brother, and a fellow-creature, overcome by temptation.

V. Eusebius proceeds: 'Nevertheless [h] that church did not fall to ruin: it was restored to 'its wonted splendour by Theodotus, who was designed bishop of that church by God himself, 'the Saviour of all men. He by his actions shewed himself to be what his name signified [a man 'given of God], and a true bishop. He was an excellent physician for the body; but for the 'cure of souls he had not his equal: such were his humanity, his integrity, his compassion for 'the afflicted, and his diligence in relieving those who needed his assistance: with [i] which was 'joined uncommon skill in the divine scriptures, or the things of religion.'

[a] Nam qui ab ætate lunæ Pascha definiunt posse celebrari, non solummodo illud auctoritate divinæ scripturæ affirmare non possunt, sed et——animarum periculum incurrunt. ibid.

[b] Eusebius Laodicenus insignis habetur. Chron. p. 177. init.

[c] P. 65, & Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. xi. p. 261, B.

[d] See before, Vol. i. p. 613, & Eus. 261, C.

[e] See Vol. i. p. 610.

[f] Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 32, p. 284, D.

[g] Eus. ib. p. 288, A. B.

[h] ib. p. 288. B. C.

[i] πολυ δε ην αυτω και το περι τα θεια μαθηματα συνηγκημενον. ib. p. 288. C.

To this person Eusebius inscribed his Evangelical preparation; there [a] styling him 'beloved 'of God, and an ornament to the episcopal office.'

What Eusebius says of his being an excellent physician for the body has induced [b] Fabricius to put Theodotus into his Catalogue of ancient physicians.

This bishop of Laodicea, so much commended by our Eusebius is reputed an Arian by several learned moderns, to whom I shall refer in the margin; as [c] Vigerus, editor of Eusebius's Preparation, [d] Pagi, and [e] Tillemont.

And there is more than a little ground for that supposition; for Arius in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia [f] names Theodotus among others his favourers; Theodoret [g] intimates that the same persons defended the Arian doctrine at the council of Nice. In another place [h] he mentions Theodotus among those who had imbibed the Arian principle, and were its principal patrons: he likewise says that [i] he came to Antioch with Eusebius of Nicomedia in 331, to depose Eustathius. Athanasius [k] affirms that Theodotus, and others whom he names, had written the like things with Arius before the council of Nice: not to insist upon the letter of Constantine [l] in Gelasius Cyzicenus, written to him after the council of Nice.

When Theodotus entered upon the episcopate is not certainly known: Vigerus, in the preface before cited, says he succeeded Stephen about the third year of Constantine, or the year of Christ 308; which is not altogether improbable, it being evident from Eusebius that Stephen was bishop before the persecution, and for some time after it began: but the exact time of Stephen's death or removal, and of the accession of Theodotus, I think cannot be determined. However, Pagi [m] well observes that Theodotus died before the council of Jerusalem in 336, because Sozomen mentions George, then bishop of Laodicea, as present at it.

Theodotus is wanting in Cave and Du Pin, not being generally reckoned an author: but perhaps he might be justly so esteemed, considering what is said of him by Athanasius. It is true, Athanasius does not quote Theodotus as he does some others; but the reason was, that [n] the letters were not at hand, as he says; which he mentions by way of excuse for sending more out of them: for which cause he omitted to cite several, whom by name he charges with having written the like things with Arius.

This chapter began with Anatolius, whose history was the principal design of it: however, we have been led to take notice of several others mentioned by Eusebius; and I presume it may not be unacceptable to any, as it serves to represent the state of Christianity at that time.

CHAP. LII.

THEOGNOSTUS.

I. *His history.* II. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

THEOGNOSTUS, [o] an ancient writer, no where mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom, flourished, as [p] Cave thinks, about the year 282; and, though we have not now any certain proofs of his exact

[a] ——τηνδε σοι, θειον επισκοπων χρημα, Θεοδοτε, φιλη θεῳ και ιερα κεφαλη, συν ευχαις επεφωνησα. Præp. Ev. cap. 1. init.

[b] Vid. Bib. Gr. T. xiii. p. 433.

[c] Hunc ego non alium arbitror, quam Laodicenum episcopum, qui——Stephano in episcopatu successit, Arianæ impietatis fautorem acerrimum. Viger. in Præf. ad fin.

[d] Ann. 318, n. xvii. et xviii.

[e] See his history of the Arians, art. 4, and note 2, and elsewhere. Mem. T. vi.

[f] Ap. Thdrt. l. i. cap. 5, p. 21. A. et Epiph. H. 69, n. vi.

[g] Thdrt. l. i. c. 7, p. 26. A. [h] Id. l. 5. c. 7.

[i] l. i. c. 21, p. 52. B.

[k] Προ δε τυ γενεσθαι την εν Νικαια συνοδον, εγραψαν και οι περι Ευσεβιον,——και Θεοδοτον, κ. λ. Ath. de Synodis, n. xvii. T. i. p. 730. D. [l] ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 283.

[m] Ann. 318, n. xviii.

[n] Και τας μεν επιστολας αυτων ουκ εσχον εν ετοιμῳ, ὡστε και αποστειλαι. Athan. ib. p. 731. D.

[o] Concerning this writer may be seen Cav. Hist. Lit. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ecc. Tom. i. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 10, sect. vii. Dodwell. Diss. Iren. in Append. p. 511. Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. 1, p. 276. Tillemont, Origene, art. 37. Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. 3, p. 269, 270, and some other authors to be hereafter mentioned in this chapter.

[p] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 146, 147. Oxon.

age, that computation cannot be very erroneous; as may appear from what we shall observe presently.

Theognostus is mentioned by Athanasius, Philip Sidetes, Stephen Gobar, and Photius.

Athanasius has spoken of him in two of his works: in the first he quotes him against the Arians, to shew [a] that the fathers of the Nicene council did not first begin to use the expression, 'Of the substance,' it having been before used in the same subject by Theognostus; whom Athanasius here calls [b] a learned or an eloquent man. In the other [c] work Athanasius mentions Theognostus together with Origen: he gives Theognostus the character of an admirable man, and worthy of esteem: he speaks of them both in an admirable manner, and as ancient men. In that same work he afterwards alleges a passage from Theognostus, which I intend to make use of by and by.

Stephen Gobar [d] says that Athanasius had often mentioned Origen and Theognostus in an honourable manner: whether he means only these two places, or whether there were still some more in which Theognostus was mentioned by Athanasius, we cannot say positively.

In the Fragment of Philip Sidetes, published by Mr. Dodwell, it is said that Theognostus was president of the Christian or catechetical school at Alexandria. The order of those presidents, according to that writer, is this: Origen [e] was the fourth: after Origen, Heraclas; after him Dionysius; after him Pierius; after Pierius, Theognostus. What regard ought to be had to Philip, I [f] cannot certainly say; but as we are not able to disprove what he writes, so I think likewise that it is not safe to depend entirely upon him.

From Photius we learn that [g] Theognostus published a work called Hypotuposes, or Institutions, in seven books or discourses. The title of the work in Photius's copy was this: 'The 'Institutions of the blessed Theognostus, an Alexandrian, and Exegetes;' which last word I find rendered by some learned men commentator and interpreter of the sacred books: but that meaning appears to me at least doubtful; nor can I assign any other with which I am fully satisfied. Mr. Dodwell, in his notes [h] upon the forecited passage of Philip, says that the title of the work was borrowed from Clement, and that the title given the author denotes his public office of teaching in the school at Alexandria.

Photius says, 'that [i] in the first book Theognostus discourseth of the Father, and endeavours 'to prove him creator, even against those who supposed matter coeternal with God.' One may be apt to think that this part of our author's work was very curious and philosophical. Afterwards Photius expresseth his dislike of the doctrine of the first six books of the Institutions in several respects, saying that the author [k] speaks of the Son as a creature; that he too closely followed Origen in some of his peculiarities, which may be found in his books of Principles; and that with him he supposeth angels and dæmons to have certain fine bodies. With the seventh or last book Photius appears well enough satisfied. He gives an agreeable character of this writer's style: it is, he says, full and expressive, and yet has nothing redundant: he has the Attic purity and elegance without affectation; and in the greatest plainness and perspicuity there is nothing mean and vulgar.

If we had had Photius's extract entire, we should not have been at a loss about the exact age of Theognostus; for he put down the time when he flourished: but the last words of the extract are wanting.

We may however conclude, from what we have seen, that Theognostus was an Alexandrian, and that he flourished some time after Origen, before the end of the third century.

Eusebius's silence about this writer has occasioned divers surmises and speculations. Baro-

[a] μαθετε τοινυν, ω χριστομαχοι Αρειανοι, ὁτι Θεογνωστος, ανηρ λογιος, ȣ παρῃτησατο το εκ της ουσιας ειπειν. Ath. de Decret. Nic. Syn. p. 230. B.

[b] Παλαιοι μεν ȣν ανδρες, Ωριγενης ὁ πολυμαθης και φιλοπονος, και Θεογνωστος ὁ θαυμασιος και σπȣδαιος. Id. Ep. 4. ad Serap. p. 702. C.

[c] ib. p. 703. B. C. D.

[d] Ὁτι Ωριγενην και Θεογνωστον ὁ, τε μεγας Αθανασιος ὁ Αλεξανδρειας εν πολλοις απεδεχετο λογοις. ap. Phot. Cod. 232, p. 904.

[e] τεταρτος προεστε της Χριστιανικης διατριβης Ωριγενης· Μετα Ωριγενην——μετα Πιεριον Θεογνωστος. Fragm. Ph. Sid. ap. Dodw. Diss. Iren. p. 488.

[f] See before, chap. 18. vol. i. p. 377.

[g] Ανεγνωσθησαν Θεωγνωστȣ Αλεξανδρεως λογοι ἑπτα· ὡν ἡ επιγραφη, τȣ μακαριȣ Θεογνωστȣ Αλεξανδρεως και εξηγητȣ ὑποτυπωσεις. Phot. Cod. cv. 280. in.

[h] Ipsum illius operis titulum a Clemente sumptum decessore constat. Et quidem locum illum scholæ catecheticæ magistralem denotat, docendique munus publicum vox illa εξηγητης. Dodwell. ut supr. p. 512.

[i] εν μεν ȣν τῳ πρωτῳ λογῳ διαλαμβανει περι τȣ πατρος, και ὁτι εστι δημιȣργος, επιχειρων δεικνυναι, και κατα των ὑποτιθεντων συναϊδιον ὑλην τῳ Θεῳ. Phot. ib. p. 280. in.

[k] υἱον δε λογων, κτισμα αυτον αποφαινει. ib.

nius [a] cannot help thinking it happened, not without a malicious and fraudulent design, to bury in oblivion, the name and writings of a strenuous assertor of the consubstantial doctrine: Huet [b] is almost of the same mind, and suspects that these Institutions had been interpolated by the Arians in the space of time between Athanasius and Photius: but [c] Tillemont is not convinced by their reasonings. Indeed, he who carefully compares Athanasius and Photius will perceive that they both read exactly one and the same work; and that the Institutions were as uncorrupted in the time of the latter, as of the former. Athanasius found in them somewhat to his purpose; but there were other things he did not like. He [d] says that, in what he alleges out of the second book of the Institutions, Theognostus speaks his own sentiments; but there were other things proposed only in the way of argument and disputations. In like manner, 'Photius is not positive that the things he condemns were the real sentiments of the author of the Institutions; at least he is aware of this apology for him: but he disallows it, and says such things ought not to be published to the world in writing at any rate. Mr. Dodwell [f] ascribes Eusebius's silence to nothing but negligence, and supposeth him less accurate in matters near his own time than elsewhere. Certainly Eusebius did not know every thing; nor had he a fair opportunity, or sufficient leisure, to bring every thing he knew into his writings. It must be reckoned very probable that Jerom was unacquainted with this writer's works, though they have been so expressly cited by Athanasius.

There is yet another way of accounting for the seeming inconsistence between the commendations Theognostus had received from Athanasius, and the censure passed on him by Photius: it is that taken [g] by Du Pin, who supposeth that in several ages there have been differences of expression about the same doctrine: he therefore says that Photius is to blame for accusing Theognostus of error upon the divinity of the Son, purely because of some ways of speaking that did not entirely agree with those of his own age; not considering that, though the ancients have expressed themselves differently the doctrine was always the same at the bottom; and that it would be unjust to expect of them that they should speak as exactly, and with as much precaution, as they who came after the rise and condemnation of heresies.

As the Institutions of Theognostus have been so little taken notice of by the several sects of Christians in past ages, it may be thought that this work of our author was not necessary; however, it might be useful: and the curious and judicious, I believe, would read it with satisfaction and improvement if it were now in being.

II. We are obliged to Athanasius for the passages he has cited: I am now to observe one of them. Athanasius is treating of the sin against the Holy Ghost: he first quotes Origen and then Theognostus; he informs us, 'that [h] Theognostus, in confirmation of what had been before 'asserted by him, alleges those words of our Saviour spoken to the disciples: "I have yet many 'things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit, when the Holy Ghost is come 'he will teach you:" John xvi. 12, 13. Then he adds: as our Saviour speaks to such as are not 'yet able to receive those things that are perfect, he condescends to their weakness; but the [i] Spirit 'is given to those that are perfect. No man therefore ought to say, that the teaching of the Spirit 'excels the doctrine of the Son: but whereas the Son condescends to the imperfect, the Spirit is 'the seal of those who are perfected. Wherefore it is not because of any superior excellence of 'the Spirit above the Son, that the blasphemy against the Spirit is inexpiable and unpardonable;

[a] Et, ut omittamus de aliis dicere, nonne dolo malo Theognosti, theologorum celeberrimi, nomen atque scripta silentio obvoluta reliquit, quod consubstantialis nominis esset assertor? At is non præteriit Athanasium. Baron. Ann. 109 lix.

[b] Sane studiosissimum virum, et disertum, et admirandum eum appellat Athanasius: atque idcirco prætermissam ab Eusebio mentionem illius probabile est, quod ab Arianis partibus fuerit alienus. Quapropter corruptas ejus Hypotyposes ab hujus sectæ patronis, quemadmodum et Clementis librum eodem titulo inscriptum, non immerito Andreas Schottus conjectat. Huet. Origen. lib. i. sect. i. num. 3.

[c] Néanmoins S. Athanase marque assez, que dès son temps il y avoit des choses difficiles dans cet auteur sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ. Mais il dit, que ce n'étoit que comme pour discuter la verité, et qu'il exprimoit ensuite son vrai sentiment. Tillem. ib. 269.

[d] ὁ μεν εν Θεόγνωστος τα πρωτερα ὡς εν γυμνασια εξετασας ὑστερον την ἑαυτε δοξαν τιθεις, ουτως ειρηκεν. Ath. de Decret Nic. Syn. p. 230. C.

[e] ειτε (ὡς αν τις ειποι) εκβιασαμενος την ὑπερ αυτε ἀπολογιαν εν γυμνασιας λογῳ και ε δοξης ταυτα προτιθεις·——εγγραφι δε λογε και κοινε προκεισθαι μελλοντος νομε τοις πασιν, ει τι της εν αυτῳ βλασφημιας την προειρημενην εις ἀθωωσιν επιφερε απολογιαν, εις ασθενη κατεδραμε συνηγοριαν. Phot. ib. p. 280.

[f] ——quamquam ejus nullus meminit Eusebius, in rebu sui temporis minus profecto, quam in reliquis, accuratus Dodw. ib. p. 512.

[g] Du Pin. ib. p. 192.

[h] Ath. Ep. 4, ad Serap. p. 703. B. C.

[i] τοις δε τελειωμενοις συγγινεται το πνευμα το ἁγιον, και εδηπε τις εκ τελων αν φαιη την τε πνευματος διδασκαλιαν ὑπερβαλλειν της τε υἱε διδαχης. ibid. C.

but because, by those who are imperfect, pardon may be obtained: for [a] those "who have 'tasted of the heavenly gift," (Hebr. vi. 4.) and have been made perfect, there remains no 'excuse, or any means of escape.'

From that expression, 'tasting the heavenly gift,' I would infer that our author received the epistle to the Hebrews. This may be further argued from what precedes in Athanasius: for, proceeding to the testimonies of Origen and Theognostus concerning the subject he was upon, he thus expresseth himself: 'They [b] both write of this matter, saying that this is the blasphemy 'against the Holy Ghost; when they who have been favoured with the gift of the Holy Ghost 'in baptism return to sin: therefore, say they, such receive no remission, according to what 'Paul also says in the epistle to the Hebrews: "For it is impossible for those who were once 'enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, 'and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall 'away, to renew them again unto repentance:" ch. vi. 4, 5, 6. This they both [c] say.' Then he alleges their passages in order.

And this recompense then we have of the labour of our inquiry into the life and writings of Theognostus; that we have found [d] another learned Alexandrian, of the third century, who received the epistle to the Hebrews.

CHAP. LIII.

THEONAS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history.* II. *An epistle ascribed to him.* III. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. THEONAS, as [e] Jerom says in his Chronicle, was the fifteenth bishop of Alexandria. He held that see, as we are informed by [f] Eusebius, nineteen years; who in the same place speaks of Pierius and Achillas, as flourishing among the presbyters in that episcopate, and observes the succession of the bishops of Alexandria about that time: after Dionysius was Maximus; then Theonas, about the year of Christ 282, who was succeeded by Peter, of whom we shall write hereafter.

II. There is extant a [g] letter from Theonas to Lucian, chief chamberlain to the emperor, which emperor [h] was not a Christian. But learned men are not fully satisfied who this Theonas is: the editor makes a scruple of [i] ascribing it to the bishop of Alexandria; though he thinks it ought to be received as a genuine monument of antiquity, composed in the beginning of the fourth century: and indeed, according to the tenor of the epistle itself, Christianity was not yet fully established; though [k] it had made great progress in the world, even under persecutions.

Cave allows that [l] Theonas, author of this letter, was a bishop; but whether of Alexandria, or some other place, he cannot determine: the letter he thinks [m] to have been written about the year 305; but he delivers this opinion as conjectural only upon a point that cannot be clearly decided.

[a] Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς γευσαμένοις τῆς ἐπουρανίου [al. ἐπεπουρανίου] δωρεᾶς, καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν, κ. λ. ibid. [b] Ib. p. 702. C. D.

[c] Ταῦτα δὲ κοινῇ μὲν λέγουσι, καὶ ἰδίαν δὲ ἑκάστος προσίδηται διανοίαν. ib. E.

[d] See before of Origen, Vol. i. ch. xxxviii. num. x. and Dionysius of Alexandria, Ibid. p. 633.

[e] Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ quintusdecimus episcopus præfuit Theonas ann. xix. Hieron. Chr. p. 177. f.

[f] H. E. l. 7. c. 32. p. 289. C. D.

[g] Theonas episcopus Luciano Præposito Cubiculariorum invictissimi principis nostri. Theon. ap. Luc. Acher. Spic. T. xii. p. 545. Sed quia, ut sentio, diversis officiis estis adscripti, et omnium tu, Luciane, præpositus diceris. Id. ib. p. 547.

[h] Nam quanto magis princeps ipse nondum Christianæ religioni adscriptus.——ib. p. 546.

[i] Vid. Præf. p. 21, 22.

[k] Gratias ago Omnipotenti Deo, et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui fidem suam per universum orbem in salutis nostræ unicum remedium manifestare, ac etiam in tyrannorum persecutionibus ampliare, non destitit, &c. Theon. ib. p. 545.

[l] Theonas——dignitate episcopus: cujusnam vero loci, haud facile est divinare. H. L. T. i. p. 172.

[m] Ætatem si quæras, circa annum 305—claruisse arbitror, nempe sub Constantio Chloro, qui Cæsar creatus est anno 292. ——Augustus renuntiatus est ann. 305; obiit—an. 306. Cav. ib.

Tillemont is much disposed to think [a] it a genuine epistle of Theonas, bishop of Alexandria, written [b] about the year 290. Lucian he supposeth to have been chief chamberlain to the emperor Dioclesian, and a faithful servant of Jesus Christ.

I am inclined to assent to Tillemont concerning the author of the epistle and the time of writing it.

The letter was undoubtedly written in Greek; we have only a translation in but indifferent Latin.

III. As the several learned critics above quoted admit the antiquity of this piece, I shall observe the author's testimony to the scriptures.

The author often delivers his Christian counsels to Lucian, and by him to other Christians in the imperial palace, in words of the New Testament, or in expressions allusive to them: but without quoting any particular books, which might not be judged proper in an epistle.

He [c] mentions the gospel and apostle, as the divine oracles of Christians.

He [d] recommends the daily reading of the sacred scriptures, and meditating upon them, as the best means of improving the mind in every virtue, and as the most useful helps for enabling Lucian, and the other Christians with him, to discharge their several offices with reputation, as became the followers of Jesus Christ.

CHAP. LIV.

PIERIUS, PRESBYTER OF ALEXANDRIA.

'Pierius, says [e] Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, presbyter of the church of 'Alexandria, taught the people with great reputation in the time of the emperors Carus and 'Dioclesian, when Theonas was bishop of that church: such was the elegance of his discourses 'and treatises, which are still extant, that he was called the younger Origen. It is certain that 'he was a great ascetic, and an admirer of voluntary poverty, and that he was well skilled in 'logic and rhetoric, and that after the persecution he spent the rest of his days at Rome. There 'is a very prolix homily of his upon the prophet Hosea, which was pronounced on Easter-eve, 'as the discourse itself shews.' That is St. Jerom's summary account of this writer.

Carus reigned in 282 and 283. Dioclesian reigned from 284 to 305. 'And,' as Eusebius [f] informs us, 'Maximus, immediate successor of Dionysius, governed the church of Alexandria 'eighteen years, and was then succeeded by Theonas: under him Achillas, made presbyter at 'the same time with Pierius, was famous. He was intrusted with the care of the catechetical 'school, and was an excellent example of a truly philosophical and Christian conversation. 'Theonas, having borne the episcopal office nineteen years, was succeeded by Peter, who obtained 'great honour during his episcopate, which he held twelve years. He governed the church three 'years before the persecution: the rest of his time he passed in a more strict and mortified

[a] La lettre de l'évêque Théonas à Lucien——est selon toutes les apparences un fruit de la piété de notre saint. Lucien étoit le chef des chambellans de l'empereur Dioclétien, et un fidèle serviteur de J. Ch. Tillem. Saint Theonas. M. E. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1218. [b] Id. ib. p. 1223.

[c] Interdum et divinas scripturas laudare conabitur, quas mirâ diligentiâ et largissimo impendio Ptolomæus Philadelphus in linguam nostram traduci curavit: laudabitur et interim evangelium apostolusque, pro divinis oraculis. Theon. ib. 548.

[d] Non prætereat dies, quin, opportuno tempore dato, aliquid sacrarum lectionum legatis, aliquid contemplemini, nec sacræ scripturæ literaturam abjiciatis. Nihil adeo animam pascit, et mentem impinguat, sicut sacræ faciunt lectiones. Sed ex illis hunc maxime capite fructum, ut patientiâ vestrâ juste et pie, hoc est, in caritate Christi, vestrâ officia exsequamini, et transitoria omnia ob ejus promissiones æternas contemnatis. ib. p. 550.

[e] Pierius, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ presbyter, sub Caro et Diocletiano principibus, eo tempore quo eam ecclesiam Theonas episcopus regebat, florentissime docuit populos; et in tantam sermonis diversorumque tractatuum, qui usque hodie exstant, venit elegantiam, ut Origenes junior vocaretur. Constat hunc miræ ασκησεως, et appetitorem voluntariæ paupertatis, scientissimumque dialecticæ et rhetoricæ artis, et post persecutionem omne vitæ suæ tempus Romæ fuisse versatum. Hujus est longissimus tractatus de prophetâ Osee, quem in vigiliâ Paschæ habitum, ipse sermo demonstrat. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 76.

[f] Και επ' Αλεξανδρειας δε Μαξιμον οκλωκαιδεκα ἑτεσι μετα την Διονυσιου τελευτην επισκοπευσαντα, Θεωνας διαδεχεται· καθ' ὁν επι της Αλεξανδρειας επι ταυτον τω Πιεριω πρεσβυτερια ηξιωμενος Αχιλλας εγνωριζετο, της ἱερας πιστεως το διδασκαλειον εγκεχειρισμενος. Euseb. H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 289, 290.

'course of life, but still without neglecting the common good of the churches; for which reason, 'in the ninth year of the persecution, he was honoured with the crown of martyrdom, being 'beheaded.' So writes Eusebius.

Maximus therefore, having succeeded Dionysius in 264 or 265, was himself succeeded by Theonas, in 282; he by Peter in 300, who died a martyr in the year 311 or 312, as is computed. Achillas, just mentioned by Eusebius as catechist, was bishop [a] of Alexandria after Peter; but for a short time [b] only, as it seems: indeed, since Achillas was ordained presbyter about the same time with Pierius, and had the care of the school under Theonas, it may be argued that he must have been somewhat advanced in years in 311, when he came to be bishop: he was succeeded by Alexander in 312 or 313. I have here put down these several successions at Alexandria; I believe it will not be disagreeable to my readers.

Farther, Eusebius, speaking of the most eminent men of his own time, or near it, says, 'One [c] 'of these was Pierius, presbyter at Alexandria, celebrated for his strict course of life and philo-'sophical learning: he was likewise admired for his diligence in the study of the scriptures, and 'his expositions of them, and his public discourses to the people.'

In Jerom's letter to Magnus, Pierius is placed among other learned Christian writers next after Pamphilus.

In another place he mentions Pierius's [d] interpretation of 1 Cor. vii. 7; and reckons him among several others, who, as he says, had largely explained that epistle. Cave [e] understands Jerom to mean some commentary; but I do not think it necessary to take him in that sense: several of the writers there mentioned may have largely explained that text in their homilies, or letters, or treatises, without making a commentary upon the epistle.

In his prologue to his Commentary upon Hosea, [f] Jerom again mentions the long discourse of our author upon that prophet, which he spoke of in his Catalogue: he calls it an extemporary and eloquent discourse.

It has been observed by several learned men [g] of late times that there were copies of the bible, or however of some parts of it, called Pierius's, which were in great esteem: that observation is founded upon a passage of St. Jerom in his commentary upon Matt. xxiv. 36; "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven, but my Father only." Jerom says, 'that [h] in some Latin copies of his time was added, "nor the Son;" whereas in the Greek 'copies, particularly the copies of Origen and Pierius, that clause was wanting.'

These things concerning Pierius I have collected from Eusebius and Jerom, authors of the best credit. Philip Sidetes [i] says, 'that Pierius was catechist at Alexandria after Dionysius: 'the next after him,' he says, 'was Theognostus, then Serapion, then the great Peter, who suf-'fered martyrdom.' And Photius informs us that [k] in his time it was said that Pierius was president of the school of that city: accordingly it is now generally taken for granted, by learned men, that he had some while that charge; but I think without good foundation, since it is no where mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom: and why they should omit this, when they so particularly mention his fame for popular discourses, I cannot tell. Eusebius mentions Pierius and Achillas together: he expressly says of this last that he was catechist: why did he not say the like of Pierius, if true? Philip says that Pierius was catechist after Dionysius. When did he succeed his predecessor in that chair—when he was made bishop, or after his death? Dionysius was chosen bishop in 247, or 248, and died in the year 264 or 265. At which of those seasons did Pierius take upon him the catechetical office? Is either of them consistent with what Jerom says of Pierius, that he flourished under Carus and Dioclesian, and survived the persecution?

[a] Vid. Euseb. Chron. p. 180. Socrat. l. i. cap. 5.

[b] Αχιλλας μεν ολιγον χρονον προυςη, και τα της εκλλησιας καλεχε πηδαλια. μετα δε τȣτον Αλεξανδρος. κ. λ. Theodoret. H. E. l. i. c. 2.

[c] Euseb. ib. p. 289. A.

[d] Origenes, Dionysius, Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinaris, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt; quorum Pierius, quum sensum apostoli ventilaret atque edisseret, et proposuisset illud exponere, Volo autem omnes esse sicut meipsum, adjecit: ταυτα λεγων Παυλος αυτικρυς αγαμιαν κηρυσσει. Hieron. Ep. 31. [al. 52.] p. 243.

[e] Scripsisse commentarios in primam ad Corinthios epistolam autor est Hieronymus. Cav. H. L. in Pierio.

[f] Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus prophetæ die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis extemporali et diserto sermone profudit. Hieron. Pr. in Osee. p. 1235.

[g] Origenis ejusdem, Adamantii a flagrantibus studiis cognominati, ut etiam Pierii, doctoris Alexandrini, exemplaria quoque Novi Testamenti in magno pretio habebantur, tamquam omnium purissima. Eorum mentionem reperio apud Hieronymum ad Matth. xxiv. Hody de Bibl. Text. l. iv. c. 2. p. 622. Conf. Mill. ad Matth. loc. et in Prolegam. n. dccxxvii.

[h] In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est, *neque filius*: quum in Græcis, et maxime Adamantu et Pierii exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum. Sed quia in nonnullis legitur, disserendum videtur. Hieron. in Matth. p. 118.

[i] Μετα τȣτον Πιεριος, μετα Πιεριον Θεογνωςος· κ. λ. Philip. Sid.

[k] Vid. Phot. Cod. 118, 119.

Tillemont [a] is much of my mind: and Cave, though at the beginning of his article of Pierius he roundly calls him master of the school at Alexandria, afterwards proposes divers difficulties affecting Philip's account.

Photius says that Pierius was a martyr; and that a brother of his, named Isidore, suffered at the same time: but the silence of Eusebius must needs render this doubtful: and Jerom is positive that Pierius outlived the persecution under Diocletian, as before seen: nor does Tillemont receive this account.

But though we have no good reason to think that Pierius was a martyr, he appears to have been in great esteem. Epiphanius [b] speaks of a church at Alexandria called by his name: and Photius [c] intimates that there were temples and churches built by the faithful in honour of him and his brother.

There is still somewhat farther to be taken from Photius, who read a work of [d] Pierius in twelve books or discourses: Photius does not mention any other title. His character of it is this: 'His style is clear and perspicuous, easy and familiar, like that of extemporary discourse. 'He expresseth himself after the manner of the ancients, very differently from what now obtains 'in the church. Of the Father and the Son he speaks rightly enough, except that he makes 'two substances and two natures: nevertheless, as appears from what precedes and follows the 'place I refer to, by substance and nature he may mean only subsistence, and not in the sense of 'the Arians. But of the Spirit he speaks dangerously and impiously, for he makes him inferior 'in glory to the Father and the Son.——And, with Origen, he seems to hold the pre-existence 'of souls.'

Photius here also mentions Pierius's writing upon Hosea and Easter, and therein treating of the Cherubim and Jacob's stone pillar; and something written by him [e] upon St. Luke; which words of Photius are not very clear: but it seems as if the title of one of the twelve books abovementioned was to this purpose: Upon Luke, or Observations upon Luke's gospel.

This is what we know of Pierius: from which it is easy to conclude, that in his time he adorned the Christian profession by his piety, learning, and public labours. As we have none of his works, we cannot particularly judge of his sentiments: but from the testimonies which we have collected it appears that a great part of his time and labour was employed in studying and interpreting the scriptures; and it may be supposed that his canon was the same as that of Origen, or very little different.

Pierius is placed by Cave at the year 283: some may be apt to think he should have been put lower; but it is likely that learned writer supposed Pierius was made presbyter in the beginning of the episcopate of Theonas. Moreover, Jerom spoke of Pierius as flourishing in the reign of Carus.

CHAP. LV.

I. *Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch.* II. *Dorotheus, author of the Synopsis of the life of the prophets, and of the apostles and disciples of Christ.*

I. Says Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical history, 'About this time Timæus succeeded Domnus in 'the episcopate of the church of Antioch, whom Cyril succeeded within our memory. In [f] his 'time was Dorotheus, presbyter of the church of Antioch, a learned man whom we knew. He 'was very studious in the sacred scriptures, and acquainted himself so far with Hebrew, as to 'be able to read the ancient scriptures in their own language with understanding: he was a man

[a] Mem. Ecc. T. iv. Saint Theonas. p. 583. Ed. de Paris. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1225. à Bruxelles.

[b] Hær. 69. c. 2. p. 728. C.

[c] Οὐς οἱ μὲν φασι, καὶ νεὼν καὶ οἴκοις ὑπὸ πιστῶν ἐντεθεάσθαι ἱδρύσθαι. Cod. 118. p. 300. A.

[d] Λόγοι δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου παρείληχε δώδεκα. Cod. 119. p. 300.

[e] Ἔχει δὲ χρήσιν εἰς τὸν λόγον, ἢ ἐπιγραφή, Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν. κ. λ. ib. p. 300. m.

[f] Καθ' ὃν Δωσήθεον ὡρᾶσθαι τὸν καὶ Λυτιοχείαν ἠξιωμένον τυγχάνειν λαγχάνει ἀνὴρ εὐγνωμεῖν· φιλοκαλὸς δ' οὗτος περὶ τὰ θεῖα γεγονὼς, καὶ τῆς Ἑβραίων ἐπιμελείᾳ γλωττῆς· ὡς καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς γραφαῖς ἐπιστημόνως ἐντυγχάνειν· ἦν δ' ἔτος τῶν μάλιστα ἐλευθέρων, ὡροπαιδείας τε τῆς καθ' Ἕλληνας ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντος. κ. λ. Eus. l. vii. cap. 32. in. p. 284. B. C.

'of a liberal mind, [or was extremely well educated, or perhaps was a man of high birth,] and 'was not unskilled in Greek literature: but he was an eunuch from his birth: this being an 'extraordinary thing, the emperor took notice of him, and made him overseer of the purple 'dye-house at Tyre. We [a] have heard this person expound the scriptures indifferently well. 'Cyril was succeeded in the episcopate of Antioch by Tyrannus.'

I have transcribed this passage after this manner with the connection, that we might the better perceive the time of Dorotheus. Cyril [b] is supposed to have been bishop of Antioch from about the year 280, to the year 300, or longer. We may therefore reckon that Dorotheus flourished about 290, and afterwards. Who is the emperor meant by Eusebius is not certainly known; but it seems to me not improbable to be Dioclesian, in the early part of his reign.

It ought to be supposed that Dorotheus first served in civil offices, and after that became presbyter in the church of Antioch.

This Dorotheus [c] ought to be distinguished from one of the same name, elsewhere mentioned by [d] Eusebius, who was one of the eunuchs of Dioclesian's palace, and suffered martyrdom; and from another Dorotheus, author of the Synopsis, or short history of Christ's apostles and seventy disciples. Fabricius [e] indeed supposeth, that this presbyter of Antioch, and the martyr of the same name, were one and the same person, and that there is not sufficient reason to distinguish them: but I think that he is almost singular in that opinion.

Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch, not being a writer, is not in Jerom's Catalogue: and for the same reason there is no distinct article allotted him in Cave, or other modern authors of ecclesiastical libraries, or such like works: nevertheless I have thought it proper to insert his history here distinctly, though it be short, as a proof that there were men of learning and quality among Christians in those early ages; and that Christianity did not discourage any branch of useful knowledge: though, as we have here and often elsewhere occasion to observe, the scriptures were their principal study.

II. I take this opportunity to give an account of the supposed author of 'The Synopsis of 'the life and death of the prophets, and also of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ.'

It has been thought by some that [f] he was bishop or presbyter of Tyre at the beginning of the fourth century, in the year 303, about which time he underwent many sufferings in the persecution begun by Dioclesian, and afterwards died a martyr under Julian the year 363, when he was 107 years of age.

Cave [g] has divers just observations upon this piece and its author: he thinks the Synopsis to be the work of an anonymous author in the sixth century. Frederick Spanheim computed [h] the author to have lived in the same age. Cave was of opinion, that they who called this Dorotheus presbyter, instead of bishop of Tyre, confounded him with Dorotheus presbyter of Antioch. And may I not rather say, (if I too may propose a conjecture) that possibly this Dorotheus is a mere fictitious person called bishop of the church of Tyre for no other reason but because Dorotheus, of whom we spoke before, is said by Eusebius [i] to have been overseer of the purple dye-house at Tyre?

Tillemont argues, that [k] there could be no bishop of Tyre at the beginning of the fourth century named Dorotheus; if there had he would have been mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom.

Fabricius [l] may be consulted for the editions of this work.

[a] Ταυτα μειριως τας γραφας επι της εκκλησιας διηγεμενα ηκεσαμεν. ib. C.

[b] See Tillem. in St. Lucien d'Antioche. Mem. T. v. P. iii. p. 149, et note (4) p. 406, et Pagi Ann. 283, n. viii. Basnag. Ann. 283. n. ix.

[c] Vid. Cav. in Dorotheo Tyr. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 163; et Pagi Ann. 283. n. viii. Basn. Ann. 283. n. ix. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. v. P. ii. p. 9, et note (8) p. 342.

[d] H. E. l. viii. c. 1. p. 292. A et. cap. vi.

[e] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 145. in notis.

[f] Dorotheus, Tyriorum urbis, ut volunt, episcopus. Presbyterum quidem cum martyrologio Romano faciunt recentiores. Quod non aliunde profluxisse videtur, quam quod hunc cum Dorotheo Antiocheno male confuderunt. Cav. [L. L. [ad ann. 303.] T. i. p. 163. a.

[g] 1. Ex hoc fragmento perspicere licet, hunc Dorothei, ut æ se fert, exscriptorem, scripsisse Probo et Philoxeno Coss. hoc est, anno Christi 525.——2. Admodum probabile est, hunc anonymum fuisse ipsius Synopsis Dorotheanæ conditorem. Cav. ib. p. 170.

[h] Quod vero habet Epiphanius, Hær. li. quæ est Alogorum, et ex eo Pseudo-Dorotheus in Synopsi de lxx. discipulis, seculi minimum vi. scriptor, hinc Nicephorus, et alii, fuisse Marcum unum ex iis qui a Christo adlecti fuerunt, magis dubium, imo falsum. Spanh. De Hist. Evang. scriptor. cap. 12. Opp. T. ii. p. 275.

[i] —— και τιμησαι γε επιτροπη της κατα Τυρον αλλεργε βαφης. Eus. H. E. p. 284. C.

[k] Mais il est encore plus difficile de s'imaginer, que s'il y avoit été en ce temps là un Dorothée tel que le depeint Théophane, Eusèbe n'en eût rien écrit, ni S. Jérome même, qui le doit révérer comme un père de l'église, et comme un martyr, &c. Tillem. Not. 8. sur S. Dorothée, ib. p. 342.

[l] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 145, 146.

As for the work itself, though it has been too often quoted, it is now generally allowed by learned men to be fabulous, and of little or no value. For preventing such quotations of it for time to come, and that my readers may be the better satisfied about its real character, I shall place divers censures upon it in the margin. One is that [a] of the author of the Collection of the Bibliotheca Patrum maxima, which I make use of; another is taken [b] out of Bellarmine's book of Ecclesiastical writers; and the third from [c] the Annals of Baronius.

This Synopsis might be compared with some like books ascribed to Hippolytus, of which [d] I spoke formerly, and [e] with some articles in Epiphanius, and with the last chapter of the second book of the Apostolical constitutions, and Cotelerius's notes upon it.

I shall take notice of but very few things in this Synopsis.

Among Christ's seventy disciples the first here named is James, the brother of the Lord: of whom he says, that [f] he was stoned by the Jews, and was buried in the temple at Jerusalem, near the altar.

Here likewise are absurdly numbered among Christ's seventy disciples the seven deacons, and others, mentioned in the Acts, and Clement, and Timothy, and Titus, and almost all others, mentioned by name in St. Paul's epistles.

CHAP. LVI.

VICTORINUS, BISHOP OF PETTAW.

I. *His history.* II. *Others of the same name.* III. *His works, and extracts out of a poem against the Marcionites, ascribed to him.* IV. *Testimonies to him.* V. *His opinions.* VI. *His testimony to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.*

I. VICTORINUS, bishop of Pettaw, or Petaw upon the Drave in Germany, flourished, according to [g] Cave about the year 290; according to [h] Sixtus Senensis about the year 270. He had the honour to die a martyr for Christ under the persecution of Diocletian; and, as is [i] supposed, in the year 303.

St. Jerom's account of him in his book of Illustrious men is to this purpose: 'Victorinus, [k] bishop of Pettaw, understood Greek better than Latin: hence his works are excellent for the 'sense, but mean as to the style. They are such as these: Commentaries upon Genesis, 'Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habacuc, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Revela-'tion of John, Against all heresies, and many other works. At last he was crowned with 'martyrdom.'

[a] Dorotheus——Exstat hic sub ejus nomine Synopsis,——sed plane fabulosa, nullíusque apud eruditos auctoritatis. Vid. Ind. Alphabet. in Bib. P. P. Max.

[b] At hujus Dorothei nullam mentionem inveni apud Eusebium, S. Hieron. vel. Gennadium, aut etiam Joan. Trithemium, qui scripserunt de viris illustribus. Ipsa vero Synopsis plena est fabulis. Consulat lector quæ iste auctor scribit in vitâ Isaïæ, Hieremiæ, Elisæi.——Præterea consulat quæ scribit in vitâ Jacobi Alphæi, et Clementis, et in summâ sciat, ab isto numerari inter 72, discipulos Christi omnes, qui ab apostolo Paulo numerantur, etiamsi ethnici fuerint vel feminæ; et illos omnes non solum discipulos Domini, sed etiam episcopos facere. Non meminissem libri tam fabulosi, nisi vidissem a multis citari, et non minimi fieri. Ex Bellarmino de Scrip. Ecc. ap. Bib. P. P. Max. T. iii. p. 421, H.

[c] Nomina autem discipulorum, qui a Domino fuerunt electi, dum singula exprimere conati sunt, omnes fere, quorum invenerunt in epistolis Pauli fieri mentionem,——inter discipulos Domini adnumerarunt.——Primus post Hippolytum (quod invenerimus,) ejus rei auctor fuit Dorotheus, qui falso cognomine Tyri episcopus inscribitur,——Hic inquam Dorotheus Cæsarem quemdam unum fuisse dicit ex discipulis Domini, &c. Baron. Ann. 33, n. 40.

[d] Vol. i. chap. 35.

[e] Vid. Epiph. H. 20, n. iv. et H. 51, n. vi. p. 428.

[f] Jacobus, frater Domini secundum carnem, qui et Justus vocatur, et primus Hierosolymorum episcopus constitutus est. Lapidibus ibi a Judæis, adobrutus occubuit, atque in templo prope altare sepultus est. ap. B. P. P. ib. p. 427, G.

[g] Cav. H. L. T. i. [h] Sixt. Sen. Bib. S. lib. iv. p. 308.

[i] Cav. ib. Vid. et Pagi Ann. 303, ix. Basnag. 303. n. xvi.

[k] Victorinus, Petavionensis episcopus, non æque Latine ut Græce novit. Unde opera ejus grandia sensibus, viliora videntur compositione verborum. Sunt autem hæc: Commentarii in Genesim, in Exodum, in Leviticum, in Isaiam, in Ezechiel, in Abacuc, in Ecclesiasten, in Cantica Canticorum, in Apocalipsin Johannis, adversum omnes hæresis, et multa alia. Ad extremum martyrio coronatus est. De V. I. cap. 74.

Cave [a] thinks that Victorinus was a Greek by birth, or else born in the confines of Greece. I suppose that learned man concludes this from what Jerom says concerning Victorinus's style in this and some other places, which will be taken notice of hereafter. Cave likewise supposeth that Victorinus professed rhetoric, or oratory, before he was a bishop. And so [b] Cassiodorus says more than once.

Tillemont thinks it probable that [c] Cassiodorus confounded our Victorinus with Victorinus of Africa (of whom we shall speak presently), because what Jerom says of our bishop's style does not agree to one who had been a professor of rhetoric: but I think that cannot be easily admitted: for Cassiodorus appears [d] to have known both these authors, and speaks of them distinctly. It is not likely therefore that he should confound their characters. And, notwithstanding what Jerom says, Victorinus might be a man of good learning, and able to write elegantly in Greek, as he himself seems to allow. Victorinus's disadvantage, therefore, probably was this: that whilst he was well skilled in Greek he wrote chiefly in the Latin tongue, which was in use in the country where he lived, though he was not completely master of the propriety and elegance of that language. I might add, that [e] the style of Victorinus the African is not admired, though he gained so much reputation in his professorship.

We must content ourselves with this short history of our Victorinus, unless some more particulars should offer themselves to us when we come to observe his works, and the testimonies given to him.

II. But it is fit that we first take notice of some other ancient writers of this name.

Our Victorinus had been long supposed bishop of Poictiers in France, until John Launoy [f] in the last century published his Dissertation concerning him: and he was so fortunate as to prove his point, and satisfy the learned in general, that Victorinus, bishop and martyr, of whom Jerom speaks in the forecited chapter of his Catalogue, and often elsewhere, ought not to be numbered among Gallican bishops, but was bishop of Petabion, or Petabium, in upper Pannonia: or, according to the modern division of that country of Pettaw, in the dukedom of Stiria and circle of Austria.

At the end of that Dissertation, Launoy added an appendix concerning five illustrious persons of this name; that is, four beside our bishop.

The first of which is Victorinus, who [g] wrote in defence of Praxeas, and is mentioned by Tertullian.

The second is our Victorinus, bishop and martyr.

The third is Victorinus, an African, who, after he had long taught rhetoric at Rome with great applause, embraced the Christian religion: he is mentioned by [h] Augustine, [i] Jerom, and [l] Cassiodorus. According to [l] Cave, he flourished about the year 362, and died in 370, or soon after.

The fourth is [m] Victorinus of Marseilles, likewise professor of rhetoric. He flourished [n] about 434.

The fifth is Victorinus Lampadius, of Antioch, who published a piece entitled Consular and Imperial orations, mentioned by [o] Photius.

[a] ——si non origine Græcus, in Græciæ saltem confinio natus videtur, ex oratore episcopus, ut non uno loco nos docet Cassiodorus. Cav. ib.

[b] De quo libro [Ecclesiaste] et Victorinus, de oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. Cassiod. Inst. Div. Lit. c. 5, T. ii. p. 512. De quo [Matthæo] et Victorinus, de oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. Ib. c. 7. p. 513.

[c] See Saint Victorin de Pettau, in Tillem. Mem. T. v. P. ii. p. 215.

[d] What Cassiodorus writes of our Victorinus may be seen before at note [b], or hereafter at [k m n] under numb. iii. He likewise mentions Victorinus the rhetorician several times. Quorum Commenta a Mario Victorino composita, in Bibliothecâ meâ vobis reliquisse cognoscor. Cass. de Rhetorica. T. ii. p. 535, b. in. Præterea secundum Victorinum Enthymematis altera est definitio. Ib. p. 536, m. Modum autem hypotheticorum syllogismorum si quis plenius nôsse desiderat, legat librum Marii Victorini, qui inscribitur de Syllogismis Hypotheticis. Id. de Dialectica, p. 539, Conf. ejusdem Chron. T. i. p. 365, infr. m.

[e] Stylus Victorino parum felix, præsertim in dogmaticis perplexus et ingratus, et qui vix ulla adeo decantatæ eloquentiæ vestigia retinet. Cav. H. L. in Fab. M. Victorino.—— Scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 101.

[f] Joann. Launoii Constantiensis. Paris. Theologi, de Victorino Episc. et Mart. Dissertatio. Ed. Secund. Paris. 1664.

[g] Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Tertull. de Pr. Hær. cap. 53, p. 255, A. [h] Confess. l. viii. cap. 2.

[i] Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit, et in extremâ senectute, Christi se tradens fidei, scripsit,——Hier. de V. I. cap. 101, Vid. ejusd. Procem. in Ep. ad Gal. Vid. et adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 367, in.

[k] See before, note [d]. [l] H. L.

[m] Victorinus rhetor Massiliensis, &c. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 60, Conf. Sidon. Ep. l. v. ep. 21.

[n] Cav. ubi supra. [o] Cod. ci. p. 276.

There is another author sometimes [a] called Victorinus; but it is now [b] generally thought that his name is more properly Victorius, of Aquitain. He flourished about [c] 457.

Beside these, it is supposed that there were many others of the same name, who bore a glorious testimony to Christ in times of persecution: but it is by no means necessary that I should give any particular account of them at present.

III. We saw just now, in Jerom, a catalogue of this writer's works. Trithemius [d] makes no additions: he only names the same pieces in a little different order. We must now take some farther notice of them.

1. The first work of our author, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, is a Commentary upon Genesis. In [e] another place Jerom quotes Victorinus as having commented upon the history of Isaac's blessing of Jacob, which is recorded in Genesis, ch. xxvii. The fragment concerning the creation of the world, published [f] by Cave from the library of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, may be a part of this Commentary.

2. Of the Commentaries upon Exodus, Leviticus, Ezekiel, Habacuc, the Canticles, we have nothing remaining: nor is there any farther notice taken of them, except in such catalogues of his works as have been already mentioned.

3. The Commentary upon Isaiah is again mentioned by Jerom [g] in the preface to his own exposition of that book: he speaks there of Victorinus as the only Latin who had written upon that prophet; or, at least, who had explained any large part of him, whilst several Greek writers had bestowed a great deal of labour that way. In [h] another place he mentions a mystical explication, which Victorinus gives of a passage in Isaiah, ch. vi. 2.

4. In his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes, Jerom observes Victorinus's [i] explication of Ecc. iv. 13, in which he agreed with Origen. I have put part of Jerom's passage in the margin, as of some use, to shew our author's manner in his Commentaries: and I would likewise refer my readers to what there follows. This Commentary upon Ecclesiastes is expressly mentioned by [k] Cassiodorus: it seems by him that Victorinus had explained some parts or passages of this book.

5. In his Catalogue, Jerom says nothing of Victorinus's having written upon St. Matthew: but, in the preface to his own Commentary upon that evangelist, he mention's [l] Victorinus with other Latin commentators. Cassiodorus too mentions [m] Victorinus's explication of that gospel. The expressions used both by Jerom and Cassiodorus seem to imply, that Victorinus's performance was no large work; but contained either short notes upon the whole, or else explications of some passages only.

6. The Commentary upon the Revelation is also mentioned by Cassiodorus as well as Jerom. Says Cassiodorus: 'Victorinus, [n] the bishop, already mentioned by us more than once, explained 'briefly the most difficult places in this book.'

There is still extant [o] a Commentary upon the Revelation, which is ascribed to Victorinus; but its genuineness is not unquestioned. Cave [p] says, 'it either is not his, or has been greatly inter-

[a] Vid. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 88.
[b] Vid. Laun. ut supra, p. 44 et 45. [c] Cav. ib.
[d] Vid. Trithem. cap. 46.
[e] Quoniam autem polliciti sumus, et de eo quid significaret in figurâ adjungere, Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus, a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat: non quod omnia plenius executus sit, sed quod possit occasionem præbere lectori ad intelligentiam latiorem. Hieron. ad Dam. Qu. 3, p. 569, in. T. ii. Bened. al. Ep. 125.
[f] Exstat quidem penes me Victorini tractatus—de Fabricâ Mundi.——Videtur esse hic libellus ἀποσπασματιον quoddam, ex Commentariis vel in Genesin vel in Apocalypsin, decerptum; quod proinde, tum propter venerandam antiquitatem, tum propter celeberrimi martyris famam, hic subjungam. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Victorin. T. i. p. 147, 148.
[g] Magnique laboris et operis est, omnem Isaïæ librum velle disserere, in quo majorum nostrorum ingenia sudaverunt, Græcorum dico. Cæterum apud Latinos grande silentium est, præter sanctæ memoriæ martyrem Victorinum, qui cum apostolo dicere poterat: Etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ. Hier. Pr. in Is. p. 3.
[h] 'Sex alæ uni, et sex alæ alteri,' Victorinus noster duodecim apostolos interpretatus est. Hieron. ad Dam. T. iii. p. 518. Bened. al. Ep. 142.
[i] Origenes et Victorinus non multum inter se diversa senserunt. Post generalem illam sententiam, quæ omnibus patet, quod melior sit adolescentulus pauper et sapiens, quam rex senex et insipiens; et, quod frequenter evenit, ut ille per sapientiam suam de carcere regis egrediens, imperet pro dominatore perverso; et rex insipiens perdat imperium, quod tenebat; super Christo et diabolo hunc locum interpretati sunt, quod puerum pauperem et sapientem, Christum velint, &c. Hier. in Ecc. T. ii. p. 741, fin.
[k] De quo libro [Ecclesiaste] et Victorinus——nonnulla disseruit. Inst. Div. Lit. cap. 5.
[l] Legisse me fateor——et Latinorum, Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuscula. Hier. P. in Matth. p. 3, f.
[m] De quo [Matthæo] et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. Cassiod. ib. c. vii.
[n] De quo libro [Apocalypsi] et Victorinus, sæpe dictus episcopus, difficillima quædam loca breviter tractavit. Id. ib. c. ix. [o] Ap. Bib. P. P. T. iii. p. 414, &c.
[p] Cav. ubi supr.

'polated: for Jerom informs us, that Victorinus held the millenarian opinion, which the author 'of this work dislikes.' Basnage [a] rejected this Commentary. Lampe [b] thought the more probable opinion to be that it is not his. Du Pin, after having observed the arguments for and against the genuineness of this work, concludes: 'We [c] cannot therefore be positive that this 'Commentary is not a work of Victorinus: on the contrary, there is some probability that it is 'his.' [d] Tillemont has [e] treated this question modestly, and carefully as usual. He owns that [f] there are some reasons to doubt of it: but it seems that there are yet more to believe it a genuine remain of the many works of this holy martyr; only it must be allowed that what he had written in favour of the millenarian opinion has been altered: and he [g] offers some reasons for thinking that what is now found in this Commentary upon that point is an interpolation, or addition. That passage is at the end of the piece, and it appears to be of a different style from the rest of the work. Moreover [h] there is some reason to suspect that alterations have been made in divers ancient writers who held that opinion: and what may more especially increase the suspicion here, is, that in this very Commentary there still seem to be some traces of that sentiment; where [i] it is said that all the saints shall be assembled together in Judea to worship Christ. Whether it be Victorinus's or not, it is supposed to have in it divers marks of antiquity. Tillemont [k] understands the author to speak of the senate of Rome, as still employing its name and authority for persecuting the church. What he says of Nero, that [l] he is to be raised up to be antichrist, is a more common notion of the first than of the latter ages. The author, [m] reckoning up the epistles of Paul, says nothing of the epistle to the Hebrews: and in the time of our bishop it was common in the West not to consider that as an epistle of St. Paul. It may be also observed that [n] speaking of the prophet who is to come with Elias, he says nothing of Enoch; but informs us that some suppose him to be Moses, others Elisha; as for the author himself, he thinks it must be Jeremiah, whose death is not related in the scriptures: these may be reckoned marks of antiquity: and the style of the work answers very well to the character which Jerom gives of Victorinus's, as low and mean. So Tillemont: who nevertheless says, the [o] safest way is not to be positive who is the author; and I assent to him. Though therefore I intend to make extracts out of this work, I desire it may be remembered that I do not quote it as certainly, but only probably, Victorinus's. I am willing to allow that in some places it has been interpolated and altered; but I am inclined to think it genuine in the main.

To this Commentary, as we now have it, is usually prefixed [p] a prologue ascribed to St. Jerom: but there is so little reason to think it is, that no one, so far as I know, believes it to be authentic.

7. Beside these Commentaries Jerom says that Victorinus wrote against all heresies. This book, [q] or these books, if they were several, seem to be referred to by Optatus in Africa, who flourished not long before the year 370.

8. Jerom concludes in this manner: Victorinus wrote many other things. But we have no certain knowledge of any more than those named by him.

9. Cave [r] mentions two poems which have been published as his; but he thinks altogether without ground.

[a] A Victorino tamen abjudicandum esse existimamus. Basnag. Ann. 303, n. xvi.

[b] Quod eo minus congruum, cum librum hunc falso adscribi Victorino Pictaviensi, seu, ut aliis potius videtur, Petabionensi, qui sub fine seculi tertii floruit, valde sit probabile. Lampe Proleg. in Joan. l. i. c. 4, n. xii. p. 66.

[c] Du Pin Bib. des Ant. Ec. T. i. p. 194.

[d] Au contraire il y a quelque apparence qu'il est de lui. ibid.

[e] See St. Victorin de Pettau, Mem. Ec. T. v. P. ii. p. 218, et note 2.

[f] Ib. p. 218.

[g] Ib. note ii. p. 444, et 445.

[h] See Les Millenaires in Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. ii. p. 251.

[i] ——in Judæâ, ubi omnes sancti conventuri sunt, et Dominum suum adoraturi. Victorin. ap. Bib. Patr. T. iii. p. 415. D.

[k] Et vidi, inquit, mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum, decreto senatûs illius consummatæ nequitiæ, et omnem contra fidei prædicationem etiam latam indulgentiam ipse dedit decretum in universis gentibus. Id. ib. p. 420. H.

[l] Unum autem de capitibus occisum in morte, et plaga mortis ejus curata est, Neronem dicit. Constat enim, dum insequeretur eum equitatus missus a senatu, ipsum sibi gulam succidisse. Hunc ergo suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis, et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi. ib. p. 420, D.

[m] Id. ib. p. 415, E.

[n] Multi putant eum Eliam esse, aut Elizæum, aut Möysen. Sed utrique mortui sunt. Hieremiæ autem mors non invenitur, quia omnes veteres nostri tradiderunt illum esse Hieremiam. p. 418. D.

[o] Ubi supra, p. 446.

[p] Ap. Bib. P. P. ib. p. 414.

[q] Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus, et cæteri, usque ad Cataphrygas, temporibus suis a Victorino Petavionensi, et Zephyrino Urbico, et a Tertulliano Carthaginensi, et ab aliis adsertoribus ecclesiæ catholicæ superati sunt. Optat. l. i. cap. 9.

[r] Tribuuntur autem ei carmina duo, quæ habentur in sacrorum poëtarum collectione Fabricianâ. De Jesu Christo Deo et homine, unum. Alteri titulus est, Lignum Vitæ. Sed conjectura plane incerta, et, ut mihi videtur, falsa. Cav. in Victor. H. L. T. i. p. 147, Oxon.

10. Tillemont says, [a] 'that [a] many manuscripts ascribe to St. Victorinus of Pe[illegible]mn 'upon the cross, or upon Easter, or baptism; which [b] is among St. Cyprian's works [illegible] been 'observed that [c] Bede cites it as Victorinus's. It is a fine poem, and perhaps too [illegible] him. 'We thence perceive that many persons pretended to embrace the Christian reli[illegible] did 'not persevere until baptism.' This is but a short poem: I do not intend to quote [illegible]ing out of it.

11. Tillemont adds, 'that [d] the poem against the Marcionites, among the works of Ter- 'tullian, may be ascribed to Victorinus: and this piece answers well enough to what Jerom says 'of Victorinus's small skill in the Latin tongue.' This piece is of some considerable length.

Indeed what Jerom says of our author might dispose us not to expect from him any Latin poetry: however, Bede has actually quoted some verses as his. And, since it is allowed that Victorinus did once teach rhetoric, possibly he might think fit sometimes to exercise his pen in verse as well as prose: but, when he writes Latin verse, we are not to expect that his style should appear very beautiful.

This poem is joined with Tertullian's works, but fully shewn, by [e] Rigaltius in his preface to it, not to be his: it stands there [f] with this title, Five books of an uncertain author against Marcion. Pearson [g] quotes it as a piece whose age is unknown; but yet, as it seems, not reckoning it to have been written till after the middle of the fifth century. From [h] Cave we understand that Allix supposed this work was not published till after the time of Jerom. Bull [i] asserted it to be a genuine work of Tertullian; which induced Tillemont to say, 'that [k] by many instances it 'may be shewn, a critical skill in authors was not Bull's talent.'

I certainly do not think that this poem was written by Tertullian; nor do I perceive that we have sufficient evidence to ascribe it to our Victorinus: but as it is of some considerable length, and I do not now think of a better place for it, I shall here make some extracts, and take notice of several things in it.

1. This writer has a catalogue of the early [l] bishops of Rome, among whom is Clement; who, he says, was acquainted with the apostles, or apostolical men.

2. He mentions [m] Hermas, author of the Shepherd, whom he placeth in the time of pope Pius.

3. He takes notice of divers ancient [n] heretics.

4. Speaking of Isaiah and Jeremiah, he says that [o] the former was sawn asunder, and that the latter never died.

[a] Mem. E. T. v. P. ii. p. 218, 219, S. Victorin.

[b] De Cruce Domini. p. 4. App. Cypr. Oxon. 1682.

[c] Quâ ductus opinione Victorinus Pictaviensis, antistes ecclesiæ, de Golgotha scribens ita inchoat, &c. Bed. de locis sanct. c. 2. p. 317, Cantabr. 1722.

[d] Tillem. ib. p. 219.

[e] Apud Tertullian. p. 796. Paris. 1634.

[f] Incerti auctoris adversus Marcionem Libri quinque. Ib. p. 797.

[g] Primus inter Latinos qui Pium suo loco posuit, erat Prosper in Chronico a Labbéo edito. Quem secutus est Catalogus tertius Pseudo-Tertullianus, cujus ætas ignota est, lib. iii. Pears. Opp. Post. p. 266, 267.

[h] Doctissimus Allix libros adversum Marcionem post Hieronymi ævum natos arbitratur. Cav. in Tertulliano. Hist. L. T. i. p. 93. f.

[i] Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. iii. cap. 10. n. xix. p. 217.

[k] On pourroit montrer par divers exemples, que la critique des ouvrages n'est pas le fort de Bullus. Mem. Ec. T. iii P. i. p. 564.

[l] Maxima Roma Linum primum considere jussit:
Post quem Cletus et ipse gregem suscepit ovilis.
Hujus Anacletus successor sorte locatus;
Quem sequitur Clemens: is apostolicis bene notus. Adv. Marcion. l. iii. p. 803. ap. Tertullian.

[m] Post hunc deinde Pius, Hermas cui germine frater,
Angelicus pastor, quia tradita verba locutus. ib. p. 803.

[n] Hæc vobis per Marcionem, Cerdone magistro.
——— ——— ——— ———
Namque Valentino Deus est insanus.
——— ——— ——— ———
Tantos esse deos Basilidem credere jussit,
Quantos et dies annus habet.
Marcus per numeros argumentatus acute. l. i. p. 798.
Advenit Romam Cerdo——l. iii. p. 803.
Sub quo [Aniceto] Marcion hic veniens, nova Pontica pestis. ibid.

[o] Isaias, loculeus vates,——
——— ——— ——— ———
Quem populus sectum ligno, sine labe repertum,
Immeritum, demens crudeli morte peremit.

5. His canon of the Old Testament[a] seems to have been much the same with that of the Jews and protestants.

6. He often speaks[b] of the Old and New Testament, and of their entire agreement together; and that the law and the prophets and the apostles of Christ say one and the same thing.

7. He distinctly mentions the four[c] evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

8. He speaks of the sages that[d] came to Jerusalem after our Saviour's birth; and of the star that conducted them, as recorded in Matt. ii; and he seems to have thought that they were priests.

9. He[e] speaks of John the baptist, our Lord's forerunner, and calls him apostle.

10. He[f] enumerates many of our Lord's miracles. I omit other references to the gospels, for the sake of brevity.

11. This author in his poem expressly, and by name, quotes several of St. Paul's epistles, and plainly refers to divers others.

12. He also often[g] refers to the epistle to the Hebrews; and probably esteemed it an epistle of St. Paul.

13. He likewise[h] frequently quotes the book of the Revelation, and calls it John's, and John's the disciple or apostle of Christ.

14. I need not take any thing more from this unknown author of the five books against Marcion: from what has been transcribed, it may be reckoned undoubted that he received all the books of the New Testament, generally received by Christians, and esteemed by them of authority: nor does there appear any sign of his receiving any other Christian writings in that manner.

IV. We return to Victorinus himself; to whom I intend to produce some more testimonies chiefly taken from Jerom: my readers will not be displeased to see them, as they will help them to some knowledge of this good man's character; which otherwise we could never be acquainted with, since the loss of the greatest part of his works.

We saw in the passage transcribed from Jerom's Catalogue, at the beginning of this chapter,

[a] Sanctus Hieremias, quem gentibus esse prophetam
Æterna virtus jussit———
———— ———— ———— ————
Nullâ morte virum constat, neque cæde peremtum. l. iii. p. 802.
Osea, Amos, et Michæas, Joel, Abdia, Jonas,
Atque Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggæusque,
Zacharias vim passus, et angelus ipse Malachim, &c. ib. et p. 803. in.
Adversum sese duo Testamenta sonare,
Contra prophetarum Domini committere verba. l. ii. in. p. 799.
Sic igitur lex, et miri cecinêre prophetæ
———— ———— ———— ————
Sic et apostolicæ voces testantur ubique.
Nec quidquam veteris non est novo denique junctum. l. iv. p. 804. a. f.
Cujus facta, simul dicta conjuncta, fideles
Illi, Matthæus, Marcus, Lucasque, Joannes,
Conscripsere, mera, non extera verba locuti,
Spiritu sancto Dei, tanto præsente magistro. l. ii. p. 799. b.
Templa sacerdotes linquunt, stellæ quoque ductu
Mirantur Dominum, tantum se cernere partum. l. i. p. 797. a.
Quem visum Joannes baptismi primus apertor,
Et vatum socius, necnon et apostolus ingens, &c. l. ii. p. 800. a. in.
In vinum vertuntur aquæ, memorabile visu.
Lumina redduntur cæcis, jussuque trementes
Dæmones expulsi clamant, Christumque fatentur.
Omnia sanantur verbo jam tabida membra.
Jam graditur claudus, surdus spem protinus audit.
Dat dextram mancus, loquitur magnalia mutus.
Fit mare tranquillum jussu, ventique quiescunt. l. i. p. 797. b.
Sanguine nam vituli populum, simul omnia vasa,
Atque sacerdotes, et scripta volumina legis
Sparsit aquâ mixto.——— l. i. p. 804. a. Conf. Hebr. ix. 19.
Hoc Dominus noster, qui nos suâ morte redemit,
Extra castra, volens, populi vim passus iniqui. ib. Conf. Hebr. xiii. 12. et passim.
Fœderis hinc etiam novi inenarrabilis auctor
Discipulus Joannes animas pro nomine passas
Testatur tali sese vidisse sub arâ.
Clamantes Dei vindictam pro cæde potentis. l. iv. p. 804, b. Conf. Apoc. cap. vi
Sic quoque Joannes, sic pandit Spiritus illi,
Tot numero solio senioribus insuper albis. ib. p. 805, a. Conf. Apoc. cap. iv. 4.

he said that 'Victorinus understood Greek better than Latin; and that his works, though 'valuable for the sense, were mean as to the style.' In another place he says, 'that 'Victorinus 'who was crowned with a glorious martyrdom, was not able to express his thoughts.' In that place Jerom passeth his judgment upon several other Latin writers of the church; such as Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Arnobius, and Hilary. In his letter to Magnus he says, 'that 'though the writings of the martyr Victorinus are not learned, they shew a good will to learning.' In another [c] place he calls Victorinus a martyr of blessed memory, who could say with the apostle: "though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge:" 2 Cor. xi. 6. He also informs us that Victorinus, as well as many others, made great use of Origen's Commentaries upon the scriptures: he speaks of [e] this again; at the same time giving Victorinus the character of a man of renowned integrity. Once more, Victorinus [f] is mentioned with divers others, who are represented as very eminent persons, or pillars of the church: where the martyr Victorinus is again distinguished for his uncommon simplicity.

V. I shall make another short article of this writer's opinions.

1. He was a millenarian; as Jerom says, in his [g] chapter concerning Papias, and in his Commentary upon Ezekiel.

2. It was formerly observed that [i] the author of the Commentary upon the Revelation supposed that Nero should be raised up from the dead to be antichrist. Since, therefore, this expected antichrist would [k] be the Messiah and king of the Jews, we may conclude that this writer did not suppose the famous antichrist would be an erroneous, or heretical and imperious domineering Christian; but a man of another religion, particularly the Jewish religion. Consequently, since the author likewise [l] understood the man of sin, and son of perdition, in 2 Thess. ii. 3, to be the same as antichrist, he must have supposed the apostle there to speak of a man who is a Jew by religion at least.

Mr. La Roche published, in his New Memoirs of Literature, [m] a curious dissertation upon antichrist; where the author argues that the Jewish people were antichrist; and largely explains 2 Thess. ii. 1—12. And there are in St. Cyril of Alexandria [n] many passages favouring that supposition.

I shall here insert in the [o] margin, for the sake of inquisitive readers, passages of some other

[a] Inclyto Victorinus martyrio coronatus, quod intelligit, eloqui non potest. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49, [al. 13], T. iv. P. ii. p. 567. m.

[b] Victorino martyri in libris suis licet desit eruditio, tamen non deest eruditionis voluntas. Ep. 83, [al. 84,] ib. p. 656, f.

[c] Cæterum apud Latinos grande silentium est, præter sanctæ memoriæ martyrem Victorinum, qui cum apostolo dicere poterat: Etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ. In Is. Pr. p. 3. f.

[d] Taceo de Victorino Pictabionensi, et cæteris, qui Origenem in explanatione dumtaxat scripturarum sequuti sunt, et expresserunt. Ad Vigilant. Ep. 36, [al. 75,] p. 279, sub fin.

[e] Nec disertiores sumus Hilario, nec fideliores Victorino, qui ejus [Origenis] tractatus, non ut interpretes, sed ut auctores proprii operis, transtulerunt. Ad. Pam. et Ocean. Ep. 41. [al. 65,] p. 346 in.

[f] Si auctoritatem suo operi præstruebat,——habuit in promptu Hilarium Confessorem,——habuit Ambrosium, cujus pene omnes libri hujus sermonibus pleni sunt: et martyrem Victorinem, qui simplicitatem suam in eo probat, dum nulli molitur insidias. De his omnibus tacet, et, quasi columnis ecclesiæ prætermissis, me solum pulicem et nihili hominem consectatur. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 351.

[g] Hic dicitur mille annorum Judaïcam edidisse δευτερωσιν, quam sequuti sunt Irenæus,—et cæteri qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. Tertullianus quoque in libro de spe fidelium, et Victorinus Petabionensis, et Lactantius, hac opinione ducuntur. De V. I. cap. 18.

[h] Quod et multi nostrorum, et præcipue Tertulliani liber, qui inscribitur de Spe Fidelium, et Lactantii Institutionum volumen septimum pollicetur, et Victorini Petabionensis episcopi crebræ expositiones. Hier. in Ezech. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952. in.

[i] See p. 91.

[k] Et bestia, quam vidisti, inquit, de septem est; quoniam ante istos reges Nero regnavit.——Hunc ergo suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis, et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi. Et quoniam aliud nomen allaturus est, aliam etiam vitam instituturus, ut sic eum tamquam Christum excipiant Judæi. Denique et sanctos non ad idola colenda revocaturus est, sed ad circumcisionem colendam. Victorin. ap. B. P. P. T. iii. p. 420. D.

[l] Et Paulus contra antichristum ad Thessalonicenses ait: Quem Dominus interficiet spiritu oris sui. Id. ib. p. 415. C.

[m] Vol. iv. p. 176—200.

[n] Vid. Cyril. A. Comm. in Zach. T. iii. p. 769. C. D. p. 770. C. D. p. 773. D. Comm. in Joann. T. iv. p. 262. A. B. Vid. et. T. v. p. 370. E. Et Conf. Dodw. Diss. i. in. Iren. n. xiii.

[o] Unde illum quidam deliri credunt esse translatum ac vivum reservatum, Sibyllâ dicente, matricidam profugum a finibus esse venturum, ut, quia primus persecutus est, novissimus persequatur, et antichristi præcedat adventum. Lactant. vel Cæcil. de Mort. Persec. cap. 2. Cæterum ait nobis,——Neronem in Occidentali plagâ regibus subactis decem imperaturum. —— Ab antichristo vero Orientale imperium esse capiendum: qui quidem sedem et caput regni Hierosolymam esset habiturus; ab illo urbem et templum esse reparandum. Illius eam persecutionem futuram esse, ut Christum Dominum cogat negari, se potius Christum esse confirmans: omnesque secundum legem circumcidi jubeat. Sulpic. Sever. Dial. 2. cap. ult. Vid. et. ejusd. Sacer. Hist. l. ii. c. 28. et 29. Unde et multi nostrorum putant ob sævitiæ et turpitudinis magnitudinem Neronem antichristum fore. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 27. Op. T. iii. p. 1129. Con. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. xx. c. 19. et Comm. Instr. n. xli.

ancient Christians beside Victorinus, who speaks of Nero's appearing as antichrist, or his forerunner; for they express themselves differently. The author of the Computation of Easter, of [a] whom I gave an account formerly, did not suppose that [b] antichrist would be a Christian.

3. Helvidius [c] alleged Victorinus as favouring his opinion, that Mary had children by Joseph after the birth of Jesus: but Jerom affirms that Victorinus did not understand by the Lord's brethren, mentioned in the gospels, sons of Mary, but in general relations or kindred.

VI. We are now to observe Victorinus's testimony to the scriptures, chiefly to the books of the New Testament: and the two pieces I shall make use of are the Commentary upon the Revelation, and the Fragment published by Cave, between both which there is a remarkable agreement.

1. In the Fragment, discoursing on the fourth day's work, he observes, beside other things, that [d] there are four living creatures before the throne of God, four gospels, four rivers in paradise. St. John's gospel is here quoted in this manner: 'The [e] evangelist John thus speaks: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."'

2. In the Commentary upon the Revelation he speaks of the gospels in this manner: 'The [f] four living creatures (see Rev. iv. 6, 7,) are the four gospels: "The first," says he, "was like a lion, the second was like a calf, the third like a man, and the fourth like a flying eagle." These living creatures have different faces, which have a meaning: for the living creature like a lion denotes Mark, in whom the voice of a lion roaring in the wilderness is heard: "A voice crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord." Matthew, who has the resemblance of a man, shews the family of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh; and, while he computes his genealogy from Abraham to David and Joseph, he speaks of him as a man; therefore his preaching is represented by the face of a man. Luke, who relates the priesthood of Zacharias offering sacrifice for the people, and the angel that appeared to him, because of the priesthood and the mention of the sacrifice, has the resemblance of a calf. The evangelist John, like an eagle with stretched-out wings mounting on high, speaks of the Word of God. The evangelist Mark commences thus: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet; the voice of one crying in the wilderness:" this is the face of a lion. Matthew says: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham:" this is the face of a man. But Luke says: "There was a priest, named Zacharias, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron:" this is the form of a calf. John begins thus: "In the beginning was the Word, the same was in the beginning with God:" this is the similitude of a flying eagle.'

Thus in this passage we have the four evangelists, and the beginnings of their several gospels, or at least what is near the beginning of each of them. This passage, therefore, if it be really Victorinus's, as I see no reason to doubt, is very valuable.

3. He speaks of the time and of the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel: it was written after he had been confined in Patmos, and to confute and overthrow heresies then sprung up.

[a] See p. 39—41.

[b] In quibus diebus ille antichristus magnam faciet vastationem. Et ideo tunc nemo Christianorum poterit Deo sacrificium offerre. De Paschâ Comput. ap. Cypr. in App. p. 68. Ed. Oxon.

[c] Sed quoniam——Tertullianum in testimonium vocat, et Victorini Petabionensis episcopi verba proponit: Et de Tertulliano quidem nihil amplius dico, quam ecclesiæ hominem non fuisse. De Victorino autem id asséro, quod et de evangelistis, fratres eum dixisse Domini, non filios Mariæ: fratres autem eo sensu, quem superius exposuimus, propinquitate, non naturâ. Adv. Helvid. T. iv. p. 141.

[d] Ecce quatuor animalia ante thronum Dei, quatuor evangelia, quatuor flumina in paradiso fluentia. Victorin. de Fabricâ Mundi ap. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 148. a.

[e] Joannes evangelista sic dicit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, &c. ib. p. 149. a.

[f] Quatuor animalia, quatuor sunt evangelia. Primum inquit, simile leoni, secundum simile vitulo, tertium simile homini, quartum simile aquilæ volanti.——Animalia igitur quod differentia vultibus sunt, hanc habet rationem. Simile leoni animal, Evangelium secundum Marcum, in quo vox leonis in eremo rugientis auditur: Vox clamantis in deserto, Parate viam Domini. Hominis autem figurâ Matthæus enititur enuntiare nobis genus Mariæ, unde carnem accepit Christus. Ergo dum enumerat ab Abraham usque ad David, et usque ad Joseph, tamquam de homine locutus est. Ideo prædicatio ejus hominis effigiem ostendit. Lucas sacerdotium Zachariæ offerentis hostiam pro populo, et apparentem sibi angelum dum enarrat, propter sacerdotium, et hostiæ conscriptionem, vituli imaginationem tenet. Joannes evangelista, aquilæ similis, assumtis pennis ad altiora festinans, de verbo Dei disputat. Marcus evangelista sic incipit: Initium evangelii Jesu Christi, sicut scriptum est in Isaiâ prophetâ, Vox clamantis in deserto. Hæc est leonis effigies. Matthæus: Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. Hæc est facies hominis. Lucas autem dicit: Fuit sacerdos nomine Zacharias, de vice Abia, et Mulier ei de filiabus Aaron. Hæc est imago vituli. Joannes sic incipit: In principio erat Verbum, hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Hæc est similitudo aquilæ volantis. Victorin. Comm. in Apoc. ap. Bib. P. P. T. iii. p. 416. F. G. H.

'By [a] the reed like unto a rod, which was given to him, (see Rev. xi. 1), that he m[illegible] measure the temple of God and the altar, and them that worship therein, is signified t[illegible] power, 'which when set at liberty he exhibited to the churches; for he afterwards wrote h[illegible] gospel. 'Valentinus, and Cerinthus, and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan, were spre[illegible] abroad 'over the world, all men [or all the churches] from the neighbouring provinces ca[illegible] him, 'and earnestly entreated him to put down his testimony in writing.'

4. 'And [b] we read in the Acts of the apostles, how, when he was discoursing w[illegible] his 'ciples, he was taken up into heaven.' See Acts i. 9—11. Words of the Acts are [c] [illegible] quoted without naming the book.

5. In the Fragment published by Cave, in his observations upon the seventh day, [illegible] God rested from all his labours, among other remarkable instances of that remarkable n[illegible] he mentions this: 'And [d] seven churches in Paul.' Cave says, 'Perhaps it should be in the Apo-'calypse:' but the author means the seven churches which have epistles sent to the[illegible] the collection of St. Paul's epistles. This will be apparent to all from a passage in the Commentary upon the Revelation; where speaking of the seven churches mentioned in that book, to [illegible] likewise John sent epistles, he says: 'That [e] in the whole world are seven churches; and that 'those churches called seven are one catholic church, Paul has taught: and that he might keep 'to it, he did not exceed the number of seven churches; but wrote to the Romans, to the 'Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, to the 'Thessalonians. Afterwards he wrote to particular persons, that he might not exceed the 'measure of seven churches: and, contracting his doctrine into a little compass, he says to 'Timothy: "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the church of 'the living God."'

The reader cannot but recollect here what we formerly saw of the like kind in St. [f] Cyprian.

Here we have a very valuable testimony to St. Paul's epistles, like to that which we saw before to the gospels. It may be hence justly concluded that he received thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul; that is, the second, as well as the first, to the Corinthians, and to the [g] Thessalonians, and all his epistles to particular persons; the first and second to Timothy, the epistles to Titus and Philemon.

6. But Victorinus makes no mention of the epistle to the Hebrews: and in what he says of the rest seems entirely to exclude it from the number of St. Paul's epistles. Nevertheless, there are in the Commentary upon the Revelation some passages which seem to contain allusions to this epistle: I think they deserve to be taken notice of.

1. 'For [h] our prayers ascend to heaven. As therefore heaven is denoted by the golden altar, 'which was the innermost, (for even the priests, who had the anointing, entered only once in 'the year to the golden altar, the Holy Ghost this signifying, that Christ should do this once 'for all:) in like manner,' &c. Compare Hebr. ix. 7, 8, 12.

2. Again: 'For [i] Moses himself taking moist wool, and the blood of a calf, and water, 'sprinkled all the people, saying: This is the blood of the Testament, which God has enjoined 'unto you.' See Hebr. ix. 19, 20; and compare Exod. xxiv. 8, 9.

[a] Novissimam arundinem similem virgæ, ut metiretur Dei templum, et aram, et adorantes in eâ, potestatem dicit, quam dimissus postea exhibuit ecclesiis. Nam et evangelium postea scripsit. Cum essent Valentinus, et Cerinthus, et Ebion, et cæteri scholæ Satanæ diffusi per orbem; convenerunt ad illum de finitimis provinciis omnes, et compulerunt, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet. In Apoc. ib. p. 418. C.

[b] Et nos legimus in Actis apostolorum, quemadmodum loquens cum discipulis suis, raptus est in cœlos. ib. p. 419. A.

[c] Sicut Petrus ad Judæos exclamavit: Dexterâ Dei exaltatus acceptum a Patre Spiritum effudit, hunc quem videtis. (Act. ii. 33.) ib. p. 415. D.

[d] Septem candelabra aurea,——septem mulieres apud Isaïam, septem ecclesiæ apud Paulum. de Fabr. Mund. ap. Cav. H. L. p. 149. a.

[e] In toto orbe septem ecclesias omnes esse, et septem nominatas unam esse catholicam, Paulus docuit primo: Quod ut servaret ipse, et ipsum septem ecclesiarum non excessit numerum. Sed scripsit ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses. Postea singularibus personis scripsit, ne excederet modum septem ecclesiarum. Et in brevi contrahens prædicationem suam, ad Timotheum ait: Ut scias, qualiter debeas conversari in ecclesiâ Dei vivi. In Apoc. p. 415. D. E.

[f] See p. 23.

[g] He has more than once quoted the second epistle to the Thessalonians. Et Paulus contra antichristum ad Thessalonicenses ait: Quem Dominus interficiet spiritu oris sui. [2 Thess. ii. 8.] in Apoc. p. 415. C. Et Paulus apostolus contestatur. Ait enim ad Thessalonicenses: Qui nunc tenet, teneat, &c. [2 Thess. ii. 7.] ib. p. 418. F.

[h] Utique ad cœlum ascendunt orationes. Sicut igitur cœlum intelligitur ara aurea, quæ erat interior; (nam et sacerdotes semel in anno introibant, qui habebant chrisma, ad aram auream, significante Spiritu Sancto Christum hoc semel facturum;) sic et,——Victor. in Ap. ib. p. 418. B.

[i] Nam et ipse tunc legis de populo, acceptâ lanâ succidâ, [forte coccinea,] et sanguine vituli, et aquâ, aspersit populum universum, dicens: Hic sanguis testamenti ejus, quod mandavit ad vos. ib. p. 417. E.

I have translated the former part of this passage nearly according to the Latin original; but I suppose that to be corrupted: perhaps it should be scarlet, instead of moist or wet, wool; and some other emendations might be thought of.

3. Presently after the author says: 'No[a] law is called a testament: nor is any thing else 'called a testament, but what men make who are about to die: and whatever is within a testa-'ment is concealed until the day of death:' See Hebr. ix. 16, 17,

Whether these will be allowed to be allusions to the epistle to the Hebrews; and, if they are, whether they can be sufficient, considering what he said before, to afford an argument that it was of authority with this writer; I cannot say. We proceed.

7. I have not observed in the remains of this author any quotations of the epistle of St. James.

8. Upon those words[b] of Rev. i. 6: '"And hath made us kings and priests:" that is,' says he, 'the whole church of the faithful, as the apostle Peter says: [Ye are] "a holy nation, a royal 'priesthood:"' 1 Pet. ii. 9.

9. I do not perceive any references to the second epistle of St. Peter, nor to any of the epistles of St. John, nor to that of St. Jude.

10. The Fragment in Cave concludes in this manner: 'These[c] are they, who sit before the 'throne of God, who in the Revelation of John, the apostle and evangelist, are called elders.' And in the Commentary upon the Revelation he several times ascribes that book to John. 'The[d] opened book,' says he, 'is the Revelation which John saw.' Afterwards[e] he calls him apostle: and soon after he informs us when John saw and wrote the Revelation. 'And[f] he 'said unto me: "Thou must prophecy again to people, and tongues, and nations:" (Rev. x. '11.) that is, because when John saw this he was in the isle of Patmos, having been condemned 'to the mines by the emperor Domitian: there he saw the Revelation. And when, being now 'old, he expected to be received up [to heaven] through his sufferings, Domitian was killed, 'and all his acts disannulled, and John was set at liberty from the mines. Then afterwards he 'wrote the same Revelation, which he had received from the Lord. This is the meaning of 'those words: "Thou must prophesy again."' In another place he says: 'When[g] the 'scripture of the Revelation was published, Domitian was emperor.'

11. We have already seen some forms of citation: a particular or two may be added. 'The[h] 'other three horses,' says he, 'signify the wars, famines, and pestilences, more plainly spoken of 'by the Lord in the gospel.' 'For[i] the Lord says: "This gospel shall be preached in all the 'world, for a witness unto the nations, and then shall the end come:" Matt. xxiv. 14. Presently afterwards: 'As[k] we read in the gospel: "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against 'kingdom:"' ver. 7. 'And[l] so the Lord says in the gospel: "Then let them which are in Judea 'flee to the mountains:"' ver. 16. And in like manner often. 'And[m] the Jews saying, "Forty 'and six years has this temple been building,"' the evangelist says: "He spake of the temple 'of his body:" John ii. 20, 21. Having quoted Matth. xiii. 52. "Therefore every scribe instructed to the kingdom of God is like unto an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old," he says: 'The[n] new things are the words of the gospel: the old those of the law and the prophets.' By "the words of the gospel," or evangelic words, meaning

[a] Nulla lex testamentum vocatur. Nec testamentum aliud dicitur, nisi quod faciunt morituri. Et quodcumque intrinsecus testamenti est, signatum est, usque ad diem mortis. ib. p. 417. E. F.

[b] Et fecit nos regnum et sacerdotes; id est, omnem fidelium ecclesiam, sicut Petrus apostolus dicit: Gens sancta, regale sacerdotium. ibid. p. 414. H.

[c] ——quos in Apocalypsi Joannis apostoli et evangelistæ seniores vocat. Ap. Cav. H. Lit. T. i. p. 149.

[d] Liber apertus Apocalypsis est, quam Joannes vidit. ubi supra, p. 419. E.

[e] Sed quia dicit, se scripturum fuisse Joannes quanta locuta fuissent tonitrua, id est, quæcumque in veteri testamento erant obscura et prædicata, vetatur scribere, sed relinquere ea signata, quia erat apostolus, nec oportebat gratiam sequentis gradûs in primo collocari. ib. F.

[f] ——Hoc est, quoniam quando hoc vidit Joannes, erat in insulâ Pathmo, in metallum damnatus à Domitiano Cæsare. Ibi ergo vidit apocalypsin. Et cum senior jam putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano, omnia judicia ejus solûta sunt, et Joannes de metallo dimissus. Sic postea tradidit hanc eamdem, quam acceperat a Domino, apocalypsin. Hoc est, Oportet te iterum prophetare. ib. G.

[g] Intelligi oportet tempus, quo scriptura Apocalypsis edita est, quoniam tunc erat Cæsar Domitianus—unus exstat, sub quo scribitur Apocalypsis, Domitianus scilicet. p. 420. C.

[h] Cæteri tres equi bella, fames, pestes in evangelio a Domino prædicata manifestius significant. p. 417. H.

[i] Ait enim Dominus: Prædicabitur, &c. ib. H.

[k] Ut legimus in evangelio: Surget enim gens, &c. ib.

[l] Sic et Dominus in evangelio ait: Tunc qui in Judæâ sunt, &c. p. 419. H.

[m] Evangelista inquit: Ille dicebat de templo corporis sui. p. 418. G.

[n] Nova evangelica verba: vetera legis et prophetarum. ib. p. 415. B.

as it seems, the whole New Testament. After his long account of the four gospels, and their symbolical representations before transcribed, he observes: 'All[a] these, though four, are one, 'because they proceed from one mouth.' Explaining some words in the Revelation, he says: 'They[b] confute those who say that one spake in the prophets, and another in the gospel.' Again, 'The[c] doctrine of the Old Testament is connected with the New.' He[d] often speaks of the Old and New Testament.

12. We have seen then in Victorinus very valuable testimonies to the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, and some expressions which may be thought allusive to the epistle to the Hebrews, as also a plain quotation of the first epistle of St. Peter, beside his express testimony to the author of the book of the Revelation, and his Commentary upon it. And there might be other books received by him, as of authority, though not expressly mentioned in his few remaining works. Unquestionably he received all those scriptures of the New Testament, which were generally received by Christians in all times, and all over the world. We have also observed him to speak distinctly of a collection of sacred writings, called the Gospel, and the New Testament. Finally, we should not forget here the evidences we saw at the beginning of this chapter of Victorinus's writing Commentaries upon several books of the Old Testament, and some of the New; proofs of his application and industry, and of his unfeigned affection and ardent zeal for the holy scriptures, and for the Christian religion: which he recommended not only by the labours of his life, but also by the patience and fortitude of a violent, but willing, death for its sake.

CHAP. LVII.

METHODIUS, BISHOP OF OLYMPUS IN LYCIA.

I. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *Testimonies to him.* IV. *Select passages of Methodius.* V. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament: and first, of the four gospels:* VI. *Of the Acts of the apostles:* VII. *Of St. Paul's epistles:* VIII. *Of the epistle to the Hebrews.* IX. *Of the catholic epistles:* X. *Of the Revelation.* XI. *Forms of quoting, general divisions, and respect for the scriptures.* XII. *Texts explained.* XIII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. 'Methodius,[e] bishop of Olympus in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, a man of a neat and 'correct style, composed a work against Porphyry in several books. He also wrote a Banquet 'of ten Virgins; Concerning the Resurrection, against Origen, an excellent book; and against 'him likewise Of the Pythoness; and Of liberty, [or free will;] Commentaries also upon Genesis 'and the Canticles; and many other works, which are in the hands of every body. He obtained 'the crown of martyrdom at Chalcis in Greece, at the end of the last persecution; or, as some 'say, under Decius and Valerian.'

So writes Jerom in his book of Illustrious men. Eusebius makes no mention of Methodius in his Ecclesiastical history. The reason of it has been supposed by many learned men to be, that Methodius had written against Origen, whom Eusebius greatly admired. Nay, Valesius says, moreover, it[f] was out of envy and hatred of Methodius, that Eusebius wrote after him against

[a] Hæ prædicationes, quamvis quatuor sunt, una est tamen, quia de uno ore processit. p. 416. A

[b] Arguit qui alium in prophetis, alium in evangelio dicunt esse locutum. p. 416. D.

[c] Conjuncta veteris testamenti prædicatio cum novo. p. 417. F.

[d] Sic nec prædicatio novi testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat veteris testamenti prænuntiata testimonia. p. 417. A.

[e] Methodius, Olympi Lyciæ, et postea Tyri episcopus, nitidi compositique sermonis adversus Porphyrium confecit libros, et Symposium decem Virginum, de Resurrectione opus egregium contra Origenem, et adversus eumdem de Pythonissâ, et de Autexusio. In Genesim quoque, et in Cantica Canticorum commentarios; et multa alia, quæ vulgo lectitantur. Et ad extremum novissimæ persecutionis, sive, ut alii affirmant, sub Decio et Valeriano, in Chalcide Græciæ, martyrio coronatus est. De V. I. cap. 83.

[f] Nam cum omnes ecclesiasticos scriptores in hoc opere accurate commemoraverit, Methodium tamen de industriâ prætermisit, eo quod Origenem, quem ipse præcipue mirabatur, impugnavisset. Hinc etiam est, quod contra Porphyrii libros, post eumdem Methodium scripsit, quasi æmulatione quâdam et odio adversus Methodium incitatus. Vales. Ann. in Eus. l. vi. c. 33. p. 128. B.

Porphyry. But this last supposition appears to me uncharitable: however, we are informed by Jerom that[a] Eusebius, in his Apology for Origen, complained of Methodius for writing against Origen, after he had more than once spoken of his sentiments without any censure or dislike. And from the accounts we have of the works of Methodius, and some remaining extracts out of them, it appears, that not only several of his pieces were written against Origen, but likewise that he sometimes treated that great man not very civilly.

Socrates[b] writes, that Methodius, after he had long opposed Origen, as if he recanted what he had said, commended him in a dialogue, called Zeno. Tillemont[c] thinks Socrates is not to be credited herein: and[d] Baronius long ago charged that ecclesiastical historian with being guilty of a manifest falsehood in this account: for he says the quite contrary is the truth, as we learn from Eusebius himself: Methodius first approved of Origen, and afterwards wrote against him. Besides, how should Socrates become acquainted with this recantation of Methodius, which is unknown to every body else; which Eusebius, Rufinus, and other defenders of Origen, say nothing of? Whereas, says Baronius, if they had known it they would have transcribed it in letters of gold, and shewn it every where. On the other hand[e] Valesius, [f] Huet, and [g] Pagi, maintain the truth of the relation in Socrates. But it seems to me not impossible that Socrates mistook the time of writing that dialogue, which might be written before Methodius had taken a disgust against Origen. Or, if indeed it was written afterwards, as Socrates supposed, I think it reasonable to conclude the commendation there given Origen was a small matter of no great moment, and far short of a recantation. Baronius's reasoning appears solid: if Methodius had recanted what he had written against Origen, it would have been mentioned by his apologists. I suppose the meaning of Eusebius's words above cited by Jerom to be this: That Methodius in his own writings, in several places, had treated of several sentiments that were disliked in Origen; and that Methodius in those more early pieces appeared to be much of the same opinion with Origen: but afterwards he wrote against him with a good deal of bitterness; of this conduct Eusebius complained. And it has been observed by[h] Tillemont, that in the Banquet of the ten Virgins, probably[i] one of the first books published by our author, there are several sentiments very near resembling those called Origen's. Methodius, says that learned writer, in one place[k] very nearly follows the opinion of Origen upon the pre-existence of souls, which are at length sent from heaven into bodies. He[l] seems also to say, (as Origen was accused,) that in the glory of heaven men shall be changed into the nature of angels. These things, not to insist now on any other, are found in that Banquet.

Upon the whole, as Eusebius was not unacquainted with Methodius, and has been careful to mention a great number of ecclesiastical writers in his history, his silence about this bishop may be very probably ascribed to the cause above-mentioned, his displeasure against him for writing against Origen, and treating him roughly: that silence must also be reckoned an argument, that Methodius did never retract: for that would have been much for Origen's honour; it would have reconciled his admirers to Methodius, and they would have spoken of it frequently, and Eusebius would not have failed to give him an honourable place in his Ecclesiastical History.

There[m] are considerable difficulties about the place of which Methodius was bishop. Jerom said above, that he was at first bishop of Olympus. Socrates too says expressly, and at length, that he[n] was bishop of a city in Lycia, called Olympus. He[o] is now very commonly called bishop of Patara, and at other times of Tyre. Suidas[p] says, Methodius was bishop of Olympus in Lycia, or of Patara, and afterwards of Tyre: in which words there is supposed to be an

[a] Eusebius, Cæsariensis episcopus, cujus supra memini, in sexto libro ἀπολογιας Origenis hoc idem objicit Methodio episcopo et martyri, quod tu in meis laudibus criminaris, et dicit: quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere, qui hæc et hæc de Origenis loquutus est dogmatibus? Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. 1. p. 359. Bened.

[b] Μεθοδιος μεν εν πολλα καταδραμων τε Ωριγενες, ὑστερον, ὡς εκ παλινῳδιας, θαυμαζει τον ανδρα εν τῳ διαλογῳ, ὃν επεγραψε Ζενωνα. H. E. l. vi. cap. 13. p. 320. A.

[c] Tillem. St. Methode. Mem. Ecc. T. v. P. iii. p. 139, 140.

[d] Baron. Ann. 402. n. xvii.

[e] Vales. ad Socr. l. vi. c. 13.

[f] Huet Origenian. l. ii. c. iv. num. ii.

[g] Pagi Crit. 402. n. iii.

[h] As before, p. 138.

[i] Ib. p. 136.

[k] ——τη απο των ουρανιων εις τα σωματα καταβασει και καταπομπη των ψυχων. Method. Conv. ap. Combef. Auct. Nov. P. i. p. 74. C.

[l] Αλλα μετα την χιλιονταετηριδα μεταβληθεντος απο τε σχημματος τε ανθρωπινε και της φθορας, εις αγγελικον μεγεθος και καλλος. Ib. p. 429. A.

[m] Tillem. as before, p. 132, & sur St. Methode, Note I.

[n] ——Μεθοδιος, της εν Λυκια πολεως λεγομενης Ολυμπε επισκοπος. Socr. l. vi. c. 13.

[o] See Till. as before, note [m].

[p] Μεθοδιος, Ολυμπε Λυκιας, ητοι Παταρων, και μετα ταυτα Τυρε, επισκοπος. Suid.

ambiguity; for they may mean, that Olympus was sometimes called Patara; or, that it is doubtful which of those two places he was bishop of: but, that Patara and Olympus were two different places might be shewn. They [a] are expressly named by Strabo, as two of the six large cities of Lycia: and how he should be bishop of both is not easy to conceive.

Jerom says that Methodius was afterwards bishop of Tyre; and so likewise Suidas from him, or from his Greek interpreter Sophronius: which yet is not easy to be accounted for, nor very probable; such removals or translations of bishops not being then very common. Tillemont [b] thinks that if Methodius was bishop of Tyre, he must have succeeded Tyrannio, a worthy pastor of that church, particularly mentioned by [c] Eusebius, as one of the illustrious martyrs of Diocle-sian's persecution, who was drowned in the sea near Antioch.

It is, however, very likely that Methodius was for some time, if not to the end of his life, bishop of Olympus in Lycia: since Socrates gives him that title, as well as Jerom. Besides, in one of his works, he [d] informs us of a wonderful thing he had seen upon Olympus, a mountain of Lycia; which, according to [e] Strabo, adjoined to the city of the same name.

In Jerom's days there were two different opinions about the time of this person's death; for some thought he suffered under Decius or Valerian: but this opinion is inconsistent with his writing against Porphyry, who did not publish his books against the Christians till about the year 270. The other is Jerom's own opinion, that Methodius had the honour of martyrdom at the end of the last, or Dioclesian's persecution: therefore in the year 311 or 312, as [f] Tillemont shews; not in the year 302, or 303, as Du Pin [g] says, if his numbers are rightly printed in my edition. Methodius is placed by Cave as flourishing about the year 290, against which I have no exceptions to make: for it is not unlikely that he was ordained bishop about that time.

But though the above-mentioned opinion of Jerom concerning the time of the death of Methodius may be reckoned very probable, yet what he says about the place of it is not very easy to be [h] received.

In this uncertainty are we about several material things relating to Methodius: which may be imputed partly to his own modesty, who had said little of himself in his works; and partly, and chiefly, to the neglect, or the resentment and ill-will of Eusebius: who, it is likely, could have left us good memoirs of him, if he had pleased.

Thus much we may rely upon, that he was bishop, and probably of Olympus in Lycia, as was before shewn; and that the same bishop suffered death for the Christian religion, probably in the persecution begun under Dioclesian: and, beside what we have already seen from Jerom and others, it may be observed here, that he is called bishop and martyr by [i] Photius, and by [k] Theodoret. Hereafter I may add some more passages confirming these particulars.

I shall conclude the brief history of this person with one observation: it is an obvious thought and a conjecture likely to arise in the minds of not a few, that since Methodius is said to have been bishop of so many places, and there were in Jerom's time two very different opinions concerning the time of his death, possibly there were two of this name in the third century, both bishops and martyrs; one somewhat obscure, the other well known, for his writings at least.

II. Of these we have a pretty good account left us: and I must take some notice of them before I proceed to make extracts.

1. The first mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue is the work or books against Porphyry, which in another place he says [l] amounted to ten thousand lines. St. Jerom has spoken of this work more than once in his Commentary [m] upon the book of Daniel, and [n] elsewhere. Of this work there is now nothing remaining, except [o] a few fragments, which are but of small consequence. The three chief writers against Porphyry were Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius: and [p] Philostorgius, as we are informed by Photius, gave the preference to Apollinarius above the other two.

2. The next piece mentioned by Jerom, as above, is the Banquet of ten Virgins, or Of

[a] Strab. l. 14. p. 665. A.
[b] As before p. 133.
[c] Eus. L. viii. cap. 13. p. 307, 308.
[d] Vid. Excerpt. ex libr. de Resurr. ad. Comb. p. 301. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 924.
[e] Ubi supra. p. 666.
[f] See Till. as before, p. 133, and note 2.
[g] Du Pin Bibl. des Aut. Ecc. T. i. p. 195, à Amst.
[h] Till. as above, p. 133, and note 3.
[i] Cod. 235. p. 932.
[k] Dialog. i. p. 37.
[l] Methodius usque ad decem millia procedit versuum. Hieron. Ep. 83. [al. 84.]
[m] In Dan. Pr. et cap. xii. v. ult.
[n] Adv. Ruf. l. 2. p. 433. in T. iv. P. ii. et Ep. 30. [al. 50.] p. 236. in ib.
[o] Ap. Combefis. p. 442, &c.
[p] Ὅτι, φησιν, Ἀπολλιναριος κατα Πορφυριου γραψας επι πολυ κρατειν των ηγωνισμενων Ευσεβιῳ κατ' αυτα, αλλα και των Μεθοδιε κατα της αυτης ὑποθεσεως σπεδασματων. Philost H. E. l. viii. c. 14.

Chastity. Out of this work, which is a dialogue, there are large extracts in [a] Photius: and we still have it [b] entire, answerable to the quotations made by the ancients. Photius indeed censures this work: he says there are in it Arian and other erroneous opinions, and [c] therefore suspects it to have been interpolated: but that suspicion is now judged groundless by most of the learned [d] moderns.

3. The book of the Resurrection, written against Origen, is called by Jerom an excellent work: this too was a dialogue: there are large extracts out of it in [e] Photius: and Epiphanius [f] transcribed a good part of it into his work against heresies.

4. Of the next work mentioned by Jerom, Of the Pythoness, or the cunning woman, whom Saul consulted, likewise against Origen, nothing now remains.

5. Nor have we any thing of his Commentaries upon Genesis, or the Canticles, that is considerable, and that can be relied upon.

6. There are large extracts in Photius out of the treatise [g] Of Free-will; or, Of the Origin of Evil. Tillemont [h] observes, that Jerom seems to say, this work also was written against Origen: but this does not appear by what Combefis has given. He adds, it is a dialogue, in which an orthodox person confutes two Valentinians. Fabricius [i] however says, this treatise was written against the Valentinians and Origen.

7. Photius [k] has also extracts out of another work of Methodius, entitled, Of the Creatures, not mentioned by Jerom. This book was plainly written against Origen, whom [l] he here more than once calls centaur; as [m] if he had been some compound creature, partly heathen, partly christian; or, as Fabricius expresseth it, because [n] he mixed things sacred and prophane, christian and heathen principles all together.

8. We now plainly perceive that there were at least three or four pieces of Methodius written against Origen, and that he sometimes treated that great man in an offensive manner: and, if the homily or tract, to be hereafter mentioned, concerning Simeon and Anna be his, we have another instance of his ill-will to Origen. This is one of the arguments of Combefis for the genuineness of that [o] work, that the author opposeth Origen: but, supposing this not to be written by Methodius, we have nevertheless a good deal of Evidence of his aversion to that eminent person: and I think this must be allowed to make a kind of Apology for Eusebius; though I heartily wish he had not carried his resentment so far as he seems to have done. He had good reason, we will suppose, to be displeased with Methodius, and he might well censure and blame him for treating Origen as he did: nevertheless, he should have given Methodius a place among other ancient worthies in his Ecclesiastical History.

9. Theodoret [p] has quoted a passage of Methodius out of a piece entitled, A Discourse of Martyrs of which there is nothing else remaining. I shall take notice of that passage hereafter.

10. Nor have we any thing of the dialogue called Xeno, which we before observed to be taken notice of by Socrates.

11. I think I have now put down the titles of all the works of Methodius, expressly mentioned by the ancients; however, it is not improbable that he wrote more; for Jerom says there were many others beside those mentioned by him. Eusebius's passage above cited from Jerom seems to imply, that Methodius had written some good number of books before he became an enemy to Origen: and he might afterwards also write some other, which we are not acquainted with.

12. And there are actually several other [q] things now extant which are ascribed to him: such as, a Homily concerning Simeon and Anna; another Homily upon our Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem; and Revelations, and a Chronicle.

[a] Cod. 237. p. 949. &c.

[b] Ap. Combef. Auct. p. 64. &c.

[c] ——*νενοθευμένος ἐστιν· εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτῳ παραξεσλημένας καὶ Ἀρειανικὰς δοξοκοπίας, καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν κακοδοξάντων μυθολογήματα.* ib. p. 964. f.

[d] Du Pin. Bibl. T. i. p. 198. Till. as before, p. 138. Basnag. Ann. 300. n. ix. [e] Cod. 234. p. 908. &c.

[f] Epiph. Hær. 64. a pag. 534. ad 590. et ap. Combef. Bib. Patr. p. 283. &c.

[g] Ap. Phot. Cod. 236. p. 940. et Combef. Bib. p. 347, &c.

[h] Ib. p. 142. [i] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 256.

[k] Cod. 235.

[l] *Ὅτι ὁ Ὠριγένης, ὃν Κένταυρον καλεῖ, κ.λ.* Cod. 235, p. 933. ver. 28. *Πάλιν δὲ σὺ, ὦ Κένταυρε.* ib. p. 936. ver. 52.

[m] Christianam denique fidem Hippocentaurum facite, nec equum perfectum, nec hominem. Faust. Manich. l. 15. ap. Aug. T. viii. p. 571. F.

[n] Quod nempe sacra prófanis atque Christiana Ethnicis miscuisset dogmata. Fabr. ib. p. 256.

[o] Vid. Method. Combefis. p. 427, 469, 473, not. 42.

[p] Vid. Theodoret. Dial. i. p. 87.

[q] See Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. v. P. iii. as before, p. 144, et notes 6 & 7, sur St. Methode. Vid. etiam Fabric. ut supra, p. 257, 258.

These two last I think are generally rejected as not genuine.

The second likewise I suppose is defended by very few.

But the first homily, concerning Simeon and Anna, has more patrons. Not only [a] Combefis, and some others, but [b] Fabricius likewise pleads its genuineness. On the other hand Tillemont [c] allows, there is no good reason to take it for a work of our Methodius. Oudin [d] strenuously opposeth it, and thinks it the composition of some other Methodius, later than ours by several centuries; as does [e] Cave. Du Pin [f] says that [g] 'it is not cited by the ancients, nor abridged 'by Photius. The author speaks so clearly of the mysteries of the Trinity, of the incarnation 'and the divinity of the Word, who he more than once says is consubstantial with the Father; of 'the hymn called Trisagion, of the virginity of Mary, even after her delivery; and of original 'sin; that there is room to doubt whether somewhat has not been added to this homily: beside 'that the style is more verbose, and fuller of epithets than that of Methodius.' So that learned writer. And in my opinion these particulars are sufficient to assure us, that either this homily is not genuine, (which I rather think,) or else it has been so interpolated as to be very little worth. Of this and some other things ascribed to Methodius, Grabe [g] honestly says, they are either suppositious, or interpolated. I shall therefore make no use of this piece; or, if I do, I shall give notice of it particularly.

III. I shall now put down a few testimonies to Methodius, beside those already observed in the history of him, and in the account of his works: there is the more need of this because of Eusebius's silence. Epiphanius, who inserted a large part of the dialogue concerning the resurrection into his work, Against Heresies, calls [h] Methodius a blessed man; and [i] afterwards gives him the character of a learned or eloquent man, and a zealous defender of truth. Jerom has given Methodius a place in his [k] letter to Magnus among other ancient Christian writers of note; and when he cites him, in his Commentary upon Daniel, he calls him [l] the most eloquent martyr Methodius. Andrew of Cæsarea, about the year 500, in his Commentary upon the book of the Revelation, often cites this writer, and more than once calls him [m] the great Methodius; a title which he gives likewise to Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and some other ancient writers. He also calls Methodius [n] a blessed man: quoting him and Hippolytus, he calls them [o] saints, or holy men. More testimonies to our author may be seen in [p] Leo Allatius, who is a great admirer of Methodius, and [q] prefers him to Origen: but surely that judgment is owing to partiality and prejudice. Methodius had wit and learning as well as piety: so much ought to be owned: but why he should be equalled, and even preferred to Origen, I cannot see. Doubtless Socrates would allow the four writers, whom he mentions, as enemies of Origen, (of whom Methodius is the first) a good share of learning. Nevertheless, sensible of their inferiority to that eminent person, and offended at the manner in which they had treated him, he applies to them this observation: 'That [r] mean and obscure people, who are unable to shine by 'their own merit, endeavour to make themselves considerable by detracting from others. The 'first,' says he, 'who was seized with this distemper, was Methodius, bishop of a city in Lycia, 'named Olympus.' The other three mentioned by Socrates are Eustathius, Apollinarius, and Theophilus of Alexandria.

IV. Before I proceed to this author's testimony to the books of the New Testament, I shall

[a] Vid. Combef. in Method. p. 469.

[b] Fabr. ut supra, p. 257.

[c] Tillem. as before, p. 136, & 144, & note vi.

[d] De Script. Ecc. T. i. p. 303, &c.

[e] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 152.

[f] Du Pin, as before, p. 200.

[g] Cæterum prostat quidem unus insuper et alter Methodii tractatus, e quibus plura, eaque luculentissima, pro——catholicâ trinitatis professione testimonia allegari possent. Sed ab iis abstineo, quod tractatus isti aut supposititii, aut interpolati esse videantur. Grab. Annot. ap. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 13, in fin.

[h] Τοῦτα μακαριτου Μεθοδιου. Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 11. p. 534. C.

[i] Μεθοδιῳ, ανδρι λογιῳ ὀντι, καὶ σφοδρα περι της αληθειας αγωνισαμενῳ, id. ib. c. 63. p. 591. A.

[k] Ep. 83. [al. 84.]

[l] Et ex parte disertissimus vir, martyr Methodius. in Dan. cap. xii. vers. ult.

[m] Ὁ δε μεγας Μεθοδιος. Andr. in Apoc. p. 63. A. Vid. et p. 66. B. 124. B.

[n] Ib. p. 64. E.

[o] Τοις δε ἁγιοις, Μεθοδιῳ καὶ Ἱππολυτῳ, κ. λ. p. 70. E.

[p] Vid. Leon. Allat. de Method. Scriptis Diatriba, ap. Hippolyt. Ed. Fabric. P. ii. p. 76, &c.

[q] Fuit ingenium, et doctrina maxima Origenis. Eam si cum Methodianâ conferas, habet quod laudari potest, et debeat; tamen vilescere videtur, et dissoluta viribus fluere. Contra Methodiana est, quæ semper vigens, florens, pungens, concitans, auditorem vellicat et rapit. Mortua est Origenianâ loquacitas, si cum Methodianâ brevitate conferatur. Una Methodii pagina et luminibus oratoriis et sententiis, et pietate, et eruditione firmâ ac integrâ, centum Origenis paginas exæquat. Leon. Allat. ib. num. xvi. p. 83.

[r] Socrat. H. E. l. vi. c. 13. in.

transcribe a few select passages: they will be agreeable to some of my readers; and may be of use to give some idea of the state of theology in those days.

1. In his book Of the Creatures, as we are informed by Photius, he said that [a] the book of Job was written by Moses.

2. In his remaining fragments he twice [b] quotes the book of Wisdom as Solomon's.

3. He says that [c] God having made the world appointed angels as governors and presidents under himself. 'But [d] the devil fell, through envy of us, and afterwards many other angels 'admitted fleshly desires, and fell in love with the daughters of men:' which opinion doubtless is founded upon a wrong interpretation of the sixth chapter of Genesis. Du Pin, through haste, or some other cause, has [e] strangely misrepresented this passage of Methodius; supposing him to ascribe the fall of the devil, as well as the other angels, to this last temptation.

4. Methodius [f] had a notion that the divine Word was incarnate in Adam: he builds this doctrine upon what St. Paul writes in Eph. v. 31, 32, and says, that '[g] Adam was not only a 'type and figure, but Christ, forasmuch as the Word, who was before all ages, dwelled in him; 'for it was fit and reasonable, that the first-begotten of God, and the first and only begotten, 'even Wisdom, joined itself to man, should be incarnate [or, become man,] in the first-made and 'first and first-born of men.' This Methodius will have to be orthodox, or the right interpretation of St. Paul: but [h] Combefis, in opposition to a learned modern who would justify this passage, argues, that it cannot be reconciled to sound doctrine. I shall presently transcribe from Methodius what follows in the same place.

5. Some while ago we saw the censure which Photius passed upon the writings of Methodius; that they had in them the Arian doctrine, and therefore were interpolated as he suspected: but learned moderns, not perceiving any marks of interpolation, have thought themselves obliged to admit that Methodius Arianised. Bishop Bull [i] indeed, and [k] Grabe after him, maintain the orthodoxy of this bishop and martyr. Du Pin [l] likewise thinks that Methodius may be very well defended from the accusation of erring about the Trinity: but [m] Tillemont says it is very difficult to put a good sense upon some of his expressions concerning the Word, and concerning the procession of the divine persons: Basnage [n] and [o] Beausobre speak to the like purpose. And [p] Methodius is one of those many ancient writers, whom Huet supposeth to have thought falsely and absurdly about the Trinity, and yet are not reckoned heretics, but are counted amongst the orthodox writers of the church.

Let me take a passage or two of our author, that the reader may the better judge for himself. In the work Concerning the Creatures, he says: 'There [q] are two creative powers: one, who 'by his pure will, without any difficulty, creates what he pleaseth out of nothing; this is the 'Father: the other disposeth into order, and polisheth things already made, in imitation of the

[a] Ὅτι το Ιωβ βιβλιον, Μωσεως εἰναι ὁ ἁγιος φησι. Cod. 235, p. 937, f. ap. Combef. p. 345. A.

[b] ——καθαπερ καὶ ἡ σοφια Σολομωνος μαρτυρει. ap. Epiphan. Hær. 64. n. xix. p. 543. A. Vid. ib. n. xxxvi.

[c] Ap. Epiphan. ib. n. xxi. in. et ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 908. fin.

[d] Ὁ δε ενυζρισε; και πονηρος περι των πεπιστευμενων εγενετο την διοικησιν, φθονον εγκισσησας καθ' ἡμων· ὡσπερ και οἱ μετα ταυτα σαρκων ερασθεντες, κ. λ. ib. ap. Epiphan. p. 544. B.

[e] —— que le pêché a été causé par l'envie du diable, et que le diable même, qui avoit été créé dans la justice semblable aux autres anges, est tombé par le pêché d'envie, et par l'amour déréglé qu'il a eu pour les filles. Du Pin, Bib. T. i. p. 198.

[f] Concerning this matter, see Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée, &c. T. ii. p. 317, 318.

[g] Φερε γαρ ἡμεις επισκεψωμεθα πως ορθοδοξως ανηγαγε τον Αδαμ εις τον Χριστον, ὁ μονον τυπον αυτον ἡγεμενος ειναι και εικονα, αλλα και αυτο τουτο Χριστον και αυτον γεγονεναι, δια το τον προ αιωνων εις αυτον εγκατασκηψαι λογον. Ἁρμοζε γαρ το πρωτογονον τε Θεω και πρωτον και μονογενες, την σοφιαν, τω πρωτοπλαστω και πρωτω και πρωτογονω των ανθρωπων ανθρωπω κερασθεισαν ενηνθρωπηκεναι. Method. Conv. p. 79. A. B. ap. Combef. Auct. Noviss.

[h] Non videntur hæc sane dicta. Possinii explicatio pia est, sed violenta. Plane enim distinguit Methodius primum Adamum et secundum; vultque utrumque ipsum reipsâ Christum extitisse, incessente Verbo ac illabente, &c. Combef. Annot. ib. 146. B.

[i] Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 13. n. ix. x. p. 147, &c.

[k] Grabe in Annotatis, ib. p. 150.

[l] Du Pin, as before, p. 198. [m] Tillem. as above, p. 138.

[n] Dissimulasti tamen vix potest, multa in Methodio reperiri durissima, quæque Ariana vestigia non obscure exhibeant, &c. Basnag. Ann. 300, n. ix. Vid. quæ ibidem sequuntur, et num. vii.

[o] Hist. de Manichée, &c. l. vi. ch. iii. n. vii. T. ii. p. 317. note 7.

[p] Nam, ut alios brevitatis causâ prætermittam, quot recensere possumus, nullâ hæreseos suspicione aspersos, et de trinitate tamen falsa et absurda commentos? Venient in hunc ordinem Justinus Martyr,——Clemens Romanus,——Methodius,——Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 3. n. vi.

[q] Ὅτι φησιν ὁ ἁγιος, δυο δε δυναμεις εν τοις προωμολογημενοις εφαμεν εἰναι ποιητικας· την ἐξ ουκ οντων γυμνω τω βουληματι, χωρις μελισμε, [al. μελλησμα,] ἁμα τω θελησαι αυτεργασαν ὁ βουλεται ποιειν· τυγχανει δε ὁ πατηρ· δευτερον δε κατακοσμουσαν και ποικιλλουσαν κατα μιμησιν της προτερας τα ηδη γεγονοτα· ἐστι δε ὁ υἱος· ἡ παντοδυναμος και κρατιστα χειρ του πατρος, εν ᾗ μετα το ποιησαι την ὑλην ἐξ ουκ οντων κατασκευαζει. Method. de creat. ap. Phot. Cod. 235, p. 937, fin. et ap. Combef. p. 344.

'former; [or, according to the model given by the former;] this is the Son, the all-powerful 'and strong hand of the Father, by which he adorns and finishes the matter first made by him 'out of nothing.'

This passage is censured by [a] Petavius. I see that bishop [b] Bull endeavours to justify it: but [c] Beausobre says that this passage 'savours of Platonism, according to which it was thought 'improper that [d] the supreme God should meddle with matter, or make any thing that is 'perishable.' He says, moreover, that some of the ancient fathers 'divided the creation 'between the Father and the Son. The celebrated Methodius supposed that the Father's part 'lay in bringing matter out of nothing, and that of the Son in forming the world after the plan 'which the Father had shewn him.

Let us in the next place take the sequel of the passage above transcribed, relating to the first man: 'For,' says [e] Methodius, 'that is Christ, even man filled with pure and perfect deity, 'and God contained in man: for it was highly becoming that the most ancient of æons, and the 'chief of archangels, since he was to live with men, should inhabit the most ancient and first of 'men, that is, Adam.'

These last words of our author Basnage [f] is much offended with: the most ancient of æons he thinks more becoming the mouth of a Valentinian than a Catholic Christian. Grabe [g] thought proper to allege the first part of this passage as a proof that Methodius believed Christ's true deity: but then he omitted the latter part of the passage, being, I suppose, too much in haste to transcribe it all: nevertheless, if the latter part of the passage should be understood to be explanatory of the former part of it (as possibly it may), then Grabe's argument would be of little weight.

I shall transcribe no more passages relating to this matter, but only refer to some places [h] in the margin, to be consulted by those who are curious, and have leisure; and particularly to [i] Beausobre's remarks upon the forecited passages of Methodius: nor do I venture to say what was this writer's real opinion concerning the Trinity: for this appears to me a point not easily decided: and I think it would require a nice and careful disquisition to determine, upon good ground, what was his sentiment upon that head.

6. Methodius is likewise called a milenarian. Du Pin having made his extracts out of the Banquet says: 'I [k] stay not to observe that he has taught in this treatise the opinion of the 'millenarians.' Tillemont [l] too says that Methodius here clearly admits the opinion of the millenarians, and a reign of the saints upon the earth for the space of a thousand years after the resurrection: and [m] it must be owned that in the Banquet he expresseth himself after that manner: but in the Fragments of the discourse, Of the Resurrection, he affirms that the earth is not to be annihilated, but changed and renewed. 'Since therefore,' says [n] he, 'the earth will exist 'still, doubtless it will have inhabitants, such as never die any more, nor marry, nor bring forth 'children, but are as the angels, unchangeable and uncorruptible, enjoying perpetual felicity.' This passage is somewhat difficult to be reconciled with that in the Banquet. Petavius understood [o] our author to speak here of everlasting happiness upon this earth. And afterwards, in that discourse or dialogue Concerning the Resurrection, he says: 'So [p] far we are to be like unto 'the angels, that as the angels in heaven, so also we in paradise, shall no more marry or feast,

[a] Petav. de Trinit. l. i. c. iv. n. xii. ap. Dogm. Theol. Tom. ii.

[b] Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 13, n. x.

[c] Beausobre, as before, l. vi. ch. 6. n. ii. T. ii. p. 360.

[d] ——dans lequel on ne permettoit pas au Dieu suprême de mettre la main à l'œuvre; de toucher à la matière; ni de former rien de périssable. ibid.

[e] Τουτο γαρ ειναι τον Χριστον, ανθρωπον ακρατον θεοτητι και τελεια πεπληρωμενον, και θεον εν ανθρωπω χωρηθεντα· ην γαρ πρεπωδεστατα, τον πρεσβυτατον των αιωνων και πρωτον των αρχαγγελων, ανθρωποις μελλοντα συνομιλειν, εις τον πρεσβυτατον και πρωτον των ανθρωπων εισοικισθηναι, τον Αδαμ. Conviv. p. 79. B.

[f] Miruti sane Christi titulum, antiquissimum eonum et solâ Valentini schola dignum. Basn. Ann. 300, n. vii.

[g] Grab. Annot. ad Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 150.

[h] Vid. Excerpt. ex libr. de Creatis ap. Phot. Cod. 235. p. 940. Conviv. Decem Virg. ap. Combef. Auct. Nov. p. 75. C. p. 80. A. B. p. 81. C. D. p. 82. B. C. 101. D. 113. D.

[i] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 118, 119.

[k] Du Pin, as before, p. 198.

[l] Tillem. as before, p. 138.

[m] Con. p. 129. A. B. and see above, p. 99. note [h].

[n] ——εσομενης γαρ και μετα ταυτον τον αιωνα γης, αναγκη παση εσεσθαι και οικητορας, εκει τεθνηξομενες, η γαμησονται και γεννησομενες, αλλ' ως αγγελες αιεταγροφως εν αφθαρσιᾳ τα αριστα πραξοντας. ap. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. xxxii. p. 555. D.

[o] Hic perspicue post judicium homines terram habitaturos asserit: non ut Chiliastæ ad aliquot duntaxat sæcula, sic ut interim supremâ illâ felicitate, hoc est, aspectu Dei, carerent verum ut et perpetuo in hac terrâ degerent, et summâ nihil ominus illic ac perfectâ beatitate fruerentur. Petav. animad in Epiph. p. 261.

[p] ——ιν' ωσπερ οι αγγελοι εν τω ουρανω ουτως και ημεις εν τω παραδεισω, μητε γαμοις η ευλαβειαις ετι σχολαζοντες αλλα τω βλεπειν τον θεον, και γεωργειν την ζωην, φυτανευοντος ημιν τε Χριστε. ap. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. xxxv. p. 558. A.

'but shall be employed in seeing God, and in improving ourselves under the government and 'conduct of Christ: for he said not, they shall be angels, but "as the angels."' Huet [a] refers to these passages as a proof that Methodius himself, who proposed to correct Origen, did not always express himself justly concerning the resurrection.

7. According to Methodius, human souls [b] are corporeal. This he argues from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus in Luke xvi. forasmuch, as in hell, the separate state of existence, they are spoken of as having a tongue, a finger, and other members. He [c] is also reckoned among those fathers who supposed angels to be corporeal.

8. I have one observation to make here upon occasion of the several errors imputed to Methodius: this good man, who not long after Origen's death bore hard upon him, calling him centaur, as if he had been a monster, partly heathen partly Christian, is himself liable to the charge or suspicion of heresy, in those latter times of greater orthodoxy.

9. In [d] one place of the Banquet are mentioned these following heretics all together: Sabellius, Artemas, and the Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, and the Helcesaites. What he says of them may be taken into consideration at some other time.

I shall put down no more passages of this sort from our author, but proceed to what remains.

V. I am now to observe this writer's testimony to the books of the New Testament.

Methodius says expressly, 'There [e] have been four gospels delivered to us:' I need not therefore put down particular quotations of each gospel: indeed he has not mentioned the writers by name: however no one can make any doubt or question but he meaned our gospels, and ascribed them to the same evangelists that we, and all Christians in general, have always done.

VI. He speaks of the baptism of Paul by Ananias, and particularly refers to the history of it [f] in the Acts.

VII. It cannot be needful that I should transcribe particular passages of all the epistles of St. Paul cited by this author. It may suffice to observe, that he has quoted or alluded to these following epistles of that apostle; the epistle to the Romans, the first and second to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the first to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy: words of most of these are cited more than once, either as the apostle's or as Paul's. I have observed no clear references to the [g] second to the Thessalonians, the second to Timothy, or to Titus, or Philemon, in those extracts or treatises which I make use of as unquestionably genuine: nevertheless it cannot be doubted but he received all these epistles; as Origen and other Christians did about his time.

VIII. He seems to have several passages out of the epistle to the Hebrews. He says; 'We [h] 'restrain evil thoughts, "lest any root of bitterness springing up should trouble us:"' see Heb. xii. 15. This is taken from the fragments of the treatise Of the Resurrection. In the Banquet he appears to allude to it several times. He says: 'The [i] law was not so beautiful as 'the gospel; for that was a kind of type and shadow of things to come: this is the truth and 'the grace of life.' And a little before he had said: 'For [k] the law is the type and shadow of 'the image, that is, of the gospel; but the gospel is the image of the truth itself.' This is very agreeable to what is said Heb. x. 1. "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices make the comers thereunto

[a] Unde ne ipse quidem Origenis castigator Methodius sine cespitatione hoc argumentum tractavit, homines fingens post resurrectionem habitaturos in terrâ jam instauratâ, et per aërem temperatissimum ambientem in melius mutatâ, et in paradisi deliciis beatum ævum acturos; angelis autem cœlestes orbes destinatum esse domicilium. Huet. Orig. l. ii. c. 2, Qu. 9. n. vi. p. 132.

[b] αἱ δε ψυχαι απο τε δημιουργε και πατρος των ὁλων, σωματα νοερα ὑπαρχεσαι, κ. λ. ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 932.

[c] Vid. Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 2, Qu. 5. n. viii. p. 71.

[d] Conv. p. 113. D.

[e] ——δια τετο και ευαγγελια τεσσαρα παραδεδοται, τετραεις ευαγγελισαμενε τε Θεε την ανθρωποτητα, και παιδαγωγησαντος τεσσαρσι νομοις, κ. λ. Conv. Dec. Virg. p. 131. B. Combef. Auct. Nov. P. i.

[f] ευαγγελιζομενε και ανακαινιζοντος αυτον Ανανιε τω βαπτισματι, καθως εν ταις Πραξεσιν ἡ ἱστορια περιεχει. ib. p. 83. A.

[g] Though I do not now recollect any clear indisputable references to the second epistle to the Thessalonians, in the remaining works of Methodius; yet I suppose him to refer to 2 Thess. i. 5: "that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God," when he says of some ancient worthies της βασιλειας καταξιωθεντες. Conv. p. 105. A.

[h] νυν μεν ενταυθα τας βλασας αυτης, οἱον τας ενθυμησεις τας πονηρας, συσελλομεν, μη τις ριζα πικριας ανω φυεσα ενοχλησῃ. De Resurr. ap. Epiph. Hær. 64, n. xxv. p. 548. D. ap. Combef. p. 286.

[i] ——ὁ νομος· αλλ' ηχ' ἑτως ην ὡραιος ὡς το ευαγγελιον· εκεινος γαρ τυπος τις ην και σκια των μελλοντων πραγματων· τετο δε αληθεια και ζωης χαρις. Conviv. p. 127. A. ap. Combef. Auct. Nov.

[k] ὁ μεν γαρ νομος της εικονος εστι τυπος και σκια, τουτεστι τε ευαγγελιε· ἡ δε εικων, το ευαγγελιον αντης της αληθειας. Conviv. p. 125. C.

perfect." He says likewise: 'For [a] after the resurrection the truth shall be clearly manifested 'to us, when we "shall see face to face," and not "through a glass darkly" and "in part," the 'holy tabernacle, the city in the heavens, "whose builder and maker is God:"' here he joins together words of 1 Cor. xiii. 12, and Heb. xi. 10, which last place is thus: "For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." He speaks [b] of "Jesus having passed into the heavens; the very same expressions which we have in Heb. iv. 14. Having made honourable mention of Seth, Enos, Enoch, Methuselah, and Noah, he adds: 'These [c] were 'the first lovers of righteousness, and the first of the "first-born" children, "which are written 'in heaven;"' see Heb. xii. 23. These allusions, and these expressions, borrowed, as it seems from the epistle to the Hebrews, afford a probable argument of his using it, and of his respect for it.

Let us now see whether Methodius has not ascribed this epistle to St. Paul: 'Since,' says he, 'the law, according to the apostle, is spiritual, containing images of good things to come.' The first part of the observation seems to be taken from Rom. vii. 14, where it is said, that "the law is spiritual;" and the second from Heb. x. 1. Indeed the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews there says, that the "law had not the very image of the things:" whereas Methodius here speaks of the law containing images of good things: but he useth the word image loosely: he means no more than what he had expressed in the words before cited from him, that the "law was a type and shadow" of things to come, and as such contained, or obscurely hinted and represented, the images of them. That he intends not to say any thing more in this place, than in the former, is evident from several things that follow here; to which the reader is referred, if he has any doubt: in particular he says presently afterwards, 'that [d] the Jews had only a shadow 'of the image, at the third remove from the truth.'

Lastly, there is in the Banquet an exhortation to stedfastness in virtue, notwithstanding the greatest opposition from the enemy. 'For [e] ye will obtain unspeakable renown, if ye shall over 'come, and seize the seven crowns, for the sake of which the "race" and combat "is set before 'us," according to the master Paul.' There may be in this passage, and in what precedes, a reference to the twelfth, and some other verses of the sixth, chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians: but the latter part of the passage, "the race set before us," seems to be taken from Heb. xii. 1; and for that it is more particularly that he alleges Paul's authority.

By these several passages I am induced to think it probable that Methodius received the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's.

I formerly shewed the reasons why I do not esteem the homily concerning Simeon and Anna to be genuine. I am therefore far from alleging any thing out of it as a proof of the sentiments of our Methodius: but if that piece had been genuine, I suppose it might afford an undeniable testimony to this epistle; for there it is said, that '[g] God "took on him [or laid hold 'of] the seed of Abraham," according to the most divine Paul, and through him of the whole 'human kind:' see Heb. ii. 16.

IX. There is very little notice taken of the seven catholic epistles in the remaining pieces of this writer.

1. He speaks of Christ as [h] the "chief shepherd:" perhaps he borrows that character from 1 Pet. v. 4.

2. In the place referred to a little while ago Methodius says of the Ebionites, that '[i] they 'assert the prophets spoke of their own motion.' Possibly our author has here an eye to 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. "Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is [k] of any private interpretation

[a] Το γαρ αληθες μετ' αναστασιν δηλωθησεται, οποτε προσωπον κατα προσωπον, την αγιαν σκηνην, την πολιν την εν ουρανοις, ης τεχνιτης και εκδημιουργος Θεος, αλλ' ου δι' αινιγματων και εκ μερους εποπτευσομεν. Conv. p. 96. C.

[b] ——τω διεληλυθοτι τους ουρανους Ιησου. Conv. p. 129. A.

[c] ——πρωτοι δικαιοσυνης γεγονοτες εστε, και πρωτοι πρωτοτοκων τεκνων απογεγραμμενων εν ουρανοις. Conv. p. 105. A.

[d] Ει ο νομος εστι, κατα τον αποστολον, τυπος εικονας εμπεριεχων των μελλοντων. ib. p. 96. A. B.

[e] Αλλα Ιουδαιοι μεν την σκιαν της εικονος, τριτην απο της αληθειας, κατηγγελκασιν· κ. λ. ib. p. 96. C.

[f] Μυριον γαρ εξετε κλεος, εαν αφεληται νικησασαι τους επ' αυτοις στεφανους επτα, δι' ους ο αγων ημιν προκειται και η παλη, κατα τον διδασκαλον Παυλον. ib. p. 116. B.

[g] ——αλλα σπερματος Αβρααμ επιλαβομενος κατα τον θειοτατον Παυλον, και δι' αυτου παντος του ανθρωπειου φυλου. Dem. Sim. et A. p. 427. D. Combefis.

[h] Αρχιποιμην. Conv. p. 70. C.

[i] ——ως Εβιωναιοι, εξ ιδιας κινησεως τους προφητας λελαλη-κεναι φιλονεικουντες. Conv. p. 113. D.

[k] ιδιας επιλυσεως ου γινεται.

for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God [a] spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." He says: 'The [b] Jews look for a sensible [or earthly] king-'dom, and place their hopes in this strange land, which the divine word says shall pass away.' In 2 Pet. iii. 10. it is said "the heavens shall pass away [c] with a great noise:" perhaps Methodius refers to this text, perhaps to some others. In another place he says, 'the [d] whole world 'shall be consumed [or overflowed] with fire;' though according to his opinion it will not then utterly perish, but will be renewed and restored: possibly Methodius here refers to 2 Pet. iii. 6, 7, where it is said: "the world that then was, being [e] overflowed with water, perished: but the heavens and the earth which are now,——are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment."

3. He observes, that "[f] the world lieth in wickedness:" the same thing that is said in the same words in 1 John v. 20.

4. I transcribe nothing more here relating to these epistles. Undoubtedly Methodius received the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; for they were admitted as genuine, without controversy, by all catholic Christians. But what was our author's opinion concerning the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude, does not clearly appear from his remaining works.

X. The Revelation is very often quoted by Methodius as the writing of John: 'And [g] that 'the Word who became man is the chief virgin, [or prince of virgins,] as well as the chief 'shepherd, and chief prophet of the church, John, inspired by Christ, has shewn us in the book 'of the Revelation: "And I looked, and lo, a lamb stood on the mount Sion.——These are 'they which are are not defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they which follow 'the lamb whithersoever he goes:"' Rev. xiv. 1—4. This passage is in the Banquet; and in the same work: 'As [h] also John shews, saying, that the incense in the vials of the four and twenty 'elders are the prayers of saints:"' see Rev. v. 8. Again, 'John [i] relating the Revelation says: '"And there appeared a great wonder in heaven,"' and what follows: where Methodius quotes Rev. xii. 1—6. In the same work the [k] Revelation is quoted as scripture, and a book of authority. In the extracts out of the treatise of the Resurrection, made by Photius, he quotes this book as written [l] by the blessed John. In the same extracts are these words: 'How [m] then 'is Christ celebrated by the prophets and the apostles as the "first-begotten of the dead?"' This is often said of Christ in the New Testament, as Acts xxvi. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 20; and twice almost in the very expression of Methodius, Col. i. 18, and Rev. i. 5. If we could be certain that Methodius referred to this place in the Revelation, then we should be assured that he supposed the writer of this book to be the apostle John. Finally, Methodius is mentioned by [n] Andrew of Cæsarea with Irenæus and others, who had bore testimony to the divine inspiration of this book. I think it is plain from what has been here collected, that Methodius received the Revelation as a book of authority; and very probable that he esteemed it a writing of John the apostle and evangelist.

XI. His forms of quotation, or general terms made use of in speaking of these books, and marks of respect for them, are such as these; [o] scriptures, [p] holy, or sacred scriptures, [q] divine scriptures. He speaks of [r] the Old Testament, which implies an acknowledgment of another that is new; both which are indeed quoted very largely by him, and as books of authority. In a passage quoted some while ago he speaks of prophets and apostles, thereby expressing the two

[a] αλλ' ὑπο πνευματος ἁγιε φερομενοι ελαλησαν οἱ ἁγιοι θεε ανθρωποι.

[b] βασιλειαν αισθητην προσδοκωντες, και επι γης ταυτης της αλλοτριας, ἡν παρελευσεσθαι λογος, τιθεμενοι τας ελπιδας. Conv. p. 90. A.

[c] εν ᾗ οἱ ὁυρανοι ῥοιζηδον παρελευσονται.

[d] ὑπας ὁ κοσμος κατακλυζομενος πυρι. ap. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. xxxi. p. 553. D. [e] ——ὑδατι κατακλυσθεις.

[f] τῳ τον κοσμον εν τῳ πονηρῳ κειεσθαι. De Resur. ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 321, et ap. Combef. Bibl. p. 922. B.

[g] Ὁτι δε και αρχιπαρθενος, ὁν τροπον και αρχιποιμην και αρχιπροφητης γεγονεν ὁ λογος ενανθρωπησας, της εκκλησιας, και ὁ χριστολητος ἡμιν παρεστησεν εν βιβλιῳ της Αποκαλυψεως Ιωαννης, λεγων· Και ειδον, κ. λ. Conv. p. 70. C. D.

[h] καθως και Ιωαννης εμηνυσε, κ. λ. ib. p. 97. A.

[i] ——την Αποκαλυψιν ὁ Ιωαννης εξηγημενος λεγει. ib. p. 109. D.

[k] ——γινεται κατα νεν της γραφης, ὁποτε ἡ μεν Αποκαλυψις αρσενα την εκκλησιαν διοριζεται γενναν. ib. p. 111. C.

[l] ὁ μακαριος Ιωαννης. ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 924, ap. Combef. p. 326. B.

[m] πως δη επι ὁ Χριστος πρωτοτοκος ειναι των νεκρων ὑπο των προφητων και των αποστολων αδεται; ap. Phot. ib. 925, et ap. Combef. p. 328. [n] Vid. Andr. Prolog. in Apoc. p. 3. B. C.

[o] Vid. Method. Conv. p. 125. A. et passim.

[p] ταις ἁγιαις γραφαις. ib. p. 66. D.

[q] αι θειαι γραφαι. p. 89. A.

[r] εκ παλαιας ὑμιν κἀγω παρεξομαι διαθηκης εγγραφον προφητειαν. ib. p. 130. C.

general divisions of the scriptures before and after the coming of Christ: he [a] quotes these book by way of proof of what he says. He [b] affirms, that 'there is no contradiction or absurdity i 'the divine words.' The gospels are cited by him in this manner: 'The [c] Lord declares in the 'gospels.' Again: 'As [d] also our Lord Jesus Christ directs and commands in the gospels '"Let your lights shine and your loins be girded about, and be ye yourselves like men that wai 'for their lord:"' Luke xii. 35—38. "For [e] "ye are the salt of the earth," said the Lord to the apostles:' see Matt. v. 13. 'Where, [f] according to the true oracles of the Lord, they neithe 'marry nor are given in marriage:' see Matth. xxii. 30. He quotes St. Paul after this manner says [g] the blessed Paul; [h] the most wise Paul; [i] Paul, a wise man, and most spiritual, or full o the Holy Ghost. He [k] recommends the study and meditation of the scriptures.

XII. In the remains of Methodius there are many interpretations of texts of scripture; but in my opinion, for the most part, such as do little honour to the author's judgment: I shall pu down two or three, which are somewhat remarkable.

1. He understands [l] the words of Christ in John v. 39, to be a command to "search th scriptures; not a declaration what was then the practice of the Jews: accordingly, he makes us of this text as an argument to search even the most abstruse and difficult parts of scripture, an as an encouragement to explain them so far as we are able.

2. St. Paul writes: "I knew a man in Christ,——such an one caught up to the thir heaven. And I knew such a man,——how that he was caught up into paradise:" 2 Cor. xii 2—4. Methodius is [m] clearly of opinion that the apostle here speaks of two remarkable revela tions, and two different raptures, one into the third heaven, the other into paradise; and h thinks that they who carefully attend to the expressions of the apostle will perceive, that he doe not speak of paradise and the third heaven as one and the same place, or suppose paradise to b in the third heaven.

3. Theodoret has quoted this passage of Methodius out of his discourse Concerning Martyrs 'For,' says [n] he, 'martyrdom is so admirable and desirable that the Lord Jesus Christ himself 'the Son of God, was pleased to be a martyr, not esteeming it a thing to be earnestly sought, t 'be like God, that he might bless man to whom he had descended, with this gift also:' see Philip. ii. 6. This is the entire passage as given us by Theodoret. Bishop Bull [o] understoo the expression of St. Paul here made use of in the sense of our English version, "thought it no robbery to be equal with God:" and he refers to a place of Petavius, where he also is supposed to be of the same opinion. Nevertheless it seems to me that, in this passage of Methodius, th expression can admit of no other meaning than that in the translation I have made, and that i must denote a voluntary humiliation of Jesus Christ. There is likewise a passage in the Banque where Methodius refers to Philip. ii. 6, 7; I put it in the [p] margin: I suppose it does not weaker but confirm the interpretation I have given of the expression in the sixth verse; which sense, i is certain, appears frequently in the Christian writers of the third century.

4. St. Paul writes: "And the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive:"

[a] ουδε γαρ αμαρτυρος ὁ λογος γραφων. ap. Epiph. p. 548. D. Vid. ib. n. xvii. p, 539. C.

[b] ὁτι μηδεμια ὑπεναντιωσις ἡ ἀτοπια εν τοις θειοις λογοις. ap. Epiphan. ib. Hær. 64, p. 555. B.

[c] και ὁ κυριος——εν ευαγγελιοις παρεγγυα. Conv. p. 66. D.

[d] καθ' ὁν τροπον και ὁ κυριος ἡμων εν ευαγγελιοις Ιησους Χριστος, ὡδε νομοθετων. Conv. p. 92. B. C.

[e] ὑμεις γαρ εστε το ἁλας της γης, ὁ κυριος εφη τοις αποστολοις. ib. p. 67. D.

[f] ενθα ουτε γαμουσιν, ουτε γαμισκονται, κατα τας αψευδεις του κυριου χρησμους. ib. p. 76. C.

[g] ——φησιν ὁ μακαριος Παυλος. Conv. p. 67. D.

[h] καθαπερ και ὁ σοφωτατος Παυλος δηλοι. ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 924, f.

[i] ὡς αν ὁ πνευματικωτατος και σοφος ανηρ, τον Παυλον λεγω· Conv. p. 77. A.

[k] πρωτον τον ωραιον την πιστιν κτησασθω καρπον. ειτα τα καλλυντρα, την ασκησιν και μελετην των γραφων. ib. p. 127. C.

[l] περι δε του την επιλυσιν αυτων ανευρασθαι και ειπειν, μειζον ἡ καθ' ἡμας· ὁμως τολμητεον, πιστευσασαν τω κελευσαντι τας γραφας ερευναν. Conv. p. 110. A.

[m] Ὁτι δυο αποκαλυψεις φησι γεγονεναι τω ἁγιω Παυλω λεγει γαρ, αλλ' ουδε ὁ αποστολος ὑποτιθεται ειναι τον παραδεισον εν τω τριτω ουρανω, τοις λεπτων ακροασθαι λογων επισταμενοις ——δυο αποκαλυψεις μεγαλας ἑωρακεναι μηνυει, δις αναλειφθεις εναργως. κ. λ. ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 910. ap. Combef. Bib. p. 308.

[n] Οὑτω γαρ θαυμαστον και περισπουδαστον εστι το μαρτυριον ὁτι αυτος ὁ κυριος Ιησους Χριστος ὁ υἱος του θεου, τιμων αυτο εμαρτυρησε, ουχ ἁρπαγμον ἡγησαμενος το ειναι ισα θεω, ἱνα και τουτω τον ανθρωπον τω χαρισματι, εις ὁν κατεβη, σεβηται. ap. Theodoret. Dial. i. Tom. iv. p. 37.

[o] In libro de Martyribus apud Theodoretum Christum no minat Dominum et Filium Dei, qui non rapinam arbitrat est, esse æqualem Deo. Quæ, Petavio etiam judice, non ni in Deum verum cadere possunt Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. i c. 13, n. 9. Vid. Petav. Præfat. in Tom. ii. c. 4, n. 5.

[p] Διο και αναφοραν εις τον βιον ανειληφε του θεου, απο του πλη ρωματος της θεοτητος εις τον βιον ελληνοβιοτος. Κενωθεις γαρ κα την μορφην του δουλου προσλαβων, εις την εαυτου τελειοτητα παλι ανεπληρωθη. κ. λ. Conv. p. 115. A. B.

1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. By "the dead," Methodius understood our bodies; "we which are alive," are our souls, which receive "the dead," that is our bodies, out of the earth: then "we," soul and body, "are to be caught up together to meet the Lord." This may be allowed to be a difficult text: but I am apt to think that many will consider this paraphrase as an example of the wrong and injudicious interpretations of our author, which I spoke of formerly; nor do I intend to add any more.

XIII. We perceive from the remains of Methodius that he received the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, St. Paul's epistles, and the epistle to the Hebrews as one of them. We have no plain evidence how many of the seven catholic epistles he received: undoubtedly he owned the first of St. Peter and the first of St. John, there never having been any doubt concerning the genuineness of these. His opinion about the rest we are not acquainted with. He likewise quotes the Revelation frequently as a book of sacred scripture, written by John; whom it is likely he supposed to be John the apostle and evangelist. We have seen in him clear proofs that the scriptures of the New Testament, generally received by Christians, were well known, much used, and highly esteemed: being books of authority, and appealed to in all points of dispute and controversy. I have not observed in this Greek writer, of the third century, any quotations of Christian apocryphal writings: nor do the works of this author afford any the least ground to suppose that there were any writings of ancient Christian authors that were esteemed sacred and of authority, beside those which are now generally received as such by us; namely, the writings of apostles and evangelists.

CHAP. LVIII.

LUCIAN, PRESBYTER OF ANTIOCH; AND HESYCHIUS, BISHOP IN EGYPT.

I. *Lucian, his history, and testimonies to him.* II. *His edition of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Hesychius, his history, and his edition of the Old and New Testament.* IV. *Lucian's works.* V. *His sentiment upon the doctrine of the Trinity.* VI. *Concluding remarks.*

I. Says [b] Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Lucian, a most eloquent man, 'presbyter of the church of Antioch, was so laborious in the study of the scriptures, that to 'this day some copies of the scriptures are called Lucian's. There are extant some discourses '[or small treatises] of his concerning the faith, and some short epistles to several. He suffered 'at Nicomedia for confessing the name of Christ, in the reign of Maximin, and was buried at 'Helenopolis in Bithynia.'

Cave says that [c] Lucian was contemporary with Paul of Samosata, and flourished chiefly about the year 290. He suffered martyrdom in [d] 311, or rather [e] in 312, and on the seventh day of January in that year.

It is now commonly said by [f] learned moderns, that [g] Lucian was born at Samosata: but it is

[a] —— τετ' ἐξιν, αυτα ἡμων ταυτα τα σωματα· ἡμεις γαρ οἱ ζωντες, αἱ ψυχαι ἐσμεν. οἱ ἀποκαμοῦμενοντες ἐγερθεντες [al. ἐγερθεντας] ἐκ της γης νεκρους κ. λ. ap. Phot. Cod. 234, p. 924, in. et ap. Combef. p. 325.

[b] Lucianus, vir disertissimus, Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, tantum in scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quædam exemplaria scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur. Feruntur ejus de Fide libelli, et breves ad nonnullos epistolæ. Passus est Nicomediæ ob confessionem Christi sub persecutione Maximini, sepultusque est Helenopoli Bithyniæ. Hier. de V. I. cap. 77.

[c] Noster hic Paulo Samosateno erat ætate suppar, præcipue vero claruit circa an. 290. Cav. Hist. L. in Luciano.

[d] Baron. Ann. 311. n. iii. iv. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 279.

[e] Ruin. Act. Mart. p. 504. Pagi Ann. 311, n. x. et xx. Basnag. 312, n. iv. Tillem. St. Lucien. Mem. T. v. P. iii. p. 150, 151, et note v.

[f] Lucianus, nobili prosapiâ ortus, patriam habuit Samosata, urbem Syriæ non incelebrem, ejusdem et urbis et nominis cum famoso illo Christianæ religionis derisore, qui Trajani tempore vixit. Cav. ubi supr. Conf. Basn. an. 312, n. 23. Tillem. ubi supr. p. 146, et passim.

[g] In the preceding note I have placed Tillemont among those who say Lucian was born at Samosata: for such are his words: Il nâquit à Samosates dans la Syrie appellée Euphratesienne: ubi supr. p. 146. And yet he was aware that this is destitute of foundation; as appears from what he says in another place. Il étoit, à ce qu' on prétend, du même pays que Paul de Samosate. ib. p. 398, not. 1, sur. S. Lucien.

said, I think, upon the credit only of [a] the Acts of Lucian, and [b] of Suidas, who [c] copied those Acts; which is no authority at all. Tillemont himself says, that [d] 'those Acts are certainly a 'work of Metaphrastes, and that they are mixed with fables, and have divers faults contrary to 'the truth of history; which,' says he, 'may excuse our not paying any regard to them, when 'they differ from other authors; and allows us to take little notice of them in other points.' Bollandus likewise observes upon those Acts, that [e] the Menologium make Lucian a native of Antioch.

It seems to me that the author of the Acts, who had little regard to truth, and was not much concerned to be rightly informed, confounds upon this occasion Lucian, presbyter of Antioch, with Lucian the famous heathen dialogist, who lived in the second century, and was of Samosata.

This may be thought a trifle not worth taking notice of: but really it gives one offence to see learned men deliver for history what has no good authority, and supply their accounts of this eminent person out of a piece which is good for nothing: nor is this particular altogether trifling; for when those learned writers come to consider a difficult question, concerning Lucian's opinion about the doctrine of the Trinity, this circumstance of Lucian's being a native of the same city with Paul, bishop of Antioch, is almost always [f] taken in as a thing of some moment.

I must add that it is to the honour of Theodoric Ruinart, that he has not inserted those Acts in his collection of Genuine and Select Acts of Martyrs: nor do I observe that in his account of Lucian he has borrowed any one article from them.

Of this person, in his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius writes after this manner, speaking of those who suffered in the persecution begun by Diocletian: 'Among the presidents of the 'churches in great cities, who suffered at that time, the first to be recorded in the monuments 'of the pious is Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, a witness of the kingdom of Christ, who was 'beheaded: and [g] of Antioch, Lucian, a presbyter of that church, a man of an unblemished 'character throughout his whole life; he also suffered at Nicomedia, where, in the presence of 'the emperor, he first apologized for the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words, and afterwards 'farther recommended it by deeds.'

Again, in another place, the same ecclesiastical historian, having related the death of Peter of Alexandria by order of Maximinus, adds: 'And with him suffered many other bishops of 'Egypt in like manner; as did also [h] Lucian, presbyter of the church of Antioch, an excellent 'man in all respects, celebrated for his piety and his knowledge of the scriptures: he was car-'ried from Antioch to Nicomedia, where the emperor then was; and, having made an apology 'before the governor for the doctrine he professed, he was sent to prison, and there put to death.'

At this place Rufinus, in his Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, makes a little alteration; and also inserts a speech of considerable length, said to be [i] the same apology which Lucian made to the Roman governor. Whereupon, as [k] Rufinus says, 'the audience 'being much moved, and almost persuaded, Lucian was commanded away to prison, there to be 'put to death, as if they feared a tumult of the people.' Of this apology I intend to take some farther notice by and by.

These is still extant a panegyrical [l] oration or homily of St. Chrysostom, pronounced on the seventh day of January 387, in honour of this martyr: but it is so oratorical, that though St.

[a] Vid. Bolland. Act. Sanctor. T. i. p. 359.

[b] Vid. Suid. V. Λουκιανος. et Hodius de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. iv. c. iii. p. 626, et l. iii. P. i. c. 5. p. 303.

[c] Vid. Kuster. ad Suid. ib. not. 5.

[d] See Mem. Ec. T. v. P. iii. p. 345, 346.

[e] Menologium habet ex Antiochiâ Syriæ ortum fuisse Lucianum. Act. Sanct. ib. p. 359.

[f] Illum autem familiarem fuisse Pauli Samosateni, credibile est. Fuit enim ipse oriundus ex urbe Samosatensi, ut legitur in ejus vitâ. Et cum Paulus ex eâ urbe ad Antiochensem episcopatum evectus est, Lucianus quoque ecclesiæ Antiochenæ presbyter fuit. Pagi Ann. 311, n. xii. Conf. Vales. Annot. in Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. iv. Ex urbe Pauli erat hæretici; a Paulo ad presbyteratum in nobilissimâ ecclesiâ Antiochenâ promotus fuerat: cujus et errorem cum imbibisset, &c. Basnag. Ann. 312, n. 13.

[g] Των δ' επ' Αντιοχειας μαρτυρων τον παντα βιον αριστος πρεσβυτερος της αυτοθι παροικιας Λουκιανος· εν τη Νικομηδεια και αυτος, βασιλεως επιπαροντος, την ερανιον τε Χριστε βασιλειαν λογῳ προτερον δι' απολογιας, ειτα δε και εργοις, ανακηρυξας. Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. xiii. in.

[h] Λουκιανος τε ανηρ τα παντα αριστος, βιῳ τε εγκρατης, και τοις ιεροις μαθημασι συγκεκροτημενος, της κατ' Αντιοχειαν παροικιας πρεσβυτερος, αχθεις επι της Νικομηδεων πολεως, ενθα τηνικαυτα βασιλευς διατριβων ετυγχανε, παρασχων τε επι τε αρχοντος την υπερ ης προϊστατο διδασκαλιας απολογιαν, δεσμωτηριῳ παραδοθεις κτεινυται. ib. l. ix. c. vi.

[i] Tum ille, datâ sibi facultate dicendi, hujusmodi orationem de fide nostrâ habuisse dicitur. Rufin. H. E. l. ix. c. vi.

[k] Et cum pene jam his verbis auditoribus suadere cœpisset, arripi jubetur in carcerem, ibique quasi absque tumultu populi necari. ib.

[l] T. ii. p. 524—529.

Chrysostom enlargeth upon the sufferings and fortitude of Lucian, and upon the manner of his death, it is very difficult to say how he would have us to suppose that the martyrdom of this presbyter, one of his predecessors in the church of Antioch, was performed: whether [a] by famine, or by torture, or [b] by both; and whether in prison, or abroad.

Sozomen, having occasion to speak of Lucian, who, he says, suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, gives him this great character, that [c] 'he was likewise on other accounts very eminent, 'and in a signal manner skilful in the sacred scriptures.'

Honorius of Autun says, that [d] Lucian was first presbyter of Antioch, and afterwards bishop of Nicomedia: but this is not said by Eusebius, or Jerom; and therefore, probably, it is without foundation. The error may have arisen from the place of Lucian's martyrdom, or from the near mention made of Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. Eusebius does not suppose Lucian to have been bishop of Nicomedia, nor to have had any office in that church; for he reckons Lucian among the martyrs of the church of Antioch.

Jerom assured us that Lucian was buried at Helenopolis in Bithynia; but why he was buried there does not certainly appear from any good authority. In his Chronicle, at the 21st year of Constantine's reign, Jerom says: 'Constantine [e] repairing Drepanum, a city in Bithynia, in 'honour of the martyr Lucian, who was there buried, called it Helenopolis from his mother.' The same [f] is in the Paschal Chronicle, with this addition, that Constantine enacted that all the lands in the view of the city should be exempted from tribute: which privilege, the author says, was enjoyed to his time. Philostorgius, the credulous Arian historian, says, that [g] the empress Helena's fondness for that city was owing to this only, that the body of Lucian was brought thither after his martyrdom by a dolphin.

In a church of this city, which was near Nicomedia, Constantine, a little before his death, prepared himself for [h] baptism.

Jerom has not only allotted Lucian a place in his book of Illustrious men, and mentioned him in his Chronicle, as already seen, but has likewise named him in his [i] letter to Magnus, among other Christian writers, eminent for polite learning, as well as for knowledge in the divine scriptures. And there are some other passages of his to be taken notice of.

II. Jerom said, in the place before cited from his Catalogue, that some copies of scripture were called Lucian's: he elsewhere [*] speaks of that matter more largely, where he says, that 'the churches of Egypt made use of that edition of the Septuagint, which was put out by 'Hesychius. From Constantinople to Antioch Lucian's edition was used; but the countries 'lying in the midst read the version of the Seventy, as published by Pamphilus and Eusebius 'from Origen's copy.'

There is another passage of Jerom concerning Lucian's edition of the Seventy, which [l] I transcribe at the bottom of the page.

And in his preface to the four gospels he [m] speaks of an edition of the New, as well as of the Old, Testament, made by Lucian and Hesychius; but he does not commend their copies; for,

[a] Vid. Tillem. sur S. Lucien, notes 6 et 7. Il y a bien de la difficulté pour le genre de la mort de S. Lucien. Id. ib. p. 410.

[b] Martyrium vero S. Luciani presbyteri Antiocheni, qui fame et cruciatibus multis, ut ait Chrysostomus, Christi nomen gloriose confessus est, accidit anno 311, vel 312. Monitum ad Hom. in S. Lucian. p. 523.

[c] —— Λουκιανε, τε εν Νικομηδεια μαρτυρησαντος, ανδρος τα τε αλλα ευδοκιμωτατε, και τας ιερας γραφας εις ακρον ηκριβωκοτος. Sozom. l. iii. c. v. p. 503, A.

[d] Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, postmodum Nicomediæ episcopus. Honor. de Scriptor. Ec. c. 78.

[e] Drepanum, Bithyniæ civitatem, in honorem martyris Luciani ibi conditi Constantinus instaurans ex vocabulo matris suæ Helenopolim nuncupavit. Hier. Chr. l. 2. p. 181.

[f] —— Chron. Pasc. p. 283.

[g] —— απασασθαι δε το χωριον κατ' αλλο μεν ειδεν, ὁτι δε Λουκιανος ὁ μαρτυς εκειτε τυχοι μετα τον μαρτυρικον θανατον ὑπο δελφινος εκκομισθεις. Philost. l. ii. c. xii. p. 474.

[h] Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 61. p. 557.

[i] —— nec non presbyterorum Pamphili, Pierii, Malchionis, &c. Ep. 83, p. 656.

[k] Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Totusque orbis ac inter se trifariâ varietate compugnat. Hier. Præf. in Paralip. Opp. T. i. p. 1023. Eadem repetuntur in libr. ii. adv. Ruf. T. iv. p. 425.

[l] In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes, et Cæsariensis Eusebius, omnesque Græciæ tractatores Κοινην, id est, Communem appellant, atque vulgatam, et a plerisque Λουκιανου dicitur; aliam Septuaginta Interpretum, quæ in Ἑξαπλοις codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Jerosolymæ atque in Orientis ecclesiis decantatur. Ep. ad Sun. et Fret. [al. Ep. 135] T. ii. p. 627.

[m] Prætermitto codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa consuetudo: quibus utique nec in Veteri Testamento post Septuaginta Interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendâsse; quum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt. Præf. in Quat. Evang.

as he says, they were interpolated; that is, there were some things inserted in them without good authority, they being wanted in more ancient copies.

Jerom is now commonly understood to say in the first of these passages, that Lucian's edition of the version of the Seventy was generally used by the churches from Constantinople to Antioch, and Hesychius's by the churches in Egypt: but [a] Martianay denies this. He says that the editions made by Lucian and Hesychius were used in those countries by a few only, and those men of mistaken judgment; and that the edition made from Origen's Hexapla generally prevailed every where: and it must be owned, that in the last cited passage Jerom not only censures the interpolations of those two critics in the New Testament, but likewise their emendations of the Old: and, in the passage which I have put in the margin, he depreciates Lucian's edition of the Seventy, in comparison of Origen's, which last he himself followed in his translation of the Old Testament from the Greek.

Humphrey Hody doubted whether [b] Lucian and Hesychius had ever seen Origen's edition of the version of Seventy: nor indeed have we any certain information upon that head, very little being said of their editions in the remaining pieces of ancient authors: but as Origen's performance was much celebrated, and his Tetrapla and Hexapla had been formed a good while before Lucian and Hesychius undertook any thing of that kind, it may be thought probable that those learned men were acquainted with Origen's Seventy; though perhaps they had not seen that correct edition which was published by Pamphilus and Eusebius.

The author of the Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ, or of an addition to it, calls [c] the seventh and last Greek version of the Old Testament Lucian's; and says that his version was made from the Hebrew; and was found in the time of Constantine the Great at Nicomedia, privately hid in the hands of some Jews: which is in the main agreeable to what [d] is said in the Acts of the Metaphrastes, before censured: but this account is all false and mistaken. The seventh Greek version, as it is called, was in Origen's Hexapla, and was of a part only of the Old Testament: whereas Lucian's edition contained the whole Old Testament, as has been observed by [e] Hody and [f] Montfaucon, men well skilled in this matter: nor is there any good reason to think that Lucian understood Hebrew: and the finding the copy among the Jews at Nicomedia appears to be altogether fabulous, or mistaken; for it is likely that [g] Lucian took care to publish copies of his work without delay. Yea the author of the Synopsis himself says, that [h] Lucian having finished his exact version delivered it to his Christian brethren; [i] and yet he presently afterwards adds, that after his martyrdom it was [k] found in the hands of some Jews, where it had been lodged for safety; which, in my opinion, has not the appearance of probability: for the Jews of those times were always enemies to the Christians, and no more to be confided in than heathens, especially in times of persecution.

[a] Hunc locum male intelligunt, qui putant in omnibus Christi ecclesiis ita usurpatas fuisse editiones Græcas LXX. interpretum, ut in Alexandrinorum et Ægyptiorum conventibus publice populo Christiano legerentur sacri codices juxta emendationem Hesychii; in ecclesiis autem Constantinopolitanis usque ad Antiochiam, juxta Luciani martyris recognitionem. Contrarium docet Hieronymus multis in locis; ac primum in præfatione in quatuor evangelia ad Damasum expresse testatur, has editiones paucis acceptas esse: Prætermitto eos codices, &c. Vides igitur, lector, intra provincias jam dictas a paucis, qui etiam perverse contenderent, fuisse suscepta Hesychii et Luciani exemplaria Scripturarum. Non idem sentiendum de codicibus elaboratis ab Origene.——Illa namque editio celebris adeo fuit apud omnes, ut publice usurparetur in cunctis Christianorum ecclesiis, &c. Martian. Annot. ad Præf. Hieron. in Paralip. T. i. p. 1023.

[b] Et dubito quidem ego, utrum Lucianus et Hesychius editionem Origenianam unquam oculis usurpârint, necne: quandoquidem eam a Pamphilo primum et Eusebio in lucem fuisse emissam verisimilius videtur. Hod. de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. iv. c. iii. p. 628.

[c] Ἑβδόμη πάλιν καὶ τελευταία ἑρμηνεία ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιανοῦ ——κ. λ. Syn. S. S. Ap. Athan. T. ii. p. 203.

[d] Vid. Hod. p. 626, 627.

[e] Ut errant hi scriptores, cum editionem Luciani appellant translationem; sic rursus falluntur, cum Septimam dicunt; nescientes nimirum, extitisse Septimam quamdam in Hexaplis Origenis. Hod. ib. p. 627.

[f] Sic ille [auctor Synopseos] decantatum illam Luciani martyris editionem cum Septimâ Hexaplari confudit, exque duabus unam fecit. Quod commentum Eusebii atque Hieronymi testimoniis exploditur, quorum prior, Luciano martyri æqualis, in ipso autographo vidit Septimam ab Origene ante annos plus quinquaginta in Hexaplis positam. Ad hæc vero auctoris Synopseos narratio respuitur ex ipsis Septimæ fragmentis, quæ, ut testificantur Eusebius et Hieronymus, in paucis scripturæ libris aderat: contra vero Luciani editio totam scripturam complectebatur, nihilque aliud erat quam interpretatio τῶν ο′ plurimis in locis ab eodem sancto martyre emendata, quæ multis post concinnata Hexapla annis prodierat. Hinc vero corrigendus Waltonus, qui, ab auctore Synopseos deceptus, opinatur Septimam eamdem esse, quam Luciani martyris editionem. Proleg. ix. num. xx. Montf. Prælim. in Hex. Orig. cap. 8, sect. ii. p. 58, 59.

[g] See Tillem. St. Lucien. not. ii. p. 404, Mem. T. v. P. iii.

[h] See Tillem. again, p. 405, who says, it is probable, that Lucian published many copies of his edition, and made it common.

[i] Καὶ διορθωσάμενος ἐν τοῖς γραφῶν τόποις ἐξέδοτο τοῖς χριστιανοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Synops. ubi supr. p. 204. A.

[k] —— παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις.——Ib.

The late Jeremiah Jones thought that [a] the editions of the New Testament made by Lucian and Hesychius, and mentioned by Jerom, as above, are [b] the apocryphal gospels of Lucian and Hesychius, which are censured in the decree of Pope Gelasius; and that Gelasius means not any distinct gospels, but their interpolated editions of our canonical gospels. Hody [c] and Mill [d] speak to the like purpose.

III. As Hesychius has been now named, and I see no need to allot him a distinct chapter, I shall here observe that [e] he is generally supposed to be the same Hesychius, whom [f] Eusebius mentions with other bishops in Egypt, who obtained the crown of martyrdom in Dioclesian's persecution; but the time is not exactly known. Cave says, that Hesychius flourished near the end of the third century, about the year 296, and placeth his martyrdom in 311; Basnage [g] in 311 or 312. Tillemont speaks of him as suffering with others, whose martyrdom he placeth [h] in 310.

It is observable that there is no distinct article for Hesychius in Jerom's Catalogue: nor is his name among other eminent Christian writers in Jerom's letter to Magnus.

Hody [i] supposeth Jerom to refer to this person's edition of the Seventy in another place, beside those formerly taken notice of by me.

But it is not fit I should stay to enlarge farther on these matters: I therefore refer to Grabe and others, who have published editions of the Seventy, or written prolegomena, or dissertations upon that version; and to Fabricius, who [k] has a short article, with many good hints relating to the labours both of Lucian and Hesychius.

However, it should be here remembered, that Hesychius put out an edition of the New as well as of the Old Testament. The evidences of this we saw just now in [l] Jerom.

IV. There is little if any thing of Lucian remaining.

1. In the Paschal Chronicle, the author, having shewn the fierceness of the persecution at Nicomedia, adds: 'Of [m] this innumerable multitude of martyrs the presbyter Lucian writing to 'the Antiochians speaks in these words: "the whole choir of martyrs together salutes you. I 'take this opportunity to certify you, that Anthimus the bishop has finished the course of his 'martyrdom."'

If this be genuine, we have here a part of one of those short epistles intended by St. Jerom. However, it is now the constant opinion of learned men that Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, suffered at the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution in 303, and that Lucian did not die before the year 311 or 312. If therefore this letter be his, he must have been at Nicomedia, and in communion with that church, and the martyrs there, when Anthimus suffered.

2. Eusebius assures us, that before Lucian suffered he apologized for the heavenly kingdom in words: and, as before shewn, Rufinus has inserted a speech, as delivered by him; which I see [n] Huet quotes as Lucian's: and [o] Fabricius thinks it might be taken by Rufinus from the Acts of his martyrdom: but [p] Tillemont is of opinion that it is a speech of Rufinus's own making.

Whether it be Lucian's, or Rufinus's, or in part only the apology of our martyr, with some additions of the historian, I cannot forbear taking some notice of it here, it representing in some measure the just sentiments of those ancient Christians who considered their religion as a divine institution of virtue.

'It is no secret,' says he, 'that the God whom we Christians worship, is the one God declared 'to us by Christ, and by the Holy Ghost inspired in our hearts,'

'I [q] own, that we also once trusted in gods of our own making.——But Almighty God, com-

[a] See his canon of Scripture, vol. i. p. 281, 311.

[b] Evangelia, quæ falsavit Lucianus, apocrypha. Evangelia, quæ falsavit Hesychius, apocrypha. Gelas. ap. Labb. T. iv. p. 1264.

[c] Hod. ubi supr. p. 629.

[d] Mill. Proleg. n. 728.

[e] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. St. Pierre d'Alexandrie. Art. 10. Mem. T. v. Part. iii. p. 124. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 279.

[f] Φιλέας τε, και Ησυχιος, και Παχυμιος, και Θεοδωρος, των αμφι την Αιγυπτον εκκλησιων επισκοποι. Hist. Ec. l. viii. cap. 13, p. 308. C.

[g] Basn. Ann. 312, n. 18.

[h] See Tillem. as referred to before, note [e].

[i] Citatur alibi editio Hesychiana ab Hieronymo sub titulo Exemplarium Alexandrinorum. Hod. ib. p. 628, f. Conf. Hieron. in. Is. lviii. 11, p. 433.

[k] Vid. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 278, 279. Conf. ennd. ib. T. ii. p. 358, 359.

[l] See before, p. 111. note [m].

[m] Περι τουτου του απειρου πληθους των μαρτυρησαντων Λουκιανος πρεσβυτερος Αντιοχευσι γραφων εδηλου· Ασπαζεται υμας χορος απας ομου μαρτυρων. Συναγγελιζομαι δε υμας, ως Ανθιμος ο παπας τω του μαρτυριου δρομω ετελειωθη. Chr. Pasch. p. 277. C.

[n] Huet Dem. Ev. Prop. iii. sect. viii. p. 30.

[o] Apologiam ad Præsidem ante martyrium A. C. 311. Nicomediæ dictam, cujus meminit Eusebius ix. 6. Rufinus in Latinâ suâ versione ex Actis, ut videtur, martyrii ejus,—— excerptam exhibet. Fabr. B. G. T. v. p. 279.

[p] See Tillem. as before, p. 145, 146.

[q] —— Fateor, erravimus etiam nos aliquando, et simulacra, quæ finximus, deos cœli ac terræ putabamus auctores. ——Verum omnipotens Deus,—errores miseratus humanos,

'miserating the errors of mankind, sent his wisdom into this world, clothed in flesh, to teach us 'the knowledge of God, who made the heavens and the earth, who is eternal and invisible. He 'moreover gave us a rule of life, and delivered to us the precepts of righteousness: he taught 'us to practise sobriety, to rejoice in poverty, to be very meek, to be willing to suffer, to preserve 'the purity of our minds, and to be patient at all times. He likewise foretold the things which 'have since happened to us; that we should be brought before kings and rulers, and be 'slaughtered as victims: for which cause also, though he was immortal, as being the Word and 'Wisdom of God, he yielded himself to death, that whilst he was in the body he might set us 'an example of patience. Nor did he deceive us by dying, but on the third day rose again:— 'being innocent, and unspotted, and undergoing death only that he might overcome it by rising 'again. These things are well attested, and a large part of the world now acknowledgeth the 'truth of them.'

3. There is likewise a Creed, or Formulary of Faith, concerning the Trinity, which is sometimes called Lucian's. Fabricius reckoning up our martyr's works speaks of this among the rest. I shall put his words in the [a] margin: but I am by no means of opinion that this is one of Lucian's little books, or discourses concerning the faith, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue: I rather think that Jerom intends Lucian's Apology, made a little before his martyrdom, or some other short treatises in defence of the Christian religion. Rufinus, a contemporary, useth the same word with Jerom, when he introduceth [b] the speech, or apology, which Lucian made before the president at Nicomedia, calling it, A Discourse concerning the Faith; which was not a formulary of the doctrine of the Trinity, but an apology for the Christian religion in general.

Bishop Bull [c] readily allowed this Formulary to be Lucian's: but let us consider the testimony of antiquity. Sozomen informs us, that [d] 'the Eusebians in a synod at Antioch published a 'Formulary, which they said was Lucian's the martyr.' But Sozomen adds, 'he did not know 'whether they spake truth, or whether they endeavoured to recommend their own composition 'under the authority of the martyr:' whereas it seems to me, that if there had been extant any such piece of Lucian, Sozomen must have known it. Moreover, the Creed, which Sozomen is supposed to refer to, is at length in [e] Athanasius, [f] Hilary, and [g] Socrates: but they none of them call it Lucian's; nor do they say that it was published as his. In one of the five Dialogues concerning the Holy Trinity, the age of which is not certainly known, except that they could not be written much before the end of the fourth century, the Macedonian asks the Orthodox, if he believed as the blessed Lucian did? to which the Orthodox answers, he believes as did all the martyrs and apostles. The Macedonian asks again, whether he would subscribe Lucian's Formulary; or, whether there was in it any thing which he condemned? the Orthodox then tells him, that he [h] dislikes the addition which his friends had made, and that he could prove it to be an addition of theirs. There does not then appear to be sufficient reason to consider that Formulary as Lucian's.

V. This brings us at length to a difficult question, which cannot well be omitted, relating to Lucian's belief in the Trinity. We have seen divers testimonies very favourable to him in Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerom, Rufinus, Sozomen. His edition of the Seventy was esteemed by many. His memory was honoured by Constantine and others; nor is there in Jerom or Atha-

Sapientiam suam misit in hunc mundum carne vestitam, quæ nos doceret Deum, qui cœlum fecit et terram, non in manufactis, sed in æternis atque invisibilibus, requirendum. Vitæ enim nobis leges, ac disciplinæ præcepta constituit; servare parsimoniam, paupertate gaudere, mansuetudinem colere, studere pati, puritatem cordis complecti, patientiam custodire. Sed et omnia hæc, quæ nunc adversum nos geritis, ventura nobis esse prædixit; educendos nos ad reges, et ante tribunalia judicum statuendos, ac velut victimam jugulandos. Inde est denique, quod et ipse qui erat immortalis, utpote Verbum et Sapientia Dei, mortì se præbuit, quo nobis in corpore positus patientiæ præberet exemplum. Sed nec nos suâ morte decepit, quibus post tertium diem resurrexit: non, ut ista, quæ nunc falso conscribuntur, continent Acta Pilati; sed innocens, immaculatus et purus, ad hoc solum mortem suscepit, ut eam vinceret resurgendo. Quæ autem dico, non sunt in obscuro gesta loco, nec testibus indigent. Pars pene jam mundi major huic veritati adstipulatur, urbes integræ. Eus. H. E. Vers. Ruf. l. ix. c. 6. p. 202.

[a] Præterea, brevis fidei formula——exstat apud Athanasium de Synodis——T. i. p. 892, et Socratem. ii. 10, quamque Synodi Antiochenæ (A. C. 341) patres, Luciani esse affirmant, apud Sozomenum, iii. 5. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 279.

[b] Tum ille, datâ sibi facultate dicendi, hujusmodi orationem de fide nostrâ habuisse dicitur. Rufin. ubi supr.

[c] Def. Fid. Nic. cap. 3. sect. ii. n. 6.

[d] Ελεγον δε ταυτην την πιστιν ὁλογραφον εὑρηκεναι Λουκιανε, —ποτερον δε αληθως ταυτα εφασαν, η την ιδιαν γραφην σεμνοποιουντες τῳ ἀξιωματι τε μαρτυρος, λεγειν εκ εχω. Sozom. l. iii. c. 5. p. 503. A.

[e] De Synod. T. i. p. 735, 736.

[f] Hilar. de Synod. p. 1168, 1169, Conf. ib. not. [k] p. 1168, Ed. Bened.

[g] Socrat. l. ii. c. 10.

[h] Κατεγνων της προσθηκης, ἡς προσεθηκατε· και εχω δειξαι, ὁτι προσεθηκατε εναντια αυτης. De S. Trin. Dial. iii. ap. Athan. T. ii. p. 507. B. Ed. Bened.

nasius any censure passed upon his faith. Who could have thought that there should be any reason to doubt whether Lucian was orthodox? and yet it is questioned: for Arius concludes his letter [a] to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, calling him Collucianist: the reason of which seems to be what is said by Epiphanius, that [b] Lucian and Eusebius had lived together in Nicomedia: and Arius I think must have supposed them of one opinion, and of the same opinion with himself. Epiphanius in his Anchoret says, that [c] Lucian and all the Lucianists denied that the Son of God took a soul, and taught that he took flesh only. Again, in the same work, he speaks [d] of the Lucianists and Arians as one sect: and in his Panarium, in his article of the old Lucianists, he distinguisheth [e] between the ancient Lucian, follower of Marcion, and Lucian who lived, he says, in the time of Constantine, whom the Arians call a martyr, and who was inclined to the Arian heresy. According to [f] Philostorgius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and others of the chief of the Arians, were disciples of Lucian; Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nice, Leontius of Antioch, Asterius the sophist, and others; which induced Du Pin to say that all the heads of that party were Lucian's disciples: and, not to add any thing more, Alexander in his letter to his namesake of Constantinople says, that '[g] Lucian, succeeding [or following] Paul 'of Samosata, remained for a long time, during three bishops, excommunicated,' or separated from the church: those three bishops are supposed to be [h] Domnus, Timæus, and Cyril; which last was succeeded by [i] Tyrannus.

Learned men are not agreed in their interpretation of those words; some supposing them to mean that [k] Lucian, following the sentiments of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, separated himself from the communion of the church: others, that [l] he was by three successive bishops excluded from communion. It is, however, the general opinion of learned moderns, that Lucian did not always continue separated, or excommunicated: they agree in supposing that [m] those words of Alexander afford reason to conclude that Lucian returned, or was restored to the catholic communion before his death; and probably, in the beginning of the episcopate of Tyrannus, who [n] succeeded Cyril about the year 297, near the end of the third century, or however before Dioclesian's persecution, which began in February 303.

That passage of Alexander would lead us to think that Lucian was in the sentiments, or at least in the interests, of Paul of Samosata; and [o] that for some reasons he greatly disliked the act of the council which deposed Paul. And there are other things which may be reckoned of some moment: for in the former part of the Creed ascribed to Lucian there are some expressions which seem over-orthodox; insomuch that bishop Bull [p] could not forbear to say, they are stronger than any used by the council of Nice: and, if so, others may be apt to conclude they must be Sabellian; though in the latter part of the same Creed [q] are expressions favourable to

[a] συλλελκιανισται, ἀληθως Εὐσεβιε. ap. Epiph. H. 69. p. 732. A.

[b] —— ἁμα Λεκιανῳ εν Νικομηδειᾳ συμβεβιωκως. Epiph. ib. p. 730. B.

[c] Λεκιανος γαρ, και παντες Λεκιανισται αρνενται τον υἱον τε Θεε ψυχην ειληφεναι· σαρκα μεν μονον φασιν εσχηκεναι. κ. λ. Epiph. Ancor. n. xxxiii. T. ii. p. 38. C.

[d] Ib. n. xxxv. p. 40. D.

[e] Λεκιανος τις αρχαιος, εκ ὁ γυν εν χρονοις Κωνσταντινε τε γεροντος γεγονως, ὁν ὁηθεν οἱ Αρειανοι εν μαρτυσιν επιψηφιζονται· ην γαρ και ἑτος ὁ Λεκιανος, φημι, προσανεχων τῃ των Αρειανων αἱρεσει. Epiph. H. 43. n. i. p. 378.

[f] Ὁτι τοτε τε μαρτυρος πολλες μεν και αλλες μαθητας αναγραφει, οἱς και Ευσεβιον τον Νικομηδειας, και Μαριν τον Χαλκηδονος, κ. λ. Philost. l. ii. c. xiv. p. 475. A. Vid. ib. c. 12, 13, p. 474, et c. 3, p. 470.

[g] Ὁν διαβεβαμενος Λεκιανος αποσυναγωγος εμεινε τριων επισκοπων πολυετεις χρονες. Alex. ap. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 4. p. 15. B.

[h] Vid. Hieron. Chr. p. 176, 177.

[i] Antiochiæ decimus nonus constituitur episcopus Tyrannus. ib. p. 179.

[k] Causa itaque schismatis Luciani fuit doctrina Pauli Samosateni, quam defendebat; cujus gratiâ diu separavit se a tribus episcopis Antiochenis, Domno scilicet, Timæo, ac Cyrillo, qui sibi invicem successere. Pagi Ann. 311, n. xi. Cæterum hujus verbi αποσυναγωγος εμεινε, κ. λ. vim non intellexere interpretes, quos secutus Baronius scribit, Lucianum a tribus episcopis sibi continue succedentibus, ecclesiâ ejectum fuisse. Atqui hoc non dicit Alexander, sed tantum ait, Lucianum schisma fecisse in Antiochensi ecclesiâ, et sub tribus episcopis sibi continue succedentibus Collectas seorsum celebrâsse. Id. enim significat vox αποσυναγωγος. Id. ib. n. xii.

[l] Paulo Samosateno succedens Lucianus ecclesiasticâ societate trium episcoporum segregatus pluribus annis permansit.—— Hanc Alexandri esse mentem nobis persuasissimum.—— Αποσυναγωγος εμεινε, non actum hominis se separantis, sed passivam potius ejectionem significat, &c. Basnag. Ann. 312. n. xxiii. Conf. Tillem. S. Lucien. Not. 3, p. 405.

[m] Tandem vero ad unitatem ecclesiæ reversus est Lucianus, ut ex Alexandro colligitur. Pagi Ann. 311, n. xii. Extra dubium igitur est, Lucianum in errorem incidisse, ex quo tamen, Deo favente, tandem emersisse putamus. Basn. ubi supra.

[n] See Tillem. in St. Lucien, p. 149. and note 4, Mem. T. v. P. iii.

[o] See before, vol. i. p. 627.

[p] Imo pene ausim affirmare, absolutam Filii divinitatem aliquâtenus in Lucianæo Symbolo efficacius et significantius exprimi, quam in ipso Nicæno. Quippe verba illa, Deum ex Deo, totum ex toto, perfectum ex perfecto, quæ confessionis Lucianææ sunt, perfectam Filii divinitatem, et æqualem paternæ naturam, disertius annuntiant, quam ista Nicæni Symboli, &c. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 146.

[q] Των ονοματων εχ ἁπλως, εδε αργων κειμενων, αλλα σημαινοντων ακριβως την ἰδιαν εκαστε των ονομαζομενων ὑποστασιν τε και δοξαν και ταξιν· ὡς ειναι τῃ μεν ὑποστασει τριᾳ, τῃ δε συμφωνια εν. ap. Socr. l. iii. c. 10. p. 88. A.

Arianism; which may be what the Orthodox Christian, in the Dialogue before [illegible], calls an addition, and says is contrary to Lucian's Creed: meaning, perhaps, the [illegible] of it. Moreover, it may be thought by some that Lucian, in the speech preserved by [illegible], speaks not of the Word, or Logos, as a distinct person, but only as the wisdom of God.

But how shall we reconcile this with the high esteem paid to Lucian by the Arians of the fourth century? For certainly Paulianism, or Sabellianism, and Arianism, are very different: it would likewise be hard to conceive how Eusebius, who was exceedingly averse to the Sabellian scheme, should say that Lucian was an excellent man in all respects.

Upon the whole, it is very difficult to reconcile the accounts concerning Lucian, or to determine where his fault lay, if he was guilty of any. As the Arians in general, and many catholics of the fourth century, shewed a great regard to the name of Lucian, some may be apt to infer, there must have been two persons of that name; but that is an opinion which does not seem to be at all countenanced by antiquity; and we are, I think, obliged to suppose one and the same person to be intended all along.

VI. Whether Lucian's opinion concerning the Trinity, particularly concerning the Word, was the same with that which is now reckoned orthodox, or not, which is a point not easily decided; we have seen other accounts of him which are unquestioned: and all must be satisfied that he was a pious, learned and diligent man; that he believed Jesus to be a divine teacher and the Christ. Lucian made out an edition both of the Old and the New Testament: Jerom indeed does not commend this last, Lucian having admitted into his copies some readings and passages which he did not reckon genuine: as this is the only fault found by Jerom, it may be concluded that the work was unexceptionable in other respects; or at least that Lucian's canon of the scriptures of the New Testament was much the same with that of other Christians.

And every serious reader, I presume, has with joy observed this additional testimony to the truth of the Christian religion, which this presbyter of Antioch asserted and adorned by the virtues and literary labours of his life, and by a death worthy of praise.

CHAP. LIX.

PAMPHILUS, PRESBYTER OF CÆSAREA.

I. His history, and testimonies to him. II. An account of some others who suffered martyrdom about the same time with Pamphilus. III. Of the library erected by Pamphilus at Cæsarea. IV. An edition of the Seventy by him and Eusebius from Origen's Hexapla. V. Books transcribed from others in that library, still remaining. VI. A school said to be set up by him at Cæsarea. VII. His Apology for Origen. VIII. Contents of the Acts of the apostles, composed by Pamphilus, or Euthalius. IX. His character. X. Critical remarks upon pretended acts of his passion.

I. PAMPHILUS [b] a presbyter, friend of Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, had such an affection for the [c] divine library, [or had such a desire to form a well-furnished ecclesiastical library,] that

[a] Though I have argued as above, I certainly do not take any part of the Creed ascribed to Lucian to be his.

[b] Pamphilus presbyter, Eusebii Cæsariensis episcopi necessarius, tanto bibliothecæ divinæ amore flagravit, ut maximam partem Origenis voluminum suâ manu descripserit, quæ usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ habentur. Sed et in duodecim prophetas viginti quinque ἐξηγητῶν volumina manu ejus exarata repperi, quæ tanto amplector et servo gaudio, ut Crœsi opes habere me credam. Si enim lætitia est unam epistolam habere martyris, quanto magis tot millia versuum, quæ mihi videtur sui sanguinis sigillasse vestigiis? Scripsit, antequam Eusebius scriberet, Apologeticum pro Origene, et passus est Cæsareæ Palæstinæ sub persecutione Maximini. Hier. de V. I. c. 75.

[c] —— had such an affection for the divine library.] That is a literal translation, but the meaning is not very obvious. The phrase occurs again in the chapter of Eusebius, who, as Jerom there says, was very studious in the scriptures, and with Pamphilus a diligent searcher of the divine library: in scripturis studiosissimus, et bibliothecæ divinæ, cum Pamphilo martyre, diligentissimus pervestigator. Upon both those places Fabricius says, that thereby is to be understood the sacred scriptures; and refers to Martianay's Prolegomena to the first tome of St. Jerom's works. Cave understood the phrase in the same manner; for speaking of Pamphilus he says: Tanto erga divinas literas studio exarsit, ut bibliothecam Cæsareæ exstruxerit. Hist. Lit. And Trithemius de Ser.

'he wrote out with his own hand the greatest part of Origen's works, which are still in the 'library of Cæsarea; and besides I have met with five-and-twenty volumes of Origen's Com- 'mentaries upon the twelve prophets in his hand-writing; which I value and keep as if I had 'the treasures of Crœsus. For if it be a pleasure to possess one single epistle of a martyr, how 'much more must it be to have so many thousand lines, which he seems to me to have marked 'with the traces of his blood? He wrote before Eusebius of Cæsarea an Apology for Origen, 'and suffered at Cæsarea in Palestine in the persecution of Maximin.'

So writes Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers. I have placed this at the beginning as a summary of the life of this excellent person: I shall add more from him, as well as from other ancient writers, presently.

Pamphilus flourished, according to Cave, about the year 294; he was put into prison in the year 307, and accomplished his martyrdom [a] in 309. Eusebius, speaking of Pamphilus, and some others, says they suffered after they had been imprisoned [b] two whole years; but it is supposed by learned moderns that [c] Pamphilus lay in prison only a year and some months, from the latter end of the year 307 to the 16th of February 309.

In the Acts of Pamphilus, in Simeon Metaphrastes, which [d] Valesius supposed to be taken from Eusebius, and Tillemont [e] allows to be in the main right, it is said that [f] Pamphilus was a native of Berytus, and there received the first rudiments of learning: and in Photius he is said to have been educated by [g] Pierius. For my own part, I think that neither of these accounts is to be relied upon: but, admitting the truth of them, it must be supposed, I think, that Pamphilus having made some progress in learning at Berytus, his native city, afterwards completed his studies at Alexandria, and then settled at Cæsarea, where he certainly resided a great part of his life.

From this person Eusebius received [h] the surname of Pamphilus, or Pamphili. In the

Ec. c. 47. Pamphilus——tantos eo tempore apud Cæsaream libros amore Scripturarum congregavit, ut in omni tempore nulla bibliotheca celebrior extiterit. Honorius, c. 76, et 82, copies Jerom exactly, and therefore is of no service to us. Sophronius translates literally, Θειας βιβλιοθηκης. Martianay, to whom Fabricius refers, says: Apud veteres bibliothecæ divinæ nomen obtinebant sacra volumina, quæ nunc temporis Biblia vocamus. Proleg. i. n. 1. But his proofs are not sufficient; his examples are not very numerous; one of them is that above concerning Eusebius. I here take notice of another of them: Eodem sensu Hieronymus Ep. 89. ad Augustinum, vetus instrumentum, seu volumina ejusdem vocat ecclesiarum bibliothecas. Vis, inquit, amator esse verus septuaginta interpretum? Non legas ea quæ sub asteriscis sunt, imo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris: vix enim unus aut alter liber invenitur, qui ista non habeat. But I think the phrase ought there to be understood in its own natural sense, to denote the libraries of the churches, containing copies of the Old and New Testament. All churches had copies of the scriptures, and the repositories in which they were lodged might be called libraries: besides, some churches had large collections of books, and many copies of the scriptures; as the churches at Jerusalem and Cæsarea: which last library, as Jerom expressly says in a passage to be cited by and by, was dedicated to that church by Pamphilus. Such a library there was likewise at Hippoo in Africa in Augustine's time: Ecclesiæ bibliothecam, omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper jubebat. Possid. in Vit. Aug. c. 31. And the word is used of the repository of a church which could not have it in many books. Posteaquam perventum est in bibliothecam, inventa sunt ibi armaria inania. Act. Purgat. Cæcil. ap. Du Pin. Optat. p. 168, a. f. There is another passage of Jerom, where, as I think, the phrase ought to be interpreted in the same manner: Revolve omnium, quos supra memoravi, commentarios, et ecclesiarum bibliothecis fruere, et magis concitato gradu ad optata cœptaque pervenies. Ad Pamm. ep. 31, [al. 52,] p. 244. in. Farther, if by the divine library we understand the sacred scriptures, we shall charge Jerom with a trifling tautology in his chapter of Eusebius: and it is observable that Jerom, commending ancient Christian writers, often mentions their diligence in studying the scriptures, or their skill in them, and always speaks plainly; but never useth this phrase, except in the chapters of Pamphilus and Eusebius: probably therefore he refers to their care in furnishing the library at Cæsarea, which consisted of copies of the scriptures, and commentaries upon them, and other works of Christian writers, as well as works of profane authors. A passage of Jerom in a letter to Marcella, speaking of that library, leads us directly to this sense, Beatus Pamphilus, quum Demetrium——in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare,——**tunc vel maxime** Origenis libros impensius prosequutus, **Cæsariensi ecclesiæ** dedicavit. Ad Marcell. T. ii. col. 711. In my edition of Moreri's Dictionary, which is called the tenth, printed in 1717, the article of Pamphilus begins in this manner: S. Pamphile, ——avoit tant d'amour pour les livres, qu'il recueillet une très-belle bibliothéque. St. Pamphilus was so great a lover of books, that he collected a very handsome library; which, in short, I think, is what Jerom intends to say; that 'Pamphi- 'lus was so ambitious of making a numerous collection of 'authors, and especially of having a large and well furnished 'library of Christian ecclesiastical writings, that he spared no 'cost or pains to obtain his end, and even wrote out with his 'own hand many copies of such books.' Therefore, finally, the connection confirms my interpretation.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. in Pamphilo. Ruinart Acta Mart. p. 323, 324, 325.

[b] Τελοις επι της ειρκτης ετων δυειν ὁλων χρονον καταπρψασιν. Eus. de Mart. Pal. c. 11, p. 337. A.

[c] See Tillem. Mem. T. v. P. iii. S. Pamphile, p. 68. et note iii. [d] Vid. Vales. Ann. in Eus. p. 179, 180.

[e] Tillem. ib. p. 55.

[f] Atque ortus quidem erat ex Berytensium civitate, ubi in primâ ætate educatus fuit in illis, quæ illic erant, studiis literariis. Ex Sim. Met. ap. Vales. ib. p. 180. Conf. Fabric. Hippol. T. ii. p. 220. m.

[g] Vid. Phot. Cod. 118, f. et 119, in. p. 300.

[h] ὁ τε ἱερος Παμφιλος, και ὁ ἐξ αυτου χρηματιζων Ευσεβιος. Socr. l. iii. c. 7. p. 175. B. Γεγονε δε και τοις Παμφιλε τε

chapter before cited Jerom calls Pamphilus Eusebius's friend; he mentions [illegible] in [a]. the chapter of Eusebius himself: and in another place he says that [b] these two persons seemed to have but one soul.

Eusebius, the survivor, has given many testimonies of sincere respect for the memory of his friend: and, as he was to the last an admirer of his virtues, we may reasonably take him an imitator of them: he appears to have esteemed that friendship the chief happiness of his life; it is likely he improved by it. Indeed there are in Eusebius's remaining works divers most agreeable and affecting passages concerning this holy man; which therefore I intend to transcribe largely, and sometimes with the connection.

The thirty-second chapter of the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History is entitled, 'Of 'such Ecclesiastical men as have flourished in our time, and who of them lived to the demolition 'of the churches;' meaning the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. After the mention of several, he says: 'At [c] Cæsarea in Palestine, after Theotecnus succeeded Agapius, who, as we 'well know, was extremely laborious, and very solicitous for the welfare of his people, and 'bountiful to the poor. In his time was Pamphilus, a [d] man of good understanding, a philosopher 'in word and deed, presbyter of that church, with whom we had the honour to be acquainted: 'but to write of him is a copious subject; and we have already in a distinct work related the 'whole history of his life and conversation, [or, and [e] of the school erected by him,] and of his 'fortitude in several confessions during the persecution, and lastly the martyrdom with which he was crowned: indeed, Pamphilus was the most admirable person in that church.

In another chapter and book of the same work, speaking of the most illustrious martyrs in several countries in the time of the forementioned persecution: 'Among [f] these must not be 'omitted the great glory of the church of Cæsarea, the presbyter Pamphilus, the most admirable 'person of our time, whose glorious magnanimity and patience we have represented in another 'place.'

In his book of the History of the Martyrs of Palestine, relating many cruel torments inflicted on the Christians by the Roman president at Cæsarea, in the year of Christ 307: 'And others,' says [g] Eusebius, he thrust into prison, after he had tormented them in the most shameful manner: 'of this number was Pamphilus, my dearest friend, on account of his eminent virtue the most 'renowned martyr of our age. Urbanus, having first made trial of his knowledge by divers 'questions of rhetoric and philosophy and polite literature, required him to sacrifice; when he 'saw that Pamphilus refused to obey his orders, and despised all his threatenings, he commanded 'that he should be tortured in the severest manner: when he had again and again raked his 'sides with his torturing irons, the cruel wretch, being as it were satiated with his flesh, though 'he had gained nothing but vexation and dishonour, ordered him to be had away to the rest of 'the confessors in prison.'

And afterwards: 'But [h] it is time to give an account of the most glorious spectacle of those 'who were perfected by martyrdom together with Pamphilus, whose memory must always be 'precious to me: they were in all twelve, and were honoured with a resemblance of the prophets, 'or rather the apostles, both in grace and number; the chief of whom was Pamphilus, and the 'only one who had the honour of the presbyter's office at Cæsarea; a man, who, throughout his 'whole life, excelled in every virtue; in contempt and renunciation of this world, in liberality 'to the indigent, in disregard of all earthly honours and preferments to which he might have 'aspired, and in an abstemious philosophical course of life: but he was especially eminent and 'remarkable above all men of our time for [i] an unfeigned zeal for the holy scriptures, and for 'unwearied application in whatever he undertook; whether it were kind offices to his friends, or 'to others who sought his aid: but a fuller account of these, and his other virtues and services,

ιερομαρτυρος αρετης διαπυρος εραστης· δι' ην αιτιαν φασι τινες αυτον και της τυ Παμφιλυ επωνυμιας μετεσχηκεναι. Phot. Cod. 13, p. 12, m.

[a] Ob amicitiam Pamphili martyris ab eo cognomentum sortitus est. De V. I. c. 81.

[b] Eusebius et Pamphilus tantam inter se habuere concordiam, ut unius animæ homines putes, et ab uno alter nomen acceperit. Hier. de Err. Orig. ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41, [al. 65] T. iv. p. 347, f.

[c] H. E. l. vii. c. 32, p. 288. C. D.

[d] Or, a most eloquent man; ελλογιμωτατον. Virum disertissimum. Vales. Vers.

[e] εκαστα δε τυ κατ' αυτον ζηυ και της συνεστησατο διατριβης. Singula, quæ ad illius vitam et ad scholam ab eodem constitutam pertinent. Vales. Vers.

[f] l. viii. c. 13, p. 308. B.

[g] De Martyr. Palæst. c. 7. p. 329. A. B.

[h] ib. cap. xi. p. 336. A. B. C.

[i] τη περι τα θεια λογια γνησιωτατη σπυδη. ib. B.

'has been already given by us in a distinct work of three books, comprising the history of his 'life. At present we go on with our narration concerning the martyrs.'

That work to our great grief is lost: but there is a passage of it in Jerom, which I shall here transcribe: 'Eusebius, [a] the friend and admirer and constant companion of Pamphilus wrote 'three excellent books containing the life of Pamphilus; in which, as he greatly commends him 'on other accounts, so he particularly extols his humility: and in the third of those books he 'writes after this manner: What studious person was not a friend of Pamphilus? if he saw any 'in straits, he gave bountifully as he was able. He not only lent out copies of the sacred scriptures 'to be read, but cheerfully gave them to be kept; and that not only to men, but to women like-'wise, whom he found disposed to read. For which reason he took care to have by him many 'copies of the scriptures, that, when there should be occasion, he might furnish those who were 'willing to make use of them: but of his own he wrote nothing, except letters to friends; so 'great was his humility: but he diligently read the works of ancient authors, and was con-'tinually meditating upon them.'

II. I shall here insert a passage or two concerning some other persons who suffered with Pamphilus, or soon after, and resembled him in a high regard for the sacred scriptures: our narration is thereby somewhat interrupted, but it will be easily excused.

The first of those passages immediately follows that above cited, which concluded with those [b] words: 'At present we go on with our relation concerning the martyrs.'

'The [c] second person,' says Eusebius, 'and next after Pamphilus, who entered the combat, 'was Valens, a deacon of [d] Ælia, an old man of grey hairs and venerable aspect, exceedingly [e] 'well skilled in the divine scriptures: and they were so fixed in his memory that there was no 'discernible difference between his reading and reciting them by heart, though it were whole 'pages together.'

That person suffered with Pamphilus. The other passage which I would allege relates to a martyr in 310, who suffered in company with Silvanus, bishop of Gaza, who [f] in the year 307 had the flexures of his feet seared with hot irons at Cæsarea, and was then with nine-and-thirty others, sent [g] to work in the copper mines at a place in Palestine called Phæno; where he continued till he was beheaded. Their martyrdom, in 310, is related by Eusebius in this manner: 'The [h] first of these was Silvanus, a truly religious man, and a complete model of Christianity; 'of whom it may be said, that, having from the first day of the persecution signalized himself in 'various and almost continual confessions and combats, he was reserved to this time to be as 'it were the seal of the [i] combat in Palestine. With him there were many others from Egypt; 'and among them was John, who in strength of memory surpassed all men of our time: he had 'before lost his eyesight; nevertheless in the confessions he had made, when the flexures of one 'of his feet were seared, as [k] those of others were, his eyes likewise, though already deprived of 'sight, were burned with the searing irons: such was the cruelty and inhumanity of those exe-'cutioners! It is needless to enlarge upon his virtue and philosophical course of life. What was

[a] Ipse enim Eusebius amator et præco et contubernalis Pamphili tres libros scripsit elegantissimos, vitam Pamphili continentes: in quibus quum cætera miris laudibus prædicaret, humilitatem ejus ferret in cœlum, etiam hoc in tertio libro addidit: Quis studiosorum amicus non fuit Pamphili? Si quos videbat ad victum necessariis indigere, præbebat large quæ poterat. Scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum, sed ad habendum, tribuebat promptissime; nec solum viris, sed et feminis, quas vidisset lectioni deditas. Unde et multos codices præparabat, ut, quum necessitas proposcisset, volentibus largiretur. Et ipse quidem proprii operis nihil omnino scripsit, exceptis epistolis, quas ad amicos forte mittebat: in tantum se humilitate dejecerat. Veterum autem tractatus scriptorum legebat studiosissime, et in eorum meditatione jugiter versabatur. Hieron. adv. Ruf. col. 357, 359, T. iv. Ed. Bened. [b] See above.

[c] De Mart. Pal. c. 11, p. 336. C. D.

[d] Ælia: that is, Jerusalem; or the city just by it, so called by Adrian. And the name of Jerusalem was now so lost and forgotten, that when one of these martyrs, being examined by the president of Palestine concerning his native place, answered, that his city was Jerusalem, meaning the heavenly Jerusalem: the president, not knowing any such place, was thrown into surprise, and very solicitously sought to know where it lay, thinking it to be some city where Christians were numerous, and might be formidable. See Eus. p. 337, 338. [e] *των θειων γραφων ει και τις αλλος επιστημων.*

[f] *——επι της αυτης πολεως τος αμφι Σιλβανον——τοις εις το αυτο χαλκω μεταλλον πονοις ὁ αυτος εκκριτει· καυτηρσι προτερον των ποδων τας αγκυλας αυτοις προσαξας.* De M. P. cap. 7, p. 328. C.

[g] *——των δε επι Παλαιστινης μαρτυρων, Σιλβανος επισκοπος των αμφι την Γαζαν εκκλησιων, κατα τα εν Φαινοι χαλκω μεταλλα συν ἑτεροις ἑνος δεουσι των αριθμον τεσσαρακοντα, την κεφαλην αποτεμνεται.* H. E. l. viii. c. 13, p. 308. B.

[h] *——ευλαβες τι χρημα και γνησιον υποδειγμα Χριστιανισμου φερων. κ. λ.* De Mar. Pal. c. 12, p. 343. D. 344.

[i] *ὡς αν ὑστατον γενοιτο παντος του κατα Παλαιστινην αγωνος επισφραγισμα.* ib. p. 343. D.

[k] That severity of searing the sinews of the left foot, or leg, and searing the right eye, was practised upon great numbers of confessors by Firmilian, president of Cæsarea, successor of Urbanus, who put Pamphilus into prison. Vid. Eus. de Mart. Pal. c. 8, p. 330. B. C.

'most remarkable in him was the strength of his memory: he had whole books of the divine 'scriptures, not written in tables of stone, as the apostle's expression is, nor on parchments and 'papers, which are devoured by moths and time, but on the fleshly living tables of his 'heart, even his pure and enlightened mind: insomuch, that whenever he pleased, he brought 'out, as from a treasury of knowledge, sometimes the books of Moses, at other times those of 'the prophets, or some sacred history, sometimes the gospels, sometimes the epistles of apostles. 'I must own,' says Eusebius, 'that I was much surprised the first time I saw him: he was in 'the midst of a large congregation, reciting a portion of scripture; whilst I only heard his voice, 'I thought he was reading, as is common in our assemblies; but when I came near, and saw this 'person, who had no other light but that of the mind, instructing like a prophet those whose 'bodily eyes were clear and perfect, I could not forbear to praise and glorify God.'

III. Pamphilus erected a library at Cæsarea: Eusebius mentions it in his Ecclesiastical History. He is speaking of the time of several of Origen's works, and of the places where they were composed: [a] But, says [b] he, 'what need I attempt to give here an exact catalogue of the 'works of that great man, when it has been already done in the life we have written of the 'blessed martyr Pamphilus? Where, [c] shewing the zeal of Pamphilus for the interest of religion '[or [d] for the sacred scriptures,] we gave lists of the works of Origen, and of other ecclesiastical 'writers collected by him, and placed in his library.'

Jerom insinuates that [e] in the third book of that work Eusebius inserted a catalogue of all Origen's works; whereas Eusebius's own words just cited seem not to imply a complete catalogue, but such works only of Origen as were in the library at Cæsarea.

Jerom has several times mentioned that library: he seems to me to refer to it [f] in the two chapters of Pamphilus himself and Eusebius, when he speaks of the divine library. But not now to insist on those passages, in his article of St. Matthew he says [h] that his Hebrew gospel was still in the library at Cæsarea, which Pamphilus had collected with great care. In another place he speaks of the gospel according to the Hebrews, as [i] being in that library: in the same work, (his book Of Illustrious Men,) in the article of Euzoius, bishop of Cæsarea, about 366, he says, 'that Euzoius had with abundance of pains repaired the library of Origen and Pamphilus, 'which was fallen to decay.' In a letter to Marcella, Jerom commends this design of Pamphilus, and compares his library with the more ancient celebrated libraries of Demetrius Phalereus and Pisistratus. He there speaks again of the care of Euzoius; and likewise of Acacius, the immediate successor of Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea, in repairing this library: and he says that Pamphilus dedicated the books of Origen, which he had collected at great expense, to the church of Cæsarea; whence perhaps it may be inferred that this was a public library: and indeed we know, from Jerom himself, that [m] he had the use of some books lodged in it.

[a] ——ὅλας βίβλους τῶν θείων γραφῶν. ib. p. 344 A.

[b] Eus. l. vi. c. 32, p. 231. A. B.

[c] ——ἐν ᾗ τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδὴν τε Παμφίλου ὁπόση τις γεγονὼς παρίστωντες, τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ τῶν τε Ὠριγένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τὸς πίνακας παρεθέμεθα. ib. p. 231. B.

[d] So Valesius translates: Ubi cum probare vellemus, quantum Pamphili studium erga divinas literas fuisset,——

[e] Numera indices librorum ejus, qui in tertio volumine Eusebii, in quo scripsit vitam Pamphili, continentur: et non dico sex millia, sed tertiam partem non invenies. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 419. in.

[f] Compare this with what is said in the chapter of Origen, Vol. II. ch. xxxviii. numb. i.

[g] See before, p. 116, note [c].

[h] Porrò ipsum Hebraïcum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ, quam Pamphilus, martyr studiosissime confecit. De V. I. c. 3.

[i] In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaïco quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraïcis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxtâ Matthæum, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliothecâ. Adv. Pelag. l. iii. T. iv. col. 533, m.

[k] ——plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est. De V. I. c. 113.

[l] Beatus Pamphilus martyr, cujus vitam Eusebius Cæsariensis tribus ferme voluminibus explicavit, quum Demetrium Phalereum et Pisistratum in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare, imaginesque ingeniorum, quæ vera sunt et æterna monumenta, toto orbe perquireret, tunc vel maximè Origenis libros impensius prosequutus, Cæsariensi ecclesiæ dedicavit: quam ex parte corruptam Acacius, dehinc et Euzoius, ejusdem ecclesiæ sacerdotes, in membranis instaurare curati sunt. Ad Marcell. inter Ep. Crit. T. ii. p. 711. in. [al. Ep. 141.] Conf. Ruf. ap. Hieron. T. iv. col. 426, f. 428, in.

[m] Præterea quintam et sextam et septimam editionem, quas etiam nos de ejus bibliothecâ habemus, miro labore reperit, et cum cæteris editionibus comparavit. De V. I. c. 54. Unde et nobis curæ fuit omnes veteris Legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Cæsariensi bibliothecâ descriptos ex ipsis authenticis emendare. Id. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. iii. T. iv. P. i. col. 437. In quod secundo dicitur, non sic, in Hebræis voluminibus non habetur: sed nec in ipsis quidem LXX. interpretibus. Nam in exemplis Origenis in Cæsariensi bibliotheca legens, semel tantum scriptum inveni. In Ps. prim. T. ii. P. ii. col. 123. in. Postea vero per interpretationem quam quæstione contra Origenem toto orbe commotâ, in quærendis exemplaribus diligentior fui; et in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ Eusebii sex volumina reperi Ἀπολογίας ὑπὲρ Ὠριγένους. Adv. Ruf. T. iv. col. 447, f.

IV. There was a joint labour of Pamphilus and Eusebius in publishing a correct edition of the Greek version of the Seventy from Origen's Hexapla, which I have already taken notice of in the chapter of [a] Lucian. Huet is of opinion, that [b] before this there was no separate edition of the Seventy according to Origen's emendations. Undoubtedly, this was a signal service for the church of Christ; the benefit of Origen's immense labour was rendered more extensive; and, if their edition was not the first, it was the most exact.

V. There are still extant in the curious collections of Europe memorials of this library of Pamphilus, and traces of his and Eusebius's labour in transcribing or correcting copies of the scriptures or other books.

In the Jesuits' college at Paris, [c] is a beautiful manuscript of the prophets, supposed [d] to have been written in the eighth century. In that manuscript, as Montfauçon assures us, there is before the book of Ezekiel a note to this purpose: 'This [e] was taken from a copy in such a 'place, in which copy was written: "Transcribed from the Hexapla containing the translations; 'and corrected by Origen's own Tetrapla, which also had emendations and scholia in his own 'hand-writing. I Eusebius added scholia;' Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected."'

Huet, speaking of this same manuscript, in one place [f] says, that note is at the end of Jeremiah; in [g] another, before Ezechiel. I have put his words at the bottom of the page.

In the French king's library, as we are informed by Montfauçon, is [h] a very ancient manuscript, written in the fifth or sixth century, containing part of St. Paul's epistles. It seems, he says, to have been written in Palestine, or Syria: for the transcriber says, in a note at the end, that he had compared his copy with another in the library of Cæsarea, in the hand-writing of Pamphilus: which therefore must have been done before that library was quite destroyed, as it was before the middle of the seventh century. In that MS. the epistle to the Hebrews appears as St. Paul's. 'The order is [i] this: To the Romans, the first and second to the Corinthians, to 'the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians; first and second to the 'Thessalonians, to the Hebrews, first and second to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon.' That learned writer has given us that curious note of the transcriber beforementioned in the ancient letters of the manuscript. I place it at the bottom of the page in the letters now commonly used: 'This [k] book was compared with the copy in the library at Cæsarea, in the hand-writing 'of saint Pamphilus.'

[a] See p. 111.

[b] Apud multos hanc opinionem percrebuisse video, Origenem, quo parabilior esset emendata a se editio seniorum Septuaginta, edidisse eam seorsum, et ex ingenti Hexaplorum mole exemisse.——Probabilior mihi videtur sententia I. B. Morini, ——editionem illam των ὁ ex Origenianis Hexaplis descriptam ab Eusebio et Pamphilo, et primum evulgatam arbitrantis, juxta illud Hieronymi in Præf. ad Paralip. ad Chromatium: ——Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Nam, cum frequenter exscriberentur exemplà in ecclesiarum, doctorumque hominum usum, novis in dies deformabantur sordium inquinamentis. Degenerante ergo magis magisque hac editione, restituere eam conati sunt Eusebius et Pamphilus, ex ipso αυτογραφῳ, quod erat in Cæsariensi Bibliothecâ: restitutam vero et seorsum magnâ diligentiâ descriptam publicaverunt. Atque ea editio Palæstina dicta est. Huet. Orig. l. iii. c. 2, p. 261.

[c] Vetustissimum, pulcherrimumque codicem Prophetarum. ——Mont. Præf. in Hex. Orig. p. 4.

[d] Hæc porro omnia discimus ex Notis Codicis Marchaliani, nunc R. R. P. P. Jesuitarum Collegii Ludovici Magni, quas adtulimus supra p. 14. Ille vero Codex sæculo circiter viii. ut ex characteris forma existimatur, ad fidem exemplaris Apollinarii exscriptus est. Montf. Prælim. in Hex. Orig. cap. 11. sect. iv.

[e] Deinde vero ante Ezechielem hæc nota legitur:

'Desumptus est [Ezechiel] ab Exemplari Abbatis Apolli-
'narii, Cœnobiarchæ, in quo hæc subjiciuntur: Exscriptus est
'ab Hexaplis editiones complectentibus: et correctus est ad
'fidem Tetraplorum Origenis, quæ etiam manu ejus emen-
'data et scholiis illustrata erant. Ego Eusebius scholia adjeci.
'Pamphilus et Eusebius correxerunt.'

——Μετεληφθη απο των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων, και διωρθωθη απο των Ωριγενες αυτε τετραπλων, ὰτινα και αυτε χειρι διωρθωτο, και εσχολιογραφετο. ὁ Ευσεβιος εγω σχολια παρεθηκα.' Παμφιλος και Ευσεβιος διωρθωσαντο. Montf. in Orig. Hex. c. 1, sect. v. p. 14.

[f] Hujus editionis et emendationis luculentum extat monumentum in Codice Renati Marchali, jam sæpe laudato, in quo post Jeremiæ librum adnotatum est descriptum eum esse ex Origenis Hexaplis, et emendatum ex Tetraplis manu ipsius exaratis, idque operâ Pamphili et Eusebii. Huet Orig. l. iii. c. 2. p. 262, in.

[g] Editioni των ὁ, quæ erat in Tetraplis, scholia ad limbum aliqua adjecisse Origenem discimus ex memorato Codice Marchali, quem habent Claromontani Patres Societatis Jesu. Adnotatum enim est ante Ezechielem, librum hunc ex Hexaplis descriptum esse, correctum vero ad Tetraplorum fidem. Postmodum subest: ὰτινα και τῃ αυτε χειρι διωρθωτο, και εσχολιογραφετο· ὅθεν Ευσεβιος εγω τα σχολια παρεθηκα. Παμφιλος και Ευσεβιος διωρθωσαντο. Ib. p. 261, m.

[h] Codex ccli. membranaceus, constans foliis 14, complectens partem Epistolarum Pauli, inter antiquissimos Europæ numerandus, sæculi nempe v. vel. vi.——Scriptus esse videtur in Palæstinâ vel Syriâ, eo circiter quo diximus ævo. Nam Calligraphus, qui notam infra edendam in sine posuit, hoc exemplar se contulisse significat cum Codice ipsius Pamphili manu exarato: antequam videlicet Cæsarea funditus diruerętur, quod contigit ante medium sæculi vii. Montf. Bib. Coislin. p. 251, 252.

[i] Ordo Epistolarum Pauli in Codice xxix. supra, ad Rom. ad Corinth. 1, 2, ad Galat. ad Ephes. ad Philippens. ad Colossens. ad Thessalonicens. 1, 2, ad Hebr. ad Timoth. 1, 2, ad Titum, ad Philemonem. Ib. p. 265, m.

[k] Αντεξελχθη δε ἡ βιβλος προς το εν Καισαρειᾳ αντιγραφον της

VI. It is thought by divers learned men, as [a] Cave, [b] Valesius, and [c] Tille[illegible]gn Du Pin takes no notice of it, that Pamphilus not only erected a library, but a s[illegible]wise, or academy, at Cæsarea. This supposition is chiefly built upon a passage of Euse[illegible] which [d] I have cited already. Tillemont however brings in [e] other passages in support of it. [illegible]ust leave this point undecided. I dare not contest the thing. But the evidence is not cle[illegible]cause the passage of Eusebius, where he is supposed to mention the school, is [f] obscure; [illegible]ecause there is no notice taken of this school, that I remember, in Jerom, nor any other ancient writer of credit.

VII. In the article above-cited at length Jerom says, that 'Pamphilus wrote an Apology for 'Origen before Eusebius:' and in the chapter of that bishop of Cæsarea he ascribes [g] to him an Apology for Origen in six volumes. It seems, therefore, that Jerom then supposed that Pamphilus had written some Apology for Origen, distinct from the six books of Eusebius; and upon that account gave Pamphilus a place in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, composed in 392; and also in his letter [h] to Magnus, written about the year 400. He seems so [i] to explain himself in the dispute which he afterwards had with Rufinus: when having found, as he says, that the book he had taken for Pamphilus's was the first of the six volumes of what he esteemed Eusebius's Apology for Origen, he denied that Pamphilus ever wrote any thing besides epistles to friends; and [k] often charged Rufinus with a fraud in publishing the first book of that Apology in a Latin translation, as a work of Pamphilus.

Nevertheless, whatever Jerom might think fit to say after his difference with Rufinus, the truth seems to be this: five books of the Apology for Origen were composed jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius: the sixth and last was written by Eusebius alone after the martyrdom of Pamphilus: for Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History does expressly and openly refer his readers for a farther account of Origen to [l] the Apology composed by himself and Pamphilus. He soon after refers to the [m] sixth book of that Apology as his own. Socrates [n] speaks of their common labour in it as an allowed thing, and commends the work: yea, he quotes it in another place as [o] Pamphilus's, without mentioning Eusebius. Photius, though he is far from commending the performance, says, that [p] the first five books were written jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius in prison, and the sixth by Eusebius alone afterwards. It is needless to allege any other [q] testimonies. Pamphilus, as well as Eusebius, was remarkable for the regard he had for Origen. St. Jerom knew that very well, and owns it sometimes: nor is it at all strange that they should have a

βιβλιοθηκης, τα αγια Παμφιλε χειρι γεγραμμενον. Ap. Bib: Coisl. ib. p. 262.

[a] Pamphili vitam tribus libris amplexus est——Eusebius, quibus integrum vitæ ejus curriculum, quæque ad scholam ab eo institutam pertinent,——accuratissime depinxit. Cav. H. L. de Pamphilo ad fin.

[b] Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p. 160, B.

[c] Saint Pamphile, ubi supra, p. 58. [d] See p. 118.

[e] Vid. Euseb. de M. P. c. iv. p. 323, C. 324, A. B.

[f] I shall here put down Eusebius's words, and divers Latin versions: εκαστα δε τε κατ' αυτον βιε, και ης συνεγησατο διατριβης. l. vii. c. 32, p. 288, D. Verum nos singula, quæ ad illius vitam et ad scholam ab eodem institutam pertinent,——peculiari opere complexi sumus. Vales. Omnem ejus vitam institutionemque a puero. Ruf. Verum singula vitæ illius, et in quâ schola institutus fuerit. W. Musculus. Quâ ratione institutus. Christophorson. Et Conf. Vales. Annot. p. 160, B. And any one that pleaseth, may see how I have translated the passage, at p. 118.

[g] Απολογιας pro Origene sex libros. De V. I. c. 81.

[h] Nec non presbyterorum, Pamphili, Pierii,—Ep. 83, T. iv. p. 656.

[i] Nunc——sufficiat, breviter prudentem instruxisse lectorem, me istum librum, qui sub nomine Pamphili ferebatur, vidisse scriptum in codice tuo. Et quia mihi non erat curæ quid pro hæretico diceretur, sic semper habuisse, quasi diversum esset opus Pamphili et Eusebii: postea vero quæstione motâ——perspicueque deprehendisse, quod primus liber sex voluminum Eusebii ipse esset, qui unus sub nomine Pamphili a te editus est.——Unde etiam ante annos fere decem, quum Dexter amicus meus——me rogâsset, ut auctorem nostræ religionis ei indicem texerem; inter cæteros tractatores posui et hunc librum a Pamphilo editum, ita putans esse, ut a te et tuis discipulis fuerat divulgatum. Sed quum ipse dicat Eusebius, Pamphilum nihil scripsisse, exceptis brevibus epistolis ad amicos; et primus liber sex voluminum illius eadem et eisdem verbis continent, quæ sub nomine Pamphili a te ficta sunt: perspicuum est te idcirco hunc librum disseminare voluisse, ut sub personâ martyris hæresim introduceres. Quumque de hoc ipso libro, quem Pamphili simulas, multa perverteris, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 419.

[k] Referens enim de apologiâ Pamphili martyris, quam nos Eusebii Arianorum principis probavimus. Adv. Ruf. col. 407, in. Eusebius——per sex volumina nihil aliud agit, nisi ut Origenem suæ ostendat fidei, id est, Arianæ perfidiæ. ib. f. Conf. eund. p. 357, 359, 405; et Ep. ad Pamm. et Ocean. p. 347. Fecerat hoc et in sancti Pamphili martyris nomine, ut librum primum sex librorum defensionis Origenis, Eusebii Cæsariensis, quem fuisse Arianum nemo est qui nesciat, nomine Pamphili martyris prænotaret. Ep. 43, ad Ctesiph. p. 477, in. Conf. eund. in libr. vi. in Ezech. c. xviii. T. iii. col. 821; et Prol. Dialog. adv. Pelag. T. iv. p. 484.

[l] ταυτα και εκ της υπερ αυτε πεπονημενης ημιν τε και τω καθ' ημας ιερω μαρτυρι Παμφιλω απολογιας, παρεστιν αναλεξεσθαι. l. vi. c. 33, p. 232.

[m] ——εν εκτω της γραφεισης ημιν περι τε ανδρος απολογιας. ib. c. 36, p. 233.

[n] τετων αξιοπιστοι, ὁτε Παμφιλος και——Ευσεβιος αμφω γαρ κοινη——ενδοξοις βιβλιοις απολογιαν υπερ αυτε ποιεμενοι, κ. λ. Socr. l. iii. cap. 7, p. 175, B.

[o] Id. l. iv. c. 27, p. 244, D.

[p] ——ων οι μεν πεντε Παμφιλω το δεσμωτηριον οικεντι, συμπαροντος και Ευσεβιε, επονηθησαν κ. λ. Phot. cod. 118, col. 296. vid. et col. 297, f.

[q] Vid. Prædestinat. Haer. 43.

high esteem for Origen, who continually had before them, in their library, the originals of those amazing works, his Tetrapla and Hexapla, and many other volumes of his writings, monuments of a most capacious mind and unexampled industry.

This work, against which [a] Jerom threatened to write, according to [b] his own acknowledgment, was laboured and copious. Indeed, it must have been a large work, as may be inferred from the length [c] of the first book, which [d] we still have in Rufinus's Latin translation; from [e] Eusebius's divers references to it for farther particulars concerning Origen; and from the accounts given [f] by some ancient authors of the contents of it.

Here I might make some extracts out of that first book which remains, to shew what books of scripture are referred to by the composers, and by Origen, in the passages quoted from him: but it is needless. Considering Pamphilus's respect for Origen, and his intimacy with Eusebius, it may be taken for granted, that his canon of scripture was the same, or much the same, as theirs. And what theirs was, has been or will be shewn largely in this work.

VIII. Montfauçon has published Contents [g] of the Acts of the apostles, which he thinks to have been composed and drawn up by Pamphilus. As [h] the work is ascribed to Pamphilus in the manuscript, which [i] is supposed to be of the tenth century, so for that, and some other reasons, he makes no scruple to consider him as the author. The same thing has been put out again [k] by Fabricius as a work of Pamphilus. But those contents [l] had been often published before without the name of the author: and the only thing uncommon is [m] the short preface to those Contents; which too, with the Contents themselves, had been published [n] by Zacagni, as written by Euthalius, who [o] flourished about the year 458.

And indeed it seems to me more likely that Euthalius should be the author than Pamphilus. It is observable that Euthalius published the Acts of the apostles, the Catholic epistles, and St. Paul's epistles. At the end of his edition of the Catholic epistles, which follow that of the Acts of the apostles, is this note: 'The [p] book of the Acts of the apostles, and of Catholic 'epistles, was collated with the exact copies of the library of Eusebius Pamphilus in Cæsarea.' Mr. Wetstein, to whom I refer my readers, has divers curious remarks concerning Euthalius. He is of opinion, that this [q] note has been an occasion of ascribing to Pamphilus, as author, what was really done by Euthalius, who made use of his library. However, we have here another proof of the usefulness of that library at Cæsarea.

IX. It is now time that we reflect upon what we have met with concerning this martyr for the Christian religion. There can be no question but Pamphilus was an understanding and truly pious man. He was not distinguished only by the last scene of his life, the magnanimity, fortitude, and patience of his confessions and martyrdom; but his whole life was a shining example of virtue. He must have been a person of a good family, and a large estate; but he despised the world, and renounced all earthly expectations. He was a zealous Christian and greatly delighted himself in the scriptures: he was liberal to the poor, kind to his acquaintance, and to all men who sought to him: he had an earnest desire to promote learning and knowledge, especially the knowledge of the holy scriptures, in men of every condition: and his diligence in

[a] Adversus quæ volumina, (si Dominus vitæ hujus dederit spatium) alias respondere conabor. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 419.

[b] Sex libros Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus, Arianæ quondam signifer factionis, pro Origene scripsit, latissimum et elaboratum opus. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 357.

[c] Rufinus translated the first book, and that only, so far as we know. Horum tu primum librum vertis sub nomine martyris——Si totum opus Pamphili est, cur reliquos libros non transfers? ib. l. i. p. 357.

[d] Ap. Hieron. Opp. T. v. p. 219, &c. Ed. Bened.

[e] H. E. l. vi. c. 23, et 33, et 36.

[f] Vid. Socr. l. iii. c. 7. l. iv. c. 27. Phot. cod. 117, 118. Conf. Tillem. Saint Pamphile. T. v. P. iii. p. 60, 61.

[g] Præmittitur Expositio Capitum Actuum auctore Pamphilo, *εκθεσις κεφαλαιων των πραξεων τϑ Παμφιλϑ*· quam integram edimus infra. Mont. Bib. Coislin. p. 76.

[h] Codex xxv. al. cxxi. membranaceus, decimi sæculi, complectitur Acta apostolorum et epistolas catholicas.—Ib. p. 75.

[i] Hanc opellam esse vere Pamphili martyris, non est quod dubitemus. ib. p. 78. in.

[k] Vid. Fabr. Spic. Patr. seu Hippolyti Opera. P. ii. p. 205, &c.

[l] Exstat eadem *εκθεσις* sine nomine auctoris ante Commentarios Œcumenii in Acta, atque inde in melioribus Novi Testamenti editionibus; Rob. Stephani, Joh. Boecleri, et Joh. Millii: necnon in Dan. Heinsii ad Nov. Test. Exercitationibus. Fabr. ib. p. 209.

[m] Ap. Bibl. Coislin. p. 78.

[n] Ap. Laurent. Zacagn. Collectanea, p. 428.

[o] Vid. Zacagn. Præf. p. 61, 62. et Cave H. Lit. T. i. p. 446. Oxon. 1740.

[p] *Αντεβληϑη δε των Πραξεων και καθολικων επιστολων το βιβλιον προς τα ακριβη αντιγραφα της εν Καισαρειᾳ βιβλιοθηκης Ευσεβιϑ τϑ Παμφιλϑ.* ap Zacagn. ib. p. 513.

[q] Quod præcipuum est, editionem suam cum exemplari Pamphili martyris, in Bibliothecâ Cæsariensi asservato, contulit.—Inde error librariorum ortus est, qui cum legerent, ab Euthalio Codicem Pamphili consultum esse, totum laborem Euthalii Pamphilo, tamquam potiori, adscripserunt. Wetst. Proleg. p. 76.

all laudable undertakings was extraordinary. The testimonies to his virtue which we have seen, are very agreeable: but if the large history of his life, written by Eusebius, were now being, very probably it would be more entertaining, and inform us of many things edifying nature. It is one of those works of Eusebius, the loss of which is much lamented by learned men.

Where can such a man as this be found in the heathen world? how rare were examples under the Mosaic institution, of men, who employed their whole time in improving their own minds, and serving others, without noise or ostentation, and without worldly views, and at last quietly resigned their lives rather than disown the principles by which they had been hitherto conducted and supported!

Nor was Pamphilus alone, though distinguished. There were twelve in all, who at one and the same time bore the most signal testimony to truth. One [a] of whom was a servant of Pamphilus, by name Porphyry; who, though he was burned at a stake, bore that painful death, and all the preceding tortures appointed by the cruel governor, with wonderful fortitude and resignation, serenity and patience. Not to insist now on the many others in Palestine, Egypt, and other places, who about this time signalized themselves by divers confessions, and at last by dying for their religion. Certainly these men, if they were not the best speakers, were the best livers that ever the world saw: and in their death they are without rivals. These holy and useful men, these confessors and martyrs, undaunted by all the evils which an unkind and mistaken world sometimes brings upon those who are its greatest blessings and best benefactors, were formed by the Christian [b] religion when the evidences of it were near, and if not true, their weakness might have been perceived. They were advanced by it to this eminence, when it was considered as an institution of virtue, not an abstruse and speculative science; a doctrine from heaven, not a creature of the state: and when Jesus, their Lord and Master, was not only admired as a divine teacher, but was also esteemed an example both in his life and in his death.

One thing which frequently occurs in the authentic histories of these primitive Christians of note and distinction, deserves especial regard: I mean their affection and zeal for the holy scriptures. For their own sake, for the sake of others, and among them for our good, they were mightily taken up in reading, studying, and explaining, and commenting upon the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; or in transcribing them, or correcting copies of them, and procuring exact editions, for the use of all sorts of persons. This is for our imitation, and for our satisfaction. It is what ought to be imitated by us: and it likewise affords us good reason to think that the books of holy scripture, which contain the revelations of the divine will to mankind, and are the rule of our faith, have been transmitted to us in great purity, without any remarkable alterations or deviations from the original writings.

X. Fabricius has published what he calls [c] Acts of the Passion of St. Pamphilus, taken out of his Life written by Eusebius of Cæsarea; from which I might have selected some things, and thereby possibly made my account of Pamphilus more agreeable to some: but I cannot persuade myself to make any use of that piece, not being satisfied of its genuineness.

Here it is not only said that he was of a noble family, which is very likely, but also that [d] he had honourably discharged civil offices in his country: which, I think, cannot be easily reconciled with Eusebius's genuine account; who says that [e] 'Pamphilus renounced all worldly expectations;' or, as Valesius translates the words, 'despised [f] all secular honours, to which he might 'have aspired.' Eusebius does actually say of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, that [g] he had with re-

[a] Vid. Euseb. de Mart. Pal. c. xi. p. 338, 339.

[b] Triumphus Dei est passio martyrum, et pro Christi nomine cruoris effusio, et inter tormenta lætitia. Quum enim quis viderit tantâ perseverantiâ stare martyres atque torqueri, et in suis cruciatibus gloriari, odor notitiæ Dei disseminatur in Gentes, et subit tacita cogitatio, quod, nisi verum esset evangelium, nunquam sanguine defenderetur. Neque enim delicata, et divitiis studens ac secura confessio est; sed in carceribus, in plagis, in persecutionibus, in fame, in nuditate et siti. Hic triumphus Dei est, apostolorumque victoria. Hieron. ad Hedib. n. xi. T. iv. P. i. p. 184.

[c] Acta passionis S. Pamphili martyris ex libris Eusebii Cæsariensis de illius Vitâ, juxta MS. Medicæum Regis Christianissimi. Ap. Fabr. Spic. Patr. seu Hippolyti Opp. T. ii. p. 217, &c. Conf. ejusd. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 277, 278.

[d] ——επισημως τε ταις κατα την πατριδα πολιτειαις διαπρεψαντος. Act. Pass. ap. Fabr. p. 218, m.——fuisset autem insignis in republicâ gerendâ in patriâ suâ. Certamen Pamphili ex Metaphr. ap. Vales. Ann. in Eus. p. 179, b. in.

[e] ——κοσμικων ελπιδων ολιγωρια. Eus. de Mart. P. c. xi. p. 336, B.

[f] ——seu sæcularium honorum, ad quos adspirare poterat, despicientiam. Vales.

[g] ——διαπρεψας ανηρ ταις κατα την πατριδα πολιτειαις και λειτουργιαις H. E. l. viii. p. 301, D.

putation enjoyed all civil offices and employments in his country. Why did he not expressly say the same of Pamphilus, if true, when he spoke of his contempt of this world?

Again, it is said in these Acts that [a] Pamphilus renounced, or gave away all his paternal estate to the poor, and that he himself lived a philosophical kind of life, having nothing of his own: but Eusebius in his genuine account only says that [b] Pamphilus was very bountiful to the indigent, or gave liberally out of his substance for the relief of such persons. That particular appears to me contrary to all the ancient authentic accounts which we have of Pamphilus. If he had renounced, or given away all his estate, how should he have erected a library? How could he have transcribed numerous copies of the books of scripture, and Commentaries upon them? How should he and Eusebius put out a correct edition of the Seventy from Origen's Hexapla? In all these works Pamphilus must have been assisted by some rich Christian, as Origen was by Ambrose, if he had nothing of his own: but nothing of that kind is any where said by Eusebius or Jerom. On the contrary it is all along supposed that he lived upon his own, and that from time to time he cheerfully laid out what he had, as occasions offered, in good works and useful designs of various kinds, as before seen.

So far as I can perceive these Acts of Fabricius are much the same with those in Surius, Valesius, and others, as taken from Simeon Metaphrastes, which [c] were mentioned before: and therefore what I have said, or may say concerning either, ought to be understood as relating to both.

Fabricius supposeth these Acts to have been taken out of the books of Eusebius containing the life of Pamphilus. Valesius [d] thinks that those Acts in Metaphrastes were taken from Eusebius's book of the Martyrs of Palestine: which book, as we now have it in the common copies, is imperfect, as he says, and may be made more complete by these Acts in Metaphrastes.

I rather think these Acts to be the invention of some idle impostor, who, according to his own fancy, enlarged and flourished upon Eusebius's genuine account of the martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions, which we have in the eleventh chapter of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. The whole of this piece, compared with that chapter of Eusebius, has such an appearance: Eusebius says of that company of martyrs, that [e] 'they resembled the prophets 'and apostles.' This writer [f] adds, 'and the patriarchs.' Eusebius, speaking of their last combat, says, 'it [g] was a most glorious spectacle;' as indeed it was. Whereupon this oratorical author says, 'there [h] might be seen in it at once persons of every age of the human life, and of 'every rank in the church, (meaning [i] faithful, catechumens, presbyters, and deacons,) and of 'every condition and employment, and likewise a great variety of sufferings, and consequently 'different crowns for the victors.' This plan the author proposes at the beginning, and afterwards fills up as he sees good.

I think these considerations, added to the foregoing, may be sufficient to shew that this piece is a forgery.

The length of these critical remarks, I hope will be excused. If we are not upon our guard, we shall have nothing but fable instead of history.

[a] ——αποδομενος. γεγοι. τα εις αυτον απο προγονων ηκοντα γυμνοις, πτωχοις, και πενησιν απαντα, αυτος εν ακτημονι διηγε βιω——κ. λ. Fabr. ib. p. 220. m. Renuntians quidem iis quæ ad ipsum redibant a majoribus, nudis, mancis, et pauperibus distribuit. Ipse autem degebat in vitâ quæ nihil possidebat. Ex Metaphrast. ap. Vales. ib. p. 180, b. in.

[b] ——τη της ουσιας εις ενδεεις κοινωνια. De Mart. Pal. c. xi. p. 336, B.

[c] See p. 117.

[d] Vid. Vales. Ann. p. 180.

[e] De M. Pal. c. xi. p. 336, B.

[f] Ap. Fab. ib. p. 219. m. ap. Vales. Ann. p. 179, C.

[g] Ubi supr. p. 336, A.

[h] αθροως εν αυτω ωαν ειδος ηλικιων τε σωματος, και ψυχων αγωγης, βιε τε και αναστροφης διαφορα περιειληφοτα, βασανων τε ποικιλοις ειδεσι, κ. λ. ap. Fabr. p. 217, ap. Vales. 179, C.

[i] Ap. Fabr. p. 219, in. ap. Vales. p. 180, A.

CHAP. LX.

PHILEAS, BISHOP OF THMUIS IN EGYPT; AND PHILOROMUS, RECEIVER-GENERAL AT ALEXANDRIA.

PHILEAS, says [a] Jerom, of a city in Egypt called Thmuis, of a noble family, and a large estate, accepted an episcopal charge. He wrote an excellent book in praise of the martyrs. After a long debate with the judge, who commanded him to sacrifice, he was beheaded for Christ under 'the same persecutor, by whose orders Lucian suffered at Nicomedia.'

Jerom means the emperor Maximin. But learned men are not agreed about the year of this good man's martyrdom. By Cave it [b] is placed in 311, by [c] Basnage in 311 or 312, by [d] Tillemont after 306, and before the edict in 311 or 312. The place of his martyrdom is now, I think, generally allowed to be [e] Alexandria, though [f] Valesius once inclined to Thebais.

Phileas flourished, as Cave computes, near the end of the third century, about the year 296. It is likely that Thmuis was the place both of his nativity and episcopate.

Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History has a long passage of a letter of Phileas to the Christians at Thmuis; which is generally reckoned to be the same that Jerom calls a book in Praise of the martyrs.

Eusebius at the same time gives an account of the martyrdom of Philoromus. And there are still extant [g] Acts of the martyrdoms of these two persons, which are esteemed genuine and sincere by [h] Tillemont and [i] Ruinart: and indeed they are in the main agreeable to Eusebius: but yet it seems to me that they are interpolated: at least, I am of opinion that they are not to be relied upon as sincere and uncorrupt; for which reason I shall not make any use of them. But I shall immediately transcribe Eusebius's history of the death both of Phileas and Philoromus, with a part of the just-mentioned passage of the letter written by the former.

Our ecclesiastical historian then, having mentioned divers other instances of heroic courage and firmness of mind in the cause of truth, adds: 'And [k] these are indeed admirable: but yet more 'admirable are they who, distinguished by their wealth, high birth, honours, learning and elo-'quence, preferred before all other things true religion and faith in Jesus Christ. Among these 'was Philoromus, who bore no ordinary office, but was the emperor's receiver-general at 'Alexandria; and, as became his high station in the Roman government, daily heard causes, 'attended by a guard of soldiers. Phileas, likewise, bishop of the church at Thmuis, who had 'with reputation discharged all public offices in his own country, and was eminent for his philo-'sophical learning, when many of their kindred and other honourable friends, and some of the 'magistrates, and even the judge himself advised them to take pity upon themselves, and to 'consider their wives and children, would not by all their entreaties be induced, out of a regard 'to their own life, to transgress the divine laws concerning denying and confessing our Saviour; 'but with a manly and courageous and philosophic mind, or rather with a religious heart truly 'devoted to God, having withstood all the threatenings and abuses of the judge, they were both 'beheaded.'

'But, [l] forasmuch as we said that Phileas was eminent for learning, let him be produced as 'his own witness. At the same time he shews what he himself was, he will relate the martyr-'doms that happened in his time at Alexandria much more exactly than we can do. Thus then

[a] Phileas, de urbe Egypti, quæ vocatur Thmuis, nobili genere, et non parvis opibus, suscepto episcopatu, elegantissimum librum de martyrum laude composuit. Et disputatione actorum habitâ adversus judicem, qui eum sacrificare cogebat, pro Christo capite truncatur, eodem in Egypto persecutionis auctore, quo Lucianus Nicomediæ. De V. I. c. 78.

[b] H. L. in Philea. [c] Ann. 312, n. 18.

[d] Mem. Ecc. S. Phileas, &c. T. v. P. iii. p. 173, et note 5.

[e] Vid. Basn. ib. n. 19. et Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 494.

[f] Annot. in Euseb. l. viii. c. 9.

[g] Ap. Ruin. Act. M. p. 494—496.

[h] As before, p 163, &c. [i] Ubi supra, p. 493, 494.

[k] Θαυμασιοι μεν ουν και ουτοι· εξαιρετως δε εκεινοι θαυμασιωτεροι, οι πλουτῳ μεν και ευγενεια, και δοξῃ, λογῳ τε και φιλοσοφια διαπρεψαντες, κ. λ. Eus. l. viii. c. 9, p. 301, C. D. 302.

[l] Ib. cap. 10, p. 332, B. &c.

'he writes in his epistle to the people at Thmuis:' "All [a] these ensamples and patterns and excellent admonitions being set before us in the divine and sacred scriptures, the blessed martyrs among us, without hesitation fixing the eye of their soul upon God over all, and willingly embracing death for the sake of religion, stedfastly adhered to their calling: knowing that [b] our Lord Jesus Christ became man for our sake, that he might destroy all sin, and afford us helps for obtaining eternal life:" "For he did not earnestly desire to appear like God, but made himself of no reputation, taking the form of a servant: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross:" Philip. ii. 6, 7. "Wherefore [c] also these martyrs, full of Christ, "earnestly desiring [d] the greatest gifts," (1 Cor. xii. 31,) endured not once only, but some of them often, all kinds of pains and tortures that can be invented; and, though the officers did their utmost by words and deeds to terrify them, they were not disheartened, "because perfect love casteth out fear:" 1 John iv. 18.

I omit the rest which may be seen in Eusebius himself, who having finished his extracts, adds: 'These [e] are the words of a true philosopher, and a martyr filled with the love of God: 'which, when in prison, before the final sentence of the judge, he sent to the people under his 'care; partly informing them what were his own circumstances, partly exhorting them to hold 'fast the faith of Christ, even after his death, which was then near at hand.'

Here are, I think, three references to books of the New Testament; the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the epistle to the Philippians, and the first of St. John. We see by this short passage, what great regard the Christians of those times had for the holy scriptures; and how apt they were to clothe their own thoughts in expressions borrowed from them.

I suppose likewise, that none will dispute my interpretation of that phrase, which in our English translation is rendered, 'thought it not robbery to be equal with God;' for it is here evidently used and understood by Phileas, as expressive of our Lord's humility, not of his dignity and greatness. In the like manner have we already observed that expression understood by several [f] ancient Christian writers.

I would just observe that, at the end of the passage cited by Eusebius, Phileas quotes some precept of the Old Testament, as [g] sacred scripture.

Phileas is elsewhere mentioned by [h] Eusebius among other bishops of Egypt, who suffered martyrdom in Diocletian's persecution.

CHAP. LXI.

PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, AND THE MELETIANS.

I. *Peter, his history and works, and testimony to the scriptures.* II. *The Meletians, their history and time.*

I. In the year of our Lord 300, Peter succeeded Theonas at Alexandria. In St. Jerom's Chronicle [i] he is called the sixteenth bishop of that church, and is said to have had a glorious martyrdom in the ninth year of the persecution: but St. Jerom has not given this bishop of Alexandria a place in his Catalogue among other eminent writers of the church. Nor do I remember

[a] Τουτων απαντων υποδειγματων ημιν και υπογραμμων, και καλων γνωρισματων εν ταις θειαις και ιεραις γραφαις, κ. λ. ib. C.

[b] ——τον μεν κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον ευροντες ενανθρωπησαντα δι' ημας, ινα πασαν μεν αμαρτιαν εκκοψη, εφοδια δε της εις την αιωνιον ζωην εισοδε ημιν καταθηται· ο γαρ αρπαγμον ηγησατο το ειναι ισα θεω· αλλ εαυτον εκενωσε, μορφην δουλου λαβων. Ib. p. 302. C. D.

[c] Διο και ζηλωσαντες τα μειζονα χαρισματα οι χριστοφοροι μαρτυρες. Ib. D.

[d] St. Paul there says, the best gifts, τα χαρισματα τα κρειττονα. But afterwards ch. xiii. 13, he says, The greatest of these is charity, μειζων δε τουτων η αγαπη.

[e] Ib. p. 304. B.

[f] See Vol. i. chap. xxxviii. num. xxviii. 12, and in this vol. p. 21, 62, 63, 108.

[g] ησαν γαρ τα υπο των ιερων γραφων ημιν προορισθεντα. ib. p. 304. B.

[h] L. viii. c. 13, p. 308. C.

[i] Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ sextusdecimus post Theonam episcopus ordinatus Petrus, qui postea nono persecutionis anno gloriose martyrium perpetravit. Hieron. Chr. p. 179.

that he has any where quoted him. However Peter is now generally reckoned an author. Several things are ascribed to him.

Penitential [a] Canons, supposed to [b] have been drawn up by him in the fourth year of the persecution under Dioclesian, in the year of Christ 306, for the sake of such as had some way lapsed under the severities they had endured, or through fear of suffering.

A work entitled [c] De Divinitate, quoted in the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

A Discourse [d] of Easter, which is not [e] allowed by all to be his.

Peter is several times mentioned by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. It appears to me worth the while to transcribe all his passages; though some notice has been already taken of them at the beginning of the articles of Theonas and Pierius.

'Theonas, [f] having borne the episcopal office nineteen years, was succeeded by Peter, who 'obtained great [g] honour during his episcopate, which he held twelve years. He governed the 'church three years before the persecution. The rest of his time he passed in a more strict and 'mortified course of life, but still without neglecting the common good of the churches; for 'which reason, in the ninth year of the persecution, he was beheaded, and obtained the crown 'of martyrdom.'

In another place, giving an account of those presidents of the churches, who had demonstrated the sincerity of their faith by laying down their lives in the late persecution, he says: 'But [h] of those, who in Alexandria, and throughout Egypt and Thebais, gloriously finished 'their course, none more fit to be first mentioned than Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a [i] most 'excellent teacher of the Christian doctrine: and, among his presbyters, Faustus, Dius, and 'Ammonius, were perfect martyrs of Christ; as were also Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius and 'Theodorus, bishops of divers churches in Egypt.'

Once more: 'About [k] the same time also Peter, who with so much reputation presided over 'the church at Alexandria, an [l] ornament to the episcopal character, both for the holiness of 'his life and his laborious application in studying and explaining the sacred scriptures, without 'any crime of any kind laid to his charge, beyond all expectation, on a sudden, for no other 'reason but the will of Maximin, was taken up and beheaded.'

Our bishop is several times mentioned and called martyr by [m] St. Athanasius. I shall take notice of two places. In one of them he observes: 'Peter [n] was bishop here before the perse-'cution, and in the persecution was also a martyr.' In the other he intimates, that Peter suffered at the end of the persecution, or even after it was over, as his manner of writing may be thought to imply. Which too seems to be agreeable to what Eusebius said just now of Peter's having been arrested and beheaded on a sudden, and beyond all expectation. The words of Athanasius are these: 'But [o] when the persecution had ceased, and the blessed bishop Peter had 'suffered martyrdom, Antony removed, and returned to his monastery.'

Sozomen says that [p] Peter fled in the time of the persecution: I suppose he must mean some retirement, which was free from blame. Sozomen himself does not pass any censure upon it; and Eusebius has represented Peter's episcopate as so illustrious, and every way worthy of commendation, that it is not easy to admit the suspicion of any improper conduct. However, that expression of Sozomen, and what Eusebius says of Peter's strict course of life, though without at all neglecting the care of the churches, may lead us to think that, for a large part of the persecution, he lived in some private place unknown to the instruments of the persecution; where however Christian people had access to him, and received his advices and instructions.

[a] Vid. Labbei Concil. T. i. p. 955—968.

[b] Scripsit quartò persecutionis Diocletianeæ anno, Christi 306, eorum causâ, qui in prædictâ persecutione lapsi essent, librum de Pœnitentiâ; ex quo supersunt hodie canones 15, variis pœnitentium casibus accommodati. Cav. H. L. in Petro.

[c] Alium item librum de Divinitate. Cav. ib. Vid. Labb. Concil. Tom. iv. p. 286. C. D. E.

[d] Scripsit etiam tractatum de Paschate. Testantur id, quæ habemus hodie, hujus operis fragmenta. Cav. ib. p. 160.

[e] Vid. Cav. ut supra; Basnag. Ann. 306, n. xiii. f.

[f] Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 32, p. 289, 290.

[g] —— εν τοις μαλιστα και αυτος διαπρεψας εφ' ὑλοις δυοκαιδεκα ενιαυτοις. ib. p. 289. D.

[h] Ib. l. viii. c. 13, p. 308. B. C.

[i] Θειον τι χρημα διδασκαλων της εν Χριστῳ θεοσεβειας. ibid.

[k] Ib. l. ix. c. 6.

[l] Θειον επισκοπων χρημα, βιᾳ αρετης τε ενεκα, και της των ἱερων λογων συνασκησεως, κ. λ. ib. p. 351. C.

[m] Apol. contr. Arian. n. xi. p. 133, D. Ep. ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 23.

[n] Apol. contr. Arian. n. 59.

[o] Επειδη δε λοιπον ὁ διωγμος επαυσατο, και μεμαρτυρηκεν ὁ μακαριτης επισκοπος Πετρος, ὡπεδημησεν; κ. λ. Vit. S. Anton. n. 47.

[p] —— φευγοντος δια τον τοτε διωγμον. Soz. l. i. c. 24.

Theodoret styles Peter [a] a most excellent person, and a victorious combatant, who in the time of wicked tyrants obtained the crown of martyrdom. Again he calls him, [b] divine Peter.

I do not intend to make any long extracts out of Peter's book of Canons, or Canonical Epistle, the only piece of his that remains, if indeed it be his. I would however observe, that he resolves all his cases by the authority of the holy scriptures: and that here are cited the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the Acts of the apostles, very largely; several epistles of Paul, particularly that to the Hebrews, as [c] the apostle's, intending Paul, and the first epistle of John. In the fragment of his book De Divinitate are cited [d] the beginning of John's gospel, several epistles of Paul, and the first of Peter.

II. In the time of Peter arose the Meletian controversy, or schism, as it is usually called; which, as [e] Tillemont observes, subsisted for the space of an hundred and fifty years, not being extinct in the time of Theodoret and Socrates.

I do not reckon myself obliged to give a particular history of that affair; but I beg liberty to say, that I cannot easily assent to Athanasius's account of the rise and occasion of it, which is to this purpose: 'Peter [f] in a full synod of bishops deposed Meletius, an Egyptian bishop; who 'was convicted of several crimes, and particularly of having sacrificed. Meletius neither appealed 'to another synod, nor took any pains to vindicate himself, but presently made a schism. And 'to this day [g] his followers, instead of Christians, are called Meletians. From that time Meletius 'took great liberties in calumniating Peter, and then Achillas.'

There are several considerations tending to weaken the credit of this account: 1. Athanasius is a prejudiced person. After the council of Nice, if not before, the Meletians [h] joined interests with the Arians; and certainly they were always enemies to the bishop of Alexandria. 2. Athanasius writes with passion. Meletius, he says, was convicted of many crimes; but he does not name them: he only mentions sacrificing. Nor is it likely that the Meletians quitted the name of Christians. They were often called Meletians by others, and sometimes possibly by themselves; but to say that instead of Christians they were called Meletians is invidious. How unreasonable is this in Athanasius, when Meletius and his followers at first, and for a good while, if not all along, agreed with him in every point of doctrine! Epiphanius, [i] to whom [k] others assent, expressly says that Meletius made a schism, but attempted not any innovation in the faith. Nor does [l] Athanasius differ from them. 3. If Meletius had been convicted of apostasy, or of sacrificing to idols in time of persecution, the sentence passed upon him and his adherents in the council of Nice would have been different. What it was may be seen in several [m] ancient writers of ecclesiastical history. 4. Meletius [n] always complained of injustice. 5. And moreover [o] he had a numerous party on his side, no less than [p] eight-and-twenty bishops, and many good men: which could not have been, if he had been known to have fallen so greatly in the time of the persecution. 6. There are other accounts, and Athanasius is almost singular. Socrates [q] indeed speaks to the like purpose, because he transcribes Athanasius: but, according to Epiphanius, Meletius [r] was a confessor: and the controversy between the bishop of Lycopolis in Thebais and the bishop of Alexandria was owing to their different sentiments concerning the manner of receiving such as had lapsed in the persecution, Peter [s] being more mild and merciful

[a] ——μετα Πετρον εκεινον τον νικηφορον αγωνιστην, ὃς επι των δυσσεβων εκεινων τυραννων τα μαρτυρια στεφανον ανεδησατο. Thdrt. l. i. c. 2, p. 7.

[b] τε θειοτατε Πετρε, κ. λ. Id. l. i. c. 9, in.

[c] ——ειμη, ὡς λεγει αποστολος, επιλιποι δ' αν ημας διηγεμενες ὁ χρονος. [Hebr. xi. 32] Can. ix. app. Labb. T. i. p. 902.

[d] Ap. Labb. Conc. T. iv. p. 468. C. D. E.

[e] St. Pierre d'Alexandrie. art. 8. Mem. Ec. T. v. P. iii. p. 111.

[f] Ουτος Μελιτιον, απο της Αιγυπτε λεγομενον επισκοπον, επι πολλαις ελεγχθεντα παρανομιαις, και θυσια, εν κοινη συνοδω των επισκοπων καθειλεν, κ. λ. Athan. ap. contr. Arian. n. 97, T. i. p. 177.

[g] Και αντι Χριστιανων, Μελιτιανοι μεχρι νυν οἱ της εκεινε μεριδος ονομαζονται. ibid.

[h] Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 6, p. 14, Sozom. l. ii. c. 21.

[i] Σχισμα εποιησεν, ε μην μεταλλαγμενος την πιστιν γεγεννηται. Epiph. H. 68, n. 1. Vid. ib. reliqua.

[k] Αλλα ταυτα μεν τη εκκλησια φρονων. Theodoret. H. F. l. iv. c. 7 p. 239. Αλλ' εκεινος μεν εδει των της ευσεβειας δογματων εκαινοτομησεν. Id. ib. p. 240.

[l] This appears, in that Athanasius calls the Arians heretics, the Meletians schismatics only, and thus distinguisheth their several crimes. Αλλ' οἱ μεν πρὸ πεντηκοντα και πεντε ετων σχισματικοι γεγονασιν· οἱ δε πρὸ τριακοντα και εξ ετων απεδειχθησαν αἱρετικοι, κ. λ. Ep. ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 22, T. i. p. 293.

[m] Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 9. Sozom. l. i. c. 24. Thdrt. H. F. l. iv. c. 7.

[n] ηδικησθαι μεν ελεγεν εαυτον, κ. λ. Socrat. l. i. c. 6, p. 14, C. Conf. Thdrt. l. i. c. 9, in.

[o] Vid. Epiph. H. 68, n. 2, 3, et 5.

[p] Vid. Athan. ap. contr. Arian. n. 71, p. 187.

[q] Socr. ubi supr. p. 14, B. Vid. not.

[r] Epiph. ib. n. 1, 2.

[s] Ὁ δε αἱγιωτατος Πετρος ευσπλαγχνος ων, κ. λ. Epiph. ib. n. 3. in.

than Meletius. Sozomen makes the fault of Meletius to have been this; that, [a] when Peter had fled, Meletius usurped a power of ordaining where he had no right: nor is there any thing laid to his charge by the council of Nice, as the ground and reason of their sentence, but [b] the rashness and presumption of his ordinations, and the obstinacy and contumacy of him and his adherents in maintaining them. Theodoret indeed does in one place say, following Athanasius, it is likely that [c] Meletius was convicted of some crimes; but he does not seem to know what they were, nor to have any good assurance of the facts. And, in another place, speaking of Meletius, all he lays to his charge is ambition, or love of dominion, [d] in ordaining bishops and other clergy out of his own province, where he had no jurisdiction.

Upon the whole I think there is not sufficient ground to admit the truth of what Athanasius says of Meletius sacrificing. It is more likely that it is a story forged by some angry people with a view to discredit the Meletian cause: which story Athanasius too readily received.

Samuel Basnage, of Flottemanville, in his Exercitations published in 1692, disputes [e] the truth of that account: but in his annals, published in 1706, he writes [f] as if he had quite forgot what he had once said; which needs not, however, to be reckoned very strange in an author who writes a good deal.

In composing the argument here offered, I have had no regard to that in Basnage's Exercitations, which I did not observe till afterwards. These thoughts arose in my mind in reading Athanasius, and comparing him with other ancient writers.

It is disputed among learned men when this schism began. Baronius [g] placeth it in 306; Basnage [h] in his Annals, before cited, contends for the same date: Pagi is altogether [i] for 301, or 302: Tillemont [k] carefully examines the merits of each opinion without determining the point.

It seems to me that all the accounts and testimonies above cited, which speak of this controversy, as arising in the time of Peter, and after the beginning of the persecution, should lead us to pitch upon the year 306, or thereabout: when Peter, as is supposed, put out his Canons, and, as is likely, began to live more retired than he had done; then, probably, Meletius began to ordain bishops, and other clergy, where he should not.

The only thing that leads to the year 300, or 301, or 302, is a passage of Athanasius in a piece supposed to have been written in [l] 356; where he says that [m] the Meletians had been schismatics above five-and-fifty years. Upon which I would observe, that possibly the numbers in Athanasius have been altered; or he might write in haste, and mistake through forgetfulness: or, finally, it is not impossible that, for some reason or other affecting his mind at that time, he might chuse to ascribe a very early date to that schism. I add, that in the same place Athanasius says, 'It [n] was six-and-thirty years since the Arians were declared heretics, and cast out 'of the church by the judgment of an œcumenical council.' Which might induce us to think that piece must have been written in the year 361 or 362, that is, six-and-thirty years after the council of Nice, when the Arians were condemned; if there were not some cogent reasons shewing that epistle to have been written in 356: and, [o] notwithstanding what the Benedictine

[a] ——Πετρου——φευγοντος δια τον διωγμον, τας διαφερουσας αυτω χειροτονιας ὑφηρπασε. Sozom. l. i. c. 24.

[b] Ελειπετο δε το κατα την προωτειαν Μελιτιε, και των ὑπ' αυτε χειροτονηθεντων. ap. Socr. l. i. c. 9, p. 28.——λογιζομενη το προπετες και ἑτοιμον εις χειροτονιαν Μελιτιε, και των τα αυτα φρονεντων. Sozom. ubi supra. Vid. et Thdrt. l. i. cap. 9.

[c] ——επι τισι παρανομιαις διελεγχθεις, κ. λ. Thdrt. l. i. c. 9, in.

[d] Μελετιος τις επισκοπος κατα της Αλεξανδρε τε μεγαλε εασιασας ηγεμονιας, πολλαις πολεσι και επισκοπες εχειροτονησε, και πρεσβυτερες, και——α καινης αἱρεσεως προεατευων, αλλα ταυτα μεν τη εκκλησια φρονων, το δε της φιλαρχιας εισδεξαμενος παθος. Id. H. Fab. l. iv. c. 7.

[e] Hoc affirmat Athanasius—tantique testis auctoritas apud me plurimum valet.——Verumtamen nonnullas de Meletii idololatriâ dubitandi causas suggerunt Theodoretus, Epiphanius, Nicæna Synodus.——Hæc sunt quæ de Meletianâ idololatriâ suspensum detinent.——Basn. Exercit. p. 307, 308. Uitraj. 1692.

[f] Vera prædicâsse Socratem, testis est omni exceptione major Athanasius.——At falso contaminari Epiphanii narrationem extra dubium est. Cum enim Epiphanio antiquior, et rerum Ægypti, ubi schisma Meletianum exortum est, longe peritior Athanasius scriptum reliquit, Meletium idolis sacrificâsse, fide quoque dignior est. Basn. Ann. Pol. Ec. A. 306, n. 14. Roterod. 1706.

[g] Baron. Ann. 306, n. 44.

[h] Basn. Ann. 306, n. 15.

[i] Ann. 306, n. 29, 30.

[k] Mem. Ec. S. Pierre d'A. art. 8, et not. 8, T. v. P. iii. p. 111, et 301.

[l] Vid. Athanas. Opp. Ed. Benedict. T. i. p. 177, not. c, et p. 269.

[m] ε γαρ ολιγος εστιν ὁ χρονος· αλλ' οἱ μεν προ πεντηκοντα και πεντε ετων σχισματικοι γεγονασιν· οἱ δε προ τριακοντα και ἑξ ετων απεδειχθησαν αἱρετικοι, και της εκκλησιας απεξληθησαν εκ κρισεως πασης της οικεμενικης συνοδε. Ep. ad. Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 22, p. 293.

[n] See note [m].

[o] Verum hunc locum par est ita distinguere, ut verbum, απεδειχθησαν, sunt declarati, ad Alexandrum Alexandrinum referantur, qui nimirum in Synodo Alexandrinâ Arium hæreticum primus declaravit; cætera autem quæ sequuntur, Nicænæ attribuantur Synodo. Ubi supr. p. 269, n. 4.

editors say, it is more reasonable to carry on the number, thirty-six, through the whole sentence, than to confine it to the first part of it, 'declared heretics,' and to understand thereby some declaration, different from that of the council there spoken of. I do not therefore see any good reason why this passage of Athanasius should oblige us to think the Meletian controversy arose before the year 306.

AN ANSWER TO MR. JACKSON'S REMARKS UPON THE FIFTH VOLUME OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS WORK.

SEE THE BELIEF OF A FUTURE STATE PROVED TO BE A FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLE OF THE RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS, p. 120, &c.

I. *The time of Sabellianism.* II. *The name of the presbyter of Rome, rival of Cornelius: whether Novatus or Novatianus.*

I. Mr. Jackson is not a little displeased at my placing the rise of Sabellianism so late as only two or three years before A. D. 257, when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to pope Xystus upon that subject: though I am not therein singular, but only maintain the general opinion of learned men about it, as I shewed Vol. I. p. 616. To authors there mentioned I shall add one or two more: Hæresis Sabelliana erupit circa A. C. 257. J. A. Fabr. Annot. ad Philast. cap. liv. de Sabellio. Sabellius, Eusebio teste lib. 7. Histor. cap. vi. errores Ptolemaide in urbe Pentapoleos circiter annum 257, spargere cœpit. Benedictin. not. ad Ambros. Tom. ii. p. 445. Scribit Eusebius libr. Ecc. Hist. 7. Sabellii hæresim sub tempora Decii——audire cœpisse, cum Romanæ sedi præesset Stephanus, aut Sixtus: hoc est, circa annum Christi cclvii, &c. Petav. Dogm. Theol. Tom. ii. i. c. 6, sect. iii.

I do not think myself obliged to say a great deal more here in vindication of that date: I can rely upon my argument from Dionysius, exhibited p. 58, 59: and I persuade myself that they, who will read it and carefully attend to it, will not think that Mr. Jackson has weakened it by what he has said, but has left it still in full force.

Mr. Jackson says, p. 121, that 'Dionysius, in his letter to Xystus, gives no account of the 'rise of Sabellianism, but only of its being greatly spread.' But my argument does not depend upon that, but rather upon Dionysius's not having sooner sent an account of that affair to his correspondents at Rome; which he would have done if the controversy had been on foot a good while before: nevertheless, it happens that there are expressions in that letter of Dionysius which imply that it was then but newly moved, advanced, or agitated. Περι γαρ τȣ νυν κινηθεντος εν τῃ πτολεμαιδι της πενταπολεως δογματος. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vii. c. 6.

Besides, what avails it for Mr. Jackson to insist so much upon it, that Dionysius gives Xystus an account of the increase, not of the rise of Sabellianism, when the increase supposes the rise? And it is the spreading of a doctrine that induces men to take notice of it, and send accounts of it to their friends. If Sabellianism had not spread in the country near him, Dionysius would not have thought it needful to make any mention of it in a letter to one at a distance: this therefore was what he was naturally led to speak of in his letter to Xystus.

Farther, Mr. Jackson says, p. 122, 123, 'Sabellius himself was undoubtedly noted many years 'before; and, upon the death of his master Noetus, about A. D. 220, spread his doctrine in 'several parts of Asia: p. 24, Sabellius was the most noted——the most famous disciple of 'Noetus.'

These things are said with a good deal of positiveness: but upon what grounds? where is the evidence? Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. iv. Les Sabelliens, observes: 'Philaster and Augustine say that 'Sabellius was a disciple of Noetus, which is not impossible, though the Greeks say nothing of

'it.' Philaster's words are: Sabellius post illum [Noetum] de Libya discipulus ejus similitudinem sui doctoris itidem secutus est et errorem. Augustine's words are; Sabelliani ab illo Noeto, quem supra memoravimus, defluxisse dicuntur. Nam et discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium: so that he speaks doubtfully about it. Many might call Sabellius a disciple of Noetus, as he came not very long after him, and because of the resemblance of their opinions: but if it was a thing well known that Sabellius was a scholar of Noetus, why should the Greeks omit to mention it? And if they write nothing about it, how should the Latins know it? The silence of Greek authors is of much more importance than the sayings and reports of a few Latin writers. Had not Epiphanius and Theodoret, who write of heresies, and particularly of Noetianism and Sabellianism, an opportunity to say where Sabellius learned his doctrine if they knew it? Theodoret, H. F. l. iii. c. 3, mentions some predecessors of Noetus, and says that Callistus upheld his opinion after him: Ταυτης μετα τον Νοητου υπερησπισε καλλιστος. But says nothing here or elsewhere, that I remember, of Sabellius being a disciple of Noetus. Epiphanius, H. 62, n. 1, says that 'Sabellius's doctrine was the same with that of the Noetians, excepting only a few things.' Why does he not add that Sabellius learned his doctrine from Noetus, if he knew that also to be true.

Mr. Jackson says, p. 121, 'There is no evidence that Sabellianism had its rise in Ptolemais 'in Egypt.' Where then had it its rise? It is generally concluded by learned men, from Eusebius's account of Dionysius's letter to Xystus, that it had its rise in Ptolemais. Sabellius himself is continually spoken of by the ancients, who give an account of him and his doctrine as a Libyan or African: so Philaster before cited: and so Theodoret, H. F. l. ii. c. 9. Σαβελλιος δε ο Λιβυς ο πενταπολιτης. If Sabellianism had its rise in Asia Minor, at Ephesus, or Smyrna, or thereabout, why have we no account of any writers of that country opposing it? Athanasius says that in the time of Dionysius, some of the bishops of Pentapolis held the doctrine of Sabellius, which occasioned his looking into the matter. Εν πενταπολει της ανω Λιβυης τηνικαυτα τινες των επισκοπων εφρονησαν τα Σαβελλιου. De Sent. Dionys. n. 5, p. 246. And Theodoret, in his article of Sabellius, takes particular notice that Dionysius of Alexandria wrote against him. If this principle had been first taught by Sabellius in some other parts before it was known in Egypt, why does not Dionysius himself; why did not Eusebius, nor Athanasius, nor Epiphanius, nor Theodoret, give any hint of it?

Mr. Jackson, p. 125, still insists upon 'the authority of two ancient chronologers, Isidore 'Hispalensis, and Ado Viennensis, who in their chronicles agree to place Sabellius about A. D. '220.' And indeed he had need to call them 'ancient.' Nevertheless Mr. Jackson does not deny the truth of what I said, p. 59, that they are Latin authors; 'and that they wrote, one of 'them in Spain in the seventh, the other in Gaul, in the ninth century:' that is, the earliest of them several hundred years after the supposed time of Sabellius. The authority of such chroniclers undoubtedly is very great. I likewise argued from several considerations, to which the reader is referred, that they confounded Noetus and Sabellius.

But Mr. Jackson's strongest argument seems to be, that his author could not write his 'excellent' book on the Trinity, p. 126, his 'incomparable and invaluable' book, p. 132, after his schism; which yet he must have done if Sabellianism had not its rise till after 251. Nec, quantum cogito, verisimile est, illum condidisse tam egregium librum,——postquam in schisma detestandum se demersisset. Præf. p. 118. But the force of this argument depends upon a degree of uncharitableness in a man's mind, for which I can see no ground: a heretic, or schismatic, we may suppose, cannot write a good book in favour of his errors, or wrong conduct: but if he hold any truths in common with other men, I do not see why he may not be able to write well in defence of them: and I readily assent to Nicephorus in what he says of Eusebius, the famous bishop of Cæsarea; that he left many writings useful for the church, though he often favours Arianism. Και αλλα διαφορα συγγραμματα καταλελοιπε, πολλην ονησιν τη εκκλησια εισφερονται· πλην τοιουτος ων εν πολλοις φαινεται τα αριστα πρεσβευων. Nic. H. E. l. vi. c. 37, p. 446, c.

I have here added thus much concerning the time of Sabellius, to please Mr. Jackson; though I am of opinion that what I said formerly was sufficient.

II. I must take some notice of what Mr. Jackson says concerning the name of Novatus, otherwise called Novatianus.

I offered five arguments; the first of which was, that 'this presbyter of Rome is generally 'called Novatus by the Greek writers.' This argument I did not much labour, because I supposed it to be allowed by learned moderns, that the Greek authors do generally so write his

name. However, Mr. Jackson, affirms, p. 131, that 'my opinion is contrary to the testimony 'of the most ancient Greek, as well as Latin writers.' Let us then see how Mr. Jackson shews this.

He allows, p. 126, that 'Eusebius generally calls him Novatus; and the historian Socrates 'likewise after Eusebius.' But why does he say 'after Eusebius?' Doubtless Socrates had read Eusebius: but was he not also well acquainted with many of the Novatians at Constantinople? And had they not there divers learned men, who could inform him in the history of their founder?

At p. 126, Mr. Jackson says that 'though Eusebius himself calls him Novatus, he has pre-'served his true name in the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History, and eighth chapter; 'where he is called Novatian in the letter which his contemporary, Dionysius bishop of Alexan-'dria, wrote concerning his schism to his namesake of Rome.' But I should think that Mr. Jackson might be reasonably led to conclude that must be a wrong reading, even though it should be allowed to be ancient. For the title of that chapter is, 'Of the Heresy of Novatus:' and at the end of the preceding chapter Eusebius, introducing that letter to Dionysius of Rome, says that 'in it Dionysius of Alexandria writes concerning Novatus after this manner.' Γραφει δε αυτω μεθ' ετερα, των καθ' τον Νοβατον μνημονευων εν τουτοις. And in the 43d chapter of the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History, giving an account of the affair at Rome, both Eusebius and Cornelius himself, in his letter to Fabius, often mention the Roman presbyter by the name Novatus: it must therefore be probable that in one place an error has crept in contrary to the original reading: accordingly, in the Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, printed at Basil in 1611, or 1612, is Novatus; the translator, I suppose, taking it for granted that the other was a wrong reading: Novato quidem merito succensemus. Moreover, in the 45th chapter of the same sixth book of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, is a letter of Dionysius to the presbyter of Rome himself, where he calls him Novatus: Διονυσιος Νοβατω τω αδελφω χαιρειν. Indeed as that letter is given by Niceph. l. vi. c. 4, it has Novatianus: but surely Eusebius's authority is better than that of so late a writer, if indeed we have his authority for it: but probably that reading did not come from Nicephorus himself; for he too, as well as other Greek authors, writes his name Novatus. Vid. Niceph. l. vi. c. 3, T. i. p. 397. A. cap. 5, p. 394, c. 6, p. 395, et 396, c. 7, p. 397, B. &c. et cap. 35, p. 436, C. Και Σωκρατης ο εκ Ναυατου.——And, even introducing Dionysius's letter to Novatus, where we now have Novatian, Nicephorus says, 'that letter was written to Novatus.' Οποια δε και αυτω εκεινω Ναυατω την εν Ρωμη εκκλησιαν διασαλευουντι γεγραφε, παραθεσθαι δικαιον, L. 6. c. 4. p. 393. D. Insomuch that, though in the Greek copies of Nicephorus is Ναυατιανω, the Latin translator, sensible it must be a wrong reading, puts Novatus: Dionysius Novato fratri salutem: and so it is likewise in Rufinus's ancient Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, as was shewn formerly see p. 66.

I hope I have now at once shewn that Dionysius of Alexandria, and Nicephorus, as well as Eusebius, write the name of the presbyter of Rome, Novatus.

Still Mr. Jackson says, p. 127, that 'in the Chronography of Georgius Syncellus, p. 374, 'Dionysius calls the Roman presbyter to whom he wrote Novatian.' But then in the margin is put Novatus, as a various reading, or a correction of the text, as supposed to be corrupt, and with good reason; for elsewhere very often, perhaps forty or fifty times, that author writes Novatus.

Mr. Jackson says, p. 127, 'And Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History, l. iii. c. 8, calls the 'Roman presbyter Novatian, and so is expressly against Mr. L——, though he has alleged him 'on his side.' But let any attentive person judge whether Mr. Jackson has reason for what he says here: in that place indeed Sozomen has Novatian: but in another Novatus. Μαθων γαρ, Μακεδονιος τους πλειους ενθαδε τα Ναυατου φρονειν, κ. λ. l. iv. c. 21, p. 571, D. And in another place he expressly says that the name of the leader of the sect was Novatus. Ναυατος μεν γαρ, ος αρχηγος εγενετο της αιρεσεως. κ. λ. l. vi. c. 24, p. 670. A. It is likely therefore that, in the place referred to by Mr. Jackson, we have a wrong reading; for it is not reasonable to think that in that one place Sozomen intended to contradict himself, or that he used a different writing of the name from Eusebius and Socrates: but, however that be, should not the other places have been taken notice of by Mr. Jackson? Was Mr. Jackson in the right to conceal them from his readers? And was not I in the right to reckon Sozomen on my side, when he has left at least two places to one for me?

At p. 66, I mentioned Athanasius among other Greek authors writing Novatus. And certainly he is an ancient author: nor does Mr. Jackson attempt to weaken his testimony: I referred to but one passage in Athanasius; but I might have referred to others; and he is a good witness, having lived some while in the west: and that he means the presbyter of Rome is apparent. Vid. Ap. cont. Arian, n. 25, p. 144, E. F. Vid. et Ep. iv. ad Serap. n. 13. p. 704. E. The author of the Paschal Chronicle, giving the history of Dionysius of Alexandria and the Roman presbyter, calls him Novatus several times. Εν οις αρθεις υπερηφανειᾳ Ναυατος της Ρωμαιων εκκλησιας πρεσβυτερος ελεγεν. κ. λ. p. 271, C. vid. ib. D. et p. 272. A. Theodoret expressly makes Novatus presbyter of Rome author of the sect. Ο δε Ναυατος Ρωμαιων της εκκλησιας πρεσβυτερος ην. H. Fab. l. iii. cap. 5, and I might allege Philostorgius, Epiphanius, Zonaras, and other Greek authors, writing the name after the same manner: but I forbear. If I have set Mr. Jackson's readers right as to Dionysius of Alexandria, and Sozomen, I have performed all that was needful for repairing my first argument.

My second argument, p. 66, 67, was, 'that there are still remaining in Latin authors 'traces of their agreement with the Greek writers upon this head.' I allow that some ancient writers did, though corruptly, write the Roman presbyter's name Novatian: but I think that many others write it Novatus: of which we still have traces in the works of divers of them: but I am of opinion that in several passages the right reading has been altered; which has been owing to a notion, prevailing of late among moderns, that his name was Novatian.

Under that argument I produced passages of divers ancient Latin authors: one of those passages is from Hilary, at p. 249, which Mr. Jackson does not contest, because, as I suppose, he is sensible the Roman presbyter must be meant: other passages are from Jerom, Philaster, Augustine: these Mr. Jackson disputes; for he says those writers do not mean the presbyter of Rome, but the presbyter of Carthage. I argued that by Novatus Jerom must mean the Roman presbyter in several places of his works, because he speaks of him as an author, whereas Novatus of Carthage never was reckoned an author. In answer to this Mr. Jackson says, p. 129, that 'Jerom certainly meant Novatus of Carthage in all the places referred to by me; and that 'this Novatus he supposes to have been a writer in his 56th epistle to Tranquilinus, p. 589.' But I am apt to think that most readers, who look upon those passages of Jerom will be of a different mind, and think that probably Jerom means the Roman presbyter. Mr. Jackson has no reason for saying, that he 'certainly meant the presbyter of Carthage:' nor can I see that Jerom, in the epistle referred to by Mr Jackson, supposes Novatus to have been an author: I think he means the Roman presbyter, Mr. Jackson's author. The words are: Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium.——But who ever heard of the writings or the learning of Novatus of Carthage?

Some may make a doubt whether Philaster and Augustine, when they say the Novatians were so called from Novatus, mean the presbyter of Carthage or him of Rome: but it seems to me most likely that they mean the latter, who was by much the more famous man: nor can there be any good reason assigned why they should not there mean the same person, even the presbyter of Rome, to whom their brethren, the Greek writers, continually ascribe the unmerciful doctrine of rejecting penitents; to whom likewise the Latins themselves ascribe it very frequently; and I suppose it to be a common opinion, among learned and judicious moderns, that the party was not denominated from the presbyter of Carthage, but from the presbyter of Rome. Nefandæ seditione tamen Novatianus, non Novatus nomen imposuit. Basnag. An. 251. n. vi. Indeed Jerom says: Hujus auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit: which I have translated: 'The first author of this rigid 'principle was Novatus, Cyprian's presbyter,' p. 43. And Mr. Jackson, p. 128, translates it after this manner: 'The author of this sect was Novatus, one of Cyprian's presbyter's.' But I think that we have neither of us translated very happily; for that sense does not agree with the preceding words, where Jerom expressly says that Novatian, or Novatus of Rome, formed or constituted the sect of the Novatians. Novatianus Romanæ urbis presbyter, adversus Cornelium cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere Novatianum——dogma constituit, nolens apostatas suscipere pœnitentes. Hujus auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit. It seems to me therefore that in these last words Jerom intends to say. 'his adviser was Novatus, one of Cyprian's pres-'byters:' for, having before said that 'the presbyter of Rome formed the sect of the Novatians,' he cannot be diposed to say, presently afterwards, that Novatus of Carthage was the author of

the same sect. The most, I think that he can mean is, that the presbyter of Carthage helped and concurred with him at Rome: and this too it is likely is said by him upon the authority of St. Cyprian only. Moreover, it is observable that Novatus, the presbyter of Carthage, so long at least as he was in Africa, was of a quite contrary principle from that which distinguished the Novatian sect: he was for receiving those who had lapsed upon very easy terms; and though he may afterwards have embraced the rigid principle of that sect, yet it is not likely that he should have been the first author and proposer of it. I shall represent this in the words of some others, that it may not be suspected I state the case wrong. Secundum Baronii argumentum pariter infirmum, quod nempe cum duæ essent inter se contrariæ sectæ schismaticorum, Felicissimus ille sententiæ Novati adversarius erat, quod diceret, lapsos omnes absque pœnitentiæ mora recipiendos. Nam hæc nihil probant. Quippe Novatus, quamdiu in Africa fuit, semper se ejusdem cum Felicissimo sententiæ de lapsis recipiendis professus est. Cum autem Romam venisset, et se Novatiano adjunxisset, ut Romanum schisma promoveret, illius sententiam amplexus esse videbatur, sive serio, sive ficte, ut et ipse Novatianus sententiam suam jam mutaverat, ut Cornelio fortius contradicet. Pagi in Baron. A. D. 250, n. xiv. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. P. E. 371. n. v. Qua quidem in re a nonnullis in duo peccatum est extrema. Nam, Carthagine, Felicissimus, cui Novatus se adjunxit, lapsos omnes absque ulla mora recipiendos dixit. Contra, Romæ, Novatianus, ad quem et postea Novatus, mutatis partibus, accessit, lapsos nunquam recipi voluit. Turretin. Hist. Ec. Compend, p. 23. Novatus Carthagine, absente Cypriano, cum lapsis communicaverat——Paullo post Romam veniens Novatus simile inter Cornelium episcopum et Novatianum dissidium invenit, ex nimia Cornelii in lapsos indulgentia natum, et eousque excrescens, ut Novatianus a factiosis episcopus crearetur. Hic Novatum in aliud extremum pertraxit, suisque partibus junxit, quæ Catharorum, seu purorem superbivere nomine. Lampe Synops. Hist. Ec. p. 120. And here I think it would not be amiss for my readers to recollect what I said formerly, p. 51, 52, shewing that Cyprian beyond measure magnified the influence of his presbyter Novatus in the disturbances at Rome, and that Cyprian has been too much relied on by some.

My third argument was, 'The common appellation of this people shews that the name of 'their leader was Novatus, not Novatianus.' For they are generally called Novatians. If the name of their leader had been Novatianus, they would have been called Novatianenses, or somewhat like it; whereas there is but one instance of this, which is in Cyprian, and is cited from him by Augustine. I took notice of it, p. 67, nor has Mr. Jackson produced any other instance: he has therefore left this argument in its full force.

My fourth argument was, 'that there never was, that we know of, any one, in any age, 'called Novatian, unless the person in dispute was so named.' This argument Mr. Jackson has not touched, having no instance to allege; whilst Novatus is no uncommon name, as I shewed. This argument must be of considerable weight in a point of this kind; for it is not likely that this famous presbyter of Rome should be called by a name which no other man ever had, neither before him nor after him. Indeed this argument alone appears to me decisive, unless there is some clear evidence of another kind against it, which there is not.

In the fifth place I observed that some 'learned moderns seem to have supposed the name 'of this person to be Novatus.' And I referred to some, p. 69; to them ought to be added the author of the Roman edition of St. Ambrose's works, spoken of p. 67. The learned lawyer, Fr. Balduinus, likewise was of the same opinion: Ecclesiæ Romanæ presbyter Novatus, et Antiochenæ episcopus Paulus Samosatenus, magnas paulo ante turbas dederant. De Leg. C. M. l. i. p. 48. Vid. et ib. p. 65, m.

I accounted for Cyprian's manner of writing this person's name, p. 69, and shall add nothing more here.

Upon the whole it still appears to me highly probable that Novatus was the name of the presbyter of Rome, Cornelius's rival, and that Novatianus, or Novatian, is the denomination of his followers.

I am sorry to have spent so much time upon this point: and if, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted to take particular notice of any difficulty in Mr. Jackson, I hope the reader will find it obviated in the note upon chap. xlvii. p. 66—69.

CHAP. LXII.

ARCHELAUS, BISHOP IN MESOPOTAMIA.

I. *The history and antiquity of a work ascribed to Archelaus.* II. *Extracts out of it, and the author's testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. Says Jerom: 'Archelaus,[a] a bishop of Mesopotamia, wrote in the Syriac language a book of 'his Conference [or Dispute] with Manichee at his coming out of Persia, which has been 'translated into Greek. He flourished under the emperor Probus, who succeeded Aurelian 'and Tacitus.'

This piece, as we now have it, contains two conferences with Mani, one at Caschar, or Carchar, a city in the Roman part of Mesopotamia, and another at Diodoris, a village, or a small town, in the same country: with an historical account of the life and death of Mani, and some other things.

The greatest part of it is now only in a Latin translation, not made from the supposed Syriac original, but from [b] Greek. When this Latin translation was made is not certain. Zacagni, the editor, supposeth that [c] it was not in being in Jerom's time, but that however it was made before the seventh century. Another learned writer argues, that [d] this translation was not made sooner than the sixth, or the latter part of the fifth century; because the conference itself was unknown to Augustine, and likewise to pope Leo, who died in 461.

It is thought that [e] this piece is not now entire and complete.

Archelaus is placed by Cave, and many others, as flourishing about the year 278. Beausobre's opinion of this book, entitled 'The Acts of the Disputation of Archelaus with Mani, or 'Manichee,' is, 'that [f] it is in general a romance, published by some Greek, about the year of our 'Lord 330, fifty or sixty years after Mani's death.' 'There are in it,' he [g] says, 'some truths, 'but not many; and those disguised and mixed with manifest falsehoods.' Again: 'It [h] is a 'fiction of some Greek, who, having got some memoirs concerning the life and opinions of Mani, 'resolved to write a history of him, and confute his errors.'

I fear that account of this book is too just, and that a large part of it is fiction: of which I may say more in the next [i] chapter. At present I would chiefly consider the author and the time of his work.

As for the author of the book, Jerom supposed it to have been written in Syriac by Archelaus himself, and then translated into Greek: but he does not name the translator. Epiphanius [k] likewise [l] and Cyril of Jerusalem, and [m] Socrates, ascribe the book to Archelaus: but by Photius we are informed that [n] Heraclean, bishop of Chalcedon, in his book against the Manichees, said, Hegemonius wrote the Dispute of Archelaus. This has induced [o] Cave, and others,

[a] Archelaüs, episcopus Mesopotamiæ, librum disputationis suæ, quam habuit adversum Manichæum, exeuntem ex perside, Syro sermone composuit, qui translatus in Græcum habetur a multis. Claruit sub Imperatore Probo, qui Aureliano et Tacito successerat. De V. I. c. 72.

[b] Porro Græcam versionem, non vero Syriacum textum, præ manibus Latinum interpretem habuisse——satis superque demonstratur. Zacagn. Præf. sect. v. in. [c] Ib. n. iv. f.

[d] See Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. T. i. Diss. Prelim. p. 6.

[e] Illud tamen dissimulare non possum, Acta ista disputationis Archelai cum Manete, quæ ex Vaticano Casinensis codicis apographo primi edimus, integra nequaquam videri, sed pluribus in locis a librario mutilata. Zac. ib. n. 14. in.

[f] En général toute cette pièce, qu' on nomme les Actes de la Dispute d'Archélaüs, n'est qu'un roman fabriqué par un Grec, et publié depuis l'an 330, soixante ans, ou environ, après la mort de Manichée. Beaus. ib. p. 6.

[g] Il y a quelque verités, mais en petit nombre; et le peu qu'il y en a, est altéré, confus, mêlé de fables manifestes.—— id. ib.

[h] Dès que j'eus lû cette pièce, que feu M. Zacagni, bibliothécaire du Vatican, publia le premier toute entière, j'eus un grand soupçon, que la Dispute de Cascar n'étoit qu' une fiction de quelque Grec, qui, ayant eu des mémoires touchant la vie et les dogmes de Manichée, voulut écrire son histoire, et refuter ses erreurs. L'examen changea mes soupçons en certitude. Id. in Preface. T. i. p. vi.

[i] See the first section in the next chapter, numb. i. 2.

[k] *από τε Αρχελαε βιβλιε.* Epiph. H. 66, n. 32, in Vid. et n. 21. [l] Cat. 6, n. 27, p. 104.

[m] H. E. l. i. c. 22, p. 56, D.

[n] *Ηγεμονιον τε τον {τας} Αρχελαε προς αυτον αντιλογιας αναγραψαντα.* Phot. Cod. 85, p. 204.

[o] Unde conceptis pene verbis jurare ausim, non alium hu-

to look upon Hegemonius as the translator. Zacagni says that [a] Hegemonius not only translated the Syriac, but made additions of his own. To the like purpose [b] Asseman. Both which last writers ascribe such additions and alterations to Hegemonius, an author whose age is unknown, as must greatly lessen the authority of this work; more, perhaps, than they imagined.

But Beausobre says that this piece was originally written in Greek, and that Hegemonius was the author, and that it was not written before the year 330. He argues in this [c] manner: 'Eusebius published his Ecclesiastical History about fifty years after the death of Mani. He 'there speaks of this heresiarch, and his heresy: but he says not one word of his excursion into 'the Roman Mesopotamia, nor of his disputes with Archelaus. Since Eusebius says nothing of 'these matters, it may be concluded that he was entirely ignorant of them: but it is not to be 'supposed that he should be ignorant of so public an event that had happened half a century before: 'nor that he should omit to relate so memorable a thing if he knew it.' Beausobre thinks that Archelaus must have been entirely unknown to Eusebius: and therefore he concludes that these Acts of Archelaus did not appear until after Eusebius had published his Ecclesiastical History; that is, in the space of time between the year 326 or 330, and the year 348 or 350, when Cyril of Jerusalem wrote his Catechetical Discourses, who is the first author that has quoted this piece. Nor does it appear that [d] St. Ephrem who was of Mesopotamia, and died in 373, has any where taken notice of this Disputation, though he often speaks of Mani. Moreover there is a particular in the book itself, which leads him to conclude it was composed between the years 330 and 340. This time, says Beausobre, is distinctly marked in some words, which the writer puts into the mouth of Archelaus, for convincing Mani that he could not be the promised Paraclete. 'When [e] you say you are the Paraclete, perhaps you little think that you charge Christ with 'falsehood: who, though he promised to send him soon after his resurrection, has not sent him 'till above three hundred years afterwards.' These three hundred years come out in the year of our Lord 333 or 334. Zacagni says this [f] dropped from Archelaus in the heat of dispute: because from the death of Christ, to the conference at Caschar, there were not more than 249 years: but, says [g] Beausobre, I think otherwise. Nothing is more common than for impostors, who make another speak, not to remember every thing that is agreeable to the character they have introduced, and to thrust in themselves without thinking of it. Hegemonius, who in fact lived more than three hundred years after our Saviour's resurrection, thought of the time when he himself lived, not that of Archelaus, who was speaking. So that learned author.

I must be here indulged the liberty of making some remarks. I readily own I am inclined to think with Beausobre that this work was originally written in Greek, not in Syriac.

The argument from the silence of Eusebius is specious; and yet, possibly, not conclusive. It is indeed strange that he should never mention the name of Archelaus. Nor do I pretend to confute this argument of Beausobre; for it is almost inconceivable, that Eusebius should be ignorant of Archelaus if these disputes were real. However, I would not omit any thoughts which offer, and may tend to bring truth to light; and therefore I observe, that though Archelaus, and these conferences in Mesopotamia are never mentioned by Eusebius, some may suspect that he had seen this book called the Acts of Archelaus: for in his Ecclesiastical History, when he speaks of Mani, and so particularly insists [h] upon the barbarism of his language and manners, he may be thought to refer to passages in the Acts, which [i] resemble his account. And in his [k] Chronicle

justo versionis auctorem fuisse quam Hegemonium nostrum, nec aliam eam, quam quâ Cyrillus, Epiphanius, alique olim usi sunt. Cav. De Hegemonio, in Diss. de Scriptor. incert. æt.

[a] ——Hegemonium vero, quæ ab Archelao jam edita fuerant, meliori non solum ordine digessisse verum ejiam exordio, epilogo, aliisque nonnullis locupletâsse, ut omnibus numeris absoluta celeberrimæ illius disputationis acta ad posteros transmitterentur. Zac. Præf. cap. 4, p. iv.

[b] Quæ quum ita sint, ab eodem Hegemonio videntur quædam ex illis Actis mutilata, quædam etiam addita. Assem. Bib. or. T. 3. P. 2. p. 47, in. Vid. quæ ibidem præeunt et sequuntur.

[c] B. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 5, 6, p. 145, 146.

[d] Ib. p. 146.

[e] ——dicens se esse paracletum, qui ab Jesu præsignatus est mitti, in quo mendacem ignorans fortasse asserit Jesum: qui enim dixerat se non multo post missurum esse paracletum, inveniur post trecentos, et eo amplius annos misisse hunc Arch. c. 27, p. 46.

[f] Contentionis æstu actus videtur hic dixisse Archelaus, post trecentos et amplius annos a Christi morte Manetem emersisse: nam a Christe morte usque ad habitæ cum Manete disputationis tempus, anni circiter 249 intercedunt. Zacag. in. not. ad Arch. p. 46.

[g] Beaus. ubi supr. p. 153.

[h] βαρβαρος ὑητα τον βιον αυτω λογω και τροπω.——H. E. l. 7. c. 31.

[i] Persa barbare, non Græcorum linguæ, non Ægyptiorum, non Romanorum, non ullius alterius linguæ scientiam habere potuisti, sed Chaldæorum solum, quæ ne in numerum quidem aliquem ducitur. Act. Arch. c. 36, p. 63. Et Confer. c. 12. p. 23.

[k] Secundo anno Probi——insana Manichæorum hæresis in commune humani generis malum exorta. Eus. Chr. p. 177.

the appearance of Mani is placed in the reign of Probus, agreeably to these [a] Acts. Indeed I do not lay much stress upon this last particular, because I think the article concerning Mani, in the Chronicle, may be entirely Jerom's, and not Eusebius's: but with Beausobre it should have some weight, because he allows that [b] whole paragraph to be Eusebius's.

As for the space of three hundred years, mentioned in the Acts, it deserves little consideration. Arguments from numbers are oftentimes of small moment. Some mistakes are made by transcribers. Writers themselves are not seldom mistaken in their computations. St. Chrysostom [c] reckoned it to have been five hundred years from the destruction of Jerusalem to his own time, though it was not much above three hundred years. It was to the purpose of the person, who managed the supposed dispute against Mani, to enhance the time. Moreover people delight in round numbers. And just before the time is said to be [d] almost three hundred years. It is the less likely that the writer should forget himself, and put his own time instead of that of the speaker's, because he presently afterwards mentions the reign of [e] Probus.

Having given these sentiments of others, and made remarks upon them, I now proceed to observe, that the antiquity of this piece is manifest from the use made of it by Cyril and Epiphanius in the fourth century, and from the notice taken of it by Jerom in his Catalogue, before the end of the same century.

There are other arguments of its early age: I shall mention several things, though not all of equal importance.

Archelaus, or whoever is the writer, naming several heretics, mentions none below [f] Sabellius: nor do there any where appear in this book any traces of that remarkable period in the church, the council of Nice. Moreover, the author allots but [g] one year to Christ's ministry, or at least to the most public part of it, after he had called his disciples to attend him. He allows that [h] men might attain to virtue by the light of nature, though a few only. He does not extol affected voluntary poverty, as some have done; but [i] allows him, who well useth a good estate, to be equally virtuous with him who gives away all he has. Tillemont says: 'In this [k] work we 'meet with some opinions more common in the primitive times than they have been since the 'history and the doctrine of the church have been cleared up. The author seems not to under-'stand the union of the two natures in Christ.' Beausobre has an observation of the like kind, and says, that '[l] the author speaks more like an unitarian than a catholic.' I add, that he seems to have condemned all war as unlawful; for, [m] relating that some Roman soldiers, charmed with the piety and generosity of Marcellus were induced to embrace the Christian religion, he says that they immediately forsook the profession of arms.

These particulars may be reckoned evidences of great antiquity: but when the book was composed, I cannot certainly say; whether near the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth century: nor am I able to determine who is the author.

II. My extracts out of it will contain chiefly the author's testimony to the books of the New Testament.

1. But I would just observe that [n] he speaks of divers of our Lord's miracles, and other historical facts, recorded in the gospels.

2. We do not find all the books of the New Testament quoted in this piece: it is likely that there was no particular occasion for it.

3. He mentions [o] the New Testament, the gospels, and the apostle Paul's epistle: for which not only he, but Mani likewise, had a great regard.

[a] C. 27, p. 46. [b] B. ib. p. 122.

[c] Πεντακοσιοστον γαρ λοιπον εξ εκεινου εστιν ετος μεχρις ημων. Chrys. adv. Jud. Hom. 6. T. i. p. 651, B.

[d] ——eum qui post trecentos fere annos venerit. Arch. n. 27. p. 45.

[e] ——sub Probo demum Romano imperatori misisti. ib. p. 46. [f] Vid. cap. 37, et 38.

[g] Nec in aliquo remoratus Dominus noster Jesus intra unius anni spatium languentium multitudines reddidit sanitati, mortuos luci. ib. c. 34, p. 58. Cum discipuli ejus per annum integrum manserunt cum eo. ib. c. 50, p. 93, m.

[h] Verum quia pauci per hunc modum poterant ad justitiæ culmen adscendere, id est, per parentum traditiones, nullâ in literis lege conscriptâ. c. 28, p. 48.

[i] Bonum, inquam, his qui possunt: sed abuti divitiis ad opus justitiæ atque misericordiæ parem gratiam tribuit, [Jesus] ac si universis pariter renuntietur. c. 42, p. 75.

[k] Mem. Ec. T. 4. P. 2. Les Manichéens. Art. 12. p. 796.

[l] Beaus. ib. p. 116.

[m] At illi [milites] admirati, et amplexi tam immensam viri pietatem, munificentiamque,—commoventur, ut plurimi ex ipsis adderentur ad fidem domini nostri Jesu Christi, derelicto militiæ cingulo. Arch. cap. 1. p. 2. Vid. ib. Zacagn. not. [3.] et Conf. Beaus. Hist. Manich. T. 2. p. 797.

[n] Vid. cap. 34, p. 58, c. 36, p. 63.

[o] Sunt etiam alia multa, quæ dici possent et de apostolo Paulo, et de Evangeliis, ex quibus ostendere possumus, veterem legem non esse alterius, quam Domini, cujus est novum Testamentum. Arch. c. 45. p. 82. Vid. etiam cap. 40, p. 69, m.

4. Quoting St. Matthew's gospel, he calls him [a] an evangelist of the Spirit.

5. A passage of St. Mark's gospel is cited [b] as the word of God.

6. Quoting John. i. 16, he calls [c] him 'Saint John the greatest of the evangelists;' if that is not the style of the Latin translator.

7. Here is mention made of [d] the book of the gospels.

8. The book of the Acts is quoted and called [e] scripture.

9. Divers of St. Paul's epistles are expressly quoted. That to the Romans is called [f] his first epistle, because, as I suppose, it was placed first in the collection.

10. There seems to be an expression, borrowed from the epistle to the Hebrews, in Mani's [g] letter to Marcellus, inserted in these Acts: and there appears to be a reference to Heb. iii. 3, 5, 6, in some words of [h] Archelaus.

11. I do not see any of the Catholic epistles quoted, except the first epistle of St. John. Mani himself is here brought in arguing from [i] 1 John v. 19: "The whole world lies in wickedness," or in the wicked one, as he understands it.

12. Antichrist is here often [k] spoken of: but there is scarce any clear reference to the book of the Revelation. However, it should be observed by us, that in the Revelation, ch. xii. 9, Satan is represented by the character of the 'great dragon.' And in this dispute he is spoken of [l] as 'the dragon, our perpetual enemy.'

13. The writer's respect for the scriptures now commonly received, is manifest from his very numerous and frequent quotations of them as decisive, and of authority in all disputed points of religion.

CHAP. LXIII.

MANI, AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

SECT. I. *A general history of the Manichees.*

I. *Passages of ancient writers concerning them.* 1. *Eusebius of Cæsarea;* 2. *Socrates;* 3. *Libanius.* II. *Authors who wrote against them;* 1. *Heraclean;* 2. *Alexander of Lycopolis;* 3. *Augustine;* 4. *Serapion;* 5. *Titus of Bostra;* 6. *Didymus;* 7. *Authors omitted by Fabricius;* 8. *Syrian authors against them.* III. *Though they were in many places, they were no where numerous.* IV. *Eminent men among the Manichees;* 1. *Alexander of Lycopolis;* 2. *Augustine.* 3. *Adimantus;* 4. *Agapius;* 5. *Apthonius;* 6. *Faustus;* 7. *Hierax;* 8. *Sebastian;* 9. *Secundinus.* V. *Their ecclesiastical constitution.* VI. *Their manners vindicated from aspersions.* VII. *A brief account of the persecutions which they suffered.*

I CHOOSE to begin this chapter with a general history of Mani, and the sect called after his name.

I. In the first place I would allege some passages of ancient writers who have mentioned them.

1. Eusebius's article concerning them in his Ecclesiastical History is to this purpose: 'About [m]

[a] Sed et Spiritûs Evangelista Matthæus [cap. xxiv.] diligentur significavit Domini nostri Jesu Christi sermonem. Act. Arch. c. 35, p. 61.

[b] Quid enim ait sermo divinus? Quis enim potest introire in domum fortis, et diripere vasa ejus, nisi illo sit fortior? [Mar. iii. 27] ib. c. 16, p. 30.

[c] Sed et sanctus Joannes, maximus Evangelistarum, ait, gratiam gratiâ præstare, &c. ib. c. 45, p. 82.

[d] —— sicut scriptum est in Evangeliorum libro. c. 13, p 24.

[e] Quid enim dicit scriptura? Quia unusquisque propriâ suâ linguâ audiebat per Paracletum spiritum loquentes apostolos? ib. c. 36, p. 63. Vid. et cap. 34, p. 59.

[f] Ipse quoque in primâ epistolâ suâ posuit, dicens. ib. c. 34, p. 59.

[g] Αρχην γαρ, και τελος, και τον τουτων πατερα των κακων επι το Θεον αναφερεσιν, ων το τελος καταρας εγγυς. ib. c. 5. p. 7. Vid. Hebr. vi. 8.

[h] Ita et si Dominus meus Jesus Christus præcellit in gloriâ Möysen, tamquam Dominus famulum, non propterea respuenda est gloria Möysi. Arch. c. 43, p. 77.

[i] Malum vero esse tam mundum hunc, quam omnia quæ in eo sunt,——sicut ait Joannes, Totus mundus in maligno est positus, et non in Deo. cap. 14, p. 26.

[k] Vid. c. 36, p. 62, 63.

[l] Credo, quod habeat adjutorem draconem illum, qui nobis semper inimicus est. c. 40, p. 69.

[m] Εν τουτῳ και ὁ μανεις τας φρενας, επωνυμος τε της δαιμονιωσης αιρεσεως.——Eus. H. E. l. 7, c. 31.

'the same time that madman, fitly named Manes, formed the wild heresy called after his name, 'being set up for the ruin of many by Satan the adversary of God. This person [a] was a barba-'rian in every respect, both in his speech, and in his manners. As for his [b] disposition, it was 'diabolical and furious; for he made an appearance of being Christ himself. Sometimes he gave 'out that he was the Comforter, and the Holy Ghost himself. To madness he added excessive 'pride; and, as if he had been Christ, he chose twelve to be companions with him in his inno-'vation. His scheme was patched up of many false and impious heresies, long since extinct. 'This venemous principle was brought into our world, the Roman empire, from Persia. From 'that time the impious doctrine of the Manichees has infected many. Such was the rise of that 'science falsely so called.'

In this place Eusebius appears much out of humour: he is scarce master of himself: whether his expressions are just may perhaps be considered hereafter.

In [c] his, or Jerom's Chronicle, the rise of this sect is with much particularity distinctly fixed at the second year of the emperor Probus, which is the year of Christ 277.

This would be a proper place for me to consider the time of the rise of Manichæism: but being unwilling to render this article, the general history of Manichæism, too prolix, I shall defer it until I come to give a succinct history of Mani himself.

However I would here observe, that I do not remember the Manichees to be any where else mentioned by Eusebius; which may be reckoned somewhat strange, if in his time they were numerous in any parts of the Roman empire: in his Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaiah, and elsewhere, he might have had frequent occasions to confute them. A great number of heresies of various kinds, some [d] resembling the Manichæan principle, are censured in the Apology for Origen, written jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius. If the Manichees had been well known in the Roman empire, at the beginning of the fourth century, we might have expected to see them there particularly named, which they are not.

Since writing this, I have observed these words in Tillemont, whom nothing escapes. The article concerning the Manichees in the Chronicle he considers as Jerom's: it is only the passage in the History which he reckons Eusebius's; whereupon he [e] says: 'Eusebius, who speaks little 'of this heresy, does not precisely mark the time of it: he seems willing however to have it 'thought that [f] it began in the time of pope Felix, who governed the church according to him, 'from 276 to 281.'

2. In the next place I intend to transcribe a long passage of Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, who flourished about the year of Christ 440.

'But [g] it is an usual thing for cockle to grow up among good grain. It is agreeable to envy 'to lay snares for the righteous. Not long before the reign of Constantine there sprang up a kind 'of heathenish Christianity, which mingled itself with the true Christian religion: as heretofore 'false prophets arose together with the prophets, and false apostles with the apostles. For in 'those days the doctrine of Empedocles, a heathen philosopher, was clandestinely introduced 'into Christianity: of this Eusebius Pamphilus has made mention in the seventh book of his 'Ecclesiastical History, but without any particularity; for which reason I have judged it not 'improper to supply his omissions; thereby it may be known who this Manichee was, and 'whence he came, who made this audacious attempt. One Scythian, a Saracen, married a captive 'woman, native of the Upper Thebais; upon her account he lived in Egypt. Having been in-'structed in the learning of the Egyptians, he introduced the doctrine of Empedocles and 'Pythagoras into Christianity; asserting [h] two natures, one good, the other evil, as Empedocles 'did; and calling the evil nature Discord, the good nature Friendship. Buddas, formerly

[a] Βαρβαρος ὁητα τον ξιον αυτω λογω και τροπῳ, την τε φυσιν δαιμονικος τις ων και μανιωδης. Ακολεθα τετοις εγχειρων, Χριστον αυτον μορφαζεσθαι επειρατο, τοτε μεν τον παρακλητον, και αυτο το πνευμα το ἁγιον αυτος εαυτον ανακηρυττων· κ. λ. ib.

[b] Beausobre thinks that here Eusebius has done wrong to Mani, and that his picture of Mani has little resemblance. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 108.

[c] Secundo anno Probi, juxta Antiochenos cccxxv. anno juxta Tyrios cccciii,——insana Manichæorum hæresis in commune humani generis malum exorta. Euseb. Chron. p. 177.

[d] —— vel secundum eos, qui Deum quidem fatentur, non tamen hominem assumsisse, id est, animam corpusque terrenum, qui sub specie quasi amplioris gloriæ Jesu Domino deferendæ, omnia quæ ab eo gesta sunt phantastice magis quam vere gesta esse testantur. Pro. Orig. Ap. ap. Hieron. Opp. T. 5, p. 226. m.

[e] Note v. sur les Manich. T. iv. P. 2, p. 936.

[f] Vid. Eus. l. 7, cap. 30, 31, p. 283. C.

[g] Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 22, 55—57.

[h] Δυο φυσεις ειπων, αγαθην τε και πονηραν, ὡς και Εμπεδοκλης, νεικος ονομαζων την πονηραν, φιλιαν δε την αγαθην. ib. p. 55. C.

'named Terebinthus, became a disciple of that Scythian: he travelled into the country of Babylonia, which is inhabited by the Persians, where he told a great many strange stories of himself; 'as that he was born of a virgin, and brought up in the mountains: afterwards he wrote four books, 'one of which was entitled, Of Mysteries, another The Gospel, a third The Treasure, and the 'fourth Heads, [or Chapters.] While he was performing some of his pretended sacred rites he 'was thrown down by a spirit and died. The woman at whose house he dwelled buried him: 'she, coming to the possession of his money, bought a boy seven years of age, named [a] Cubricus; 'this boy she made free, and gave him a good education. Some time after this [b] she died, 'leaving the boy all the estate she had by Terebinthus, and the books he had written, according 'to the instructions received from Scythian. Cubricus now free, and thus enriched, went into 'Persia; where he changed his name, calling himself Manes; there he distributed among his 'seduced followers the books of Buddas, or Terebinthus, as his own. The contents of these 'books are in expression Christian, in sentiment heathenish; for the impious Manichee directs 'the worship of many gods, and teaches that the sun ought to be adored: he likewise introduces [c] 'fate, and destroys man's free-will. He openly teaches transmigration; following herein the 'sentiment of Empedocles, Pythagoras, and the Egyptians. He denies that [d] Christ had real 'flesh, making him a mere phantom. He rejects the law and the prophets, and calls himself the 'Paraclete: all which things are contrary to the sense of the orthodox church. Moreover, in [e] 'his epistles he had the presumption to style himself apostle: at length he met with the deserved 'punishment of such an impostor upon this occasion. The son of the king of Persia happened 'to fall sick; the father, as the saying is, left no stone unturned, being extremely desirous to 'save his son's life: having heard of Manichee, [f] and supposing the strange things he had heard 'of him to be true, he sends for him as an apostle, hoping that by him he might save his son: 'when he was come he pretended to undertake the cure of the king's son. But when the king 'saw that his son died in his hands, he shut him up in prison, intending to put him to death; 'but he made his escape and came into Mesopotamia. The king of Persia hearing that he was 'in those parts, sent after him, got him apprehended, and flayed him alive: after which his skin 'was filled with chaff and hung up at the gate of the city. This account is no forgery of ours; 'it is collected out of the book of Archelaus, bishop of Caschar, a city in Mesopotamia, which 'we have met with and read: for Archelaus himself says he had disputed with him in person; 'and he there relates the several particulars which I have just written concerning him.'

Thus I have given the history of Mani, and his principles in the words of this ancient writer, which will serve for a text to be commented upon. Once I was somewhat desirous to set before my readers in this place St. Augustine's article of the Manichees in his book Of Heresies; but it is too abstruse and dogmatical; therefore I thought this historical account preferable. There is another reason which discouraged the design of translating Augustine, and may be soon perceived by those who look into him: but though I do not here, nor any where else, translate that article of Augustine entire, I shall make good use of it, and frequently quote it.

In this passage of Socrates we see a proof of the truth of Beausobre's observation, that [g] from the book called The Acts of Archelaus, the ancient Christian writers took the history of Mani, and of the origin of Manichæism, which they have given us. Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius,

[a] Named Cubricus.] He is generally so called. Cyril and Epiphanius write the name Κεβρικος, as well as Socrates. But in the Acts of Archelaüs his name is written Corbicius. Quæ cum sola esset, habere aliquem ad ministerium volnit, et comparavit sibi puerum annorum ferme septem, Corbicium nomine, quem statim manumisit, ac literis erudivit. Act. Arch. c. 53, p. 97. In the Historia Hæreseos Manichæorum, published by Pfaff, at the end of Lactantii Epitome, p. 183, the name is a little different.——Puerum sibi pro senectutis solatio comparavit, nomine Curbitius, quem et literis non mediocribus erudivit. In former editions of Augustine, Mani's first name is said to have been Urbicus. But in the Benedictine edition that paragraph, at the beginning of Augustine's article of the Manichees, [De Hær. c. 46] is left out upon the authority of manuscripts. Beausobre says, none of these names have an Oriental air. And he suspects that the right name is Carcubius. See Beaus. T. i. p. 67.

[b] When that widow died, Cubricus is said to have been twelve years of age. Quique cum duodecim annorum esset: effectus, anus illa diem obiit, &c. ap. Arch. c. 53, p. 97.

[c] Και ειμαρμενην εισαγει, και το εφ' ημιν αναιρει. Socr. ib. p. 56, A.

[d] Και τον Χριστον εν σαρκι γεγονεναι ου βουλεται, φαντασμα αυτον λεγων ειναι· και νομον και προφητας αθετει· και εαυτον ονομαζει παρακλητον. ib. p. 56, B.

[e] Εν δε ταις επιστολαις και αποστολον εαυτον ονομαζειν ετολμησεν. ibid.

[f] μαθων τε περι τε Μανιχαιε, και τας τερατειας αυτε νομισας ειναι αληθεις, ως αποστολον μεταπεμπεται, πιστευσας δι' αυτον σωθησεσθαι τον υιον· ὁ δε παραγενομενος μετα τε επιπλαστε σχηματος εγχειριζεται τον τε βασιλεως υιον· ὁ δε βασιλευς, εωρακως ὁτι ὁ παις εν ταις χερσιν ετεθνηκει, κ. λ. ib. p. 56, C.

[g] Beaus. Hist. de Manich. p. 6. T. i.

Socrates, the Greeks in general, have all drawn from this source; as is acknowledged too by [a] Petavius and [b] Tillemont.

We have seen the account which Socrates gives of the death of Mani, taken from the fore-mentioned book: but Socrates flourishes when he says that 'the king of Persia having heard of 'the strange things said to be done by Mani, and believing them to be true, sent for him as an 'apostle.' There is nothing like this in Archelaus, whose [c] words I transcribe at the bottom of the page.

That Mani was put to death needs not to be contested. It is mentioned by [d] Alexander of Lycopolis; the memory of it was celebrated [e] by his followers in an annual festivity, observed by them with a good deal of pomp and splendour: and, as [f] Beausobre says, 'it is not impossible 'but the death of the young prince may have brought upon him the displeasure of the king: but 'it is certain that the eastern writers do ascribe this disgrace to his opinions in religion; and, if 'I may say it, to his Christianity, which seems to be better proved.'

Indeed the author of the dispute seems himself to have been aware of something of this kind; for he says that [g] Mani, whilst in prison, sent out his disciples to spread abroad his opinions. The king being informed of this, sends orders for putting him to death; but as he says, Mani bribing his keepers with a large sum of money, got out of prison, and thus escaped for the present.

Beausobre has a large number of exceptions to the history of Mani in the Acts of Archelaus's Dispute, to whom I refer the reader. I shall put down here some observations which I have myself made in reading those Acts.

Mani was a Persian: but the writer of the dispute seems little acquainted with Persian affairs. He supposeth that Probus was the Roman emperor at the time in which he placeth the conference; but the king of Persia, so often mentioned by that title, is never named. Some may be apt to suspect he did not certainly know who was king of Persia when Probus was emperor, and therefore feared to put down any name, lest it would be a mistake, which might afterwards be detected and exposed: then the history of Mani is here related, as if the whole course of his affairs happened under one prince only; whereas learned moderns are now clearly of opinion that [h] those transactions were in the time of three or four reigns of several kings of Persia. Moreover, this writer supposeth, that Mani, or his teachers and predecessors, learned the doctrine of two natures, or two principles, from Empedocles, and other Greeks; whereas it is much more likely that he had it from the [i] Persians.

There are many improbabilities in the historical part of that dispute. Mani is said to have been imprisoned; but, if the king of Persia had been displeased with him on account of the death of his son, I think he would not have put him to prison, but would have put him to death presently.

[a] Ex hac Archelai relatione cæteri deinceps hauserunt omnes, qui hæretici istius historiam et dogmata scriptis tradiderunt. Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. p. 289.

[b] Les petites différences, qui se recontrent entr' eux, (savoir Epiphane, Cyrille, Socrate) n'empêchent pas qu' on ne voye qu' ils ont tous puisé dans la même source. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. 4, p. 2, Art. 12, p. 794.

[c] Cum ergo illi essent profecti, regis filius ægritudine quâdam arreptus est, quem rex curari desiderans, edictum proposuit in vitâ, [f. invitans] si quis eum curare possit, accipere præmium, multo proposito. Tum iste——præsentiam suam Manes exhibet, dicens se esse puerum curaturum, quæ cum audisset rex, suscepit eum cum obsequio, ac libenter habuit. Verum——mortuus est puer in manibus ejus, vel potius extinctus. Arch. c. 53, p. 98.

[d] ——συγγρατευσαι τε Σαπωρῳ τῳ Περσῃ· προσκρουσαντα δε τι τουτῳ ἀποθανειν, Alex. Lyc. p. 4. in.

[e] ——cum vestrum bema, id est, diem quo Manichæus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructo tribunali et pretiosis linteis adornato,——magnis honoribus prosequamini. Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c. 8.

[f] B. ib. p. 82, 85, 86.

[g] His ergo tam scelerate compositis, mittit et discipulos suos prædicaturos intrepide fictos simulatosque errores, et novas, falsasque voces annuntiaturos per loca singula. Quod cum rex Persarum cognovisset, dignis eum suppliciis subdere parat. Quo Manes agnito, admonitus in somnis, elapsus de carcere, in fugam versus est, auro plurimo custodibus corruptis, et mansit in castello Arabionis. Arch. c. 59, p. 69.

[h] Sharistani in libro de Religionibus Orientis de eo refert: Mani apparuit tempore Shabur filii Ardeshir, et occidit eum Behram filius Hormuz, Filii Shabur. Hyde de Relig. V. Pers. cap. 21, p. 282, Conf. Herbelot Bib. Orient V. Mani.

Mais voici une ignorance, une erreur, qu' on ne sauroit excuser. C'est d'avoir mis sous un même règne le cours entier d'une affaire, qui commença sous l'ayeul, ou le bisayeul, et qui ne s'acheva que sous le petit-fils, ou l'arriere-petit-fils. Beaus. T. i. p. 128.

Car Sapor, qui régnoit depuis 240, ou 241, mourut vers 271. Hormisdas son fils en 272, et Vararane fils d'Hormisdas en 276. Ainsi ce sera Vararane II. fils de celuici, qui aura fait mourir Manichée en 277, ou 278. Till. Mem. Ec. les Manichéens Art. vii. in fin.

[i] Græcis Budda Empedoclis opinionem amplexus dicitur, duo rerum pugnantia inter se principia statuentis.——Verum rectius a Persarum magis accepisse videtur. Hyde ib. p. 285. ——Verum rectius a Persis, seu Persarum magis, id accepisse videtur, qui αγαθον δαιμονα, και κακον δαιμονα,——statuebant, ut est apud Laërtium in Proœmio, &c. Toll. Insign. Ital. p. 126, in not.

Supposing Mani to have been imprisoned by the king of Persia, it is not easy to conceive how he could escape, and get to Caschar, or Carchar, said to be a city in the Roman Mesopotamia.

The writer of the Dispute says, in that city lived a Christian, of great note for wealth and liberality: Mani in Persia heard of his fame, and was very desirous, as [a] is related, to make a convert of him, hoping he might by him gain the whole province; but not chusing to come to him without some previous notice, he deputes one of his disciples, by name Turbo, whom he sends with a letter to that eminent Christian: this letter is fully inscribed: 'Manichee [b] to Marcellus.' But could that be safely or prudently done by a man who had escaped out of prison, and every where sought by his sovereign;

The [c] messenger who carries back an answer from Marcellus, finds Mani in a castle named [d] Arabion, a Persian fortress, as it seems, upon the frontier: Mani thereupon comes in great haste to Marcellus at Caschar; and he [e] has in his company two-and-twenty, or, in another copy, twelve young men and virgins; that is, so [f] many men who professed virginal chastity; and he is himself dressed very politely after the Persian manner. How can it be thought that a person under his prince's displeasure should travel with such attendants?

Moreover, when the disputations in the Roman part of Mesopotamia were over, and he was disagreeable to the people of Caschar and Diodoris, where the conferences were held, he [g] returns to Arabion, where he is taken up by the king's soldiers: but would any man of common sense act in this manner, who was liable to capital punishment for such an offence as is here supposed?

It it also remarkable that Mani's letter to Marcellus brought by Turbo, begins in this manner: 'Manichee [h] apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the saints and virgins with me, send peace 'to Marcellus.'

Upon all which therefore I again observe, that Mani is said to have been imprisoned on account of the death of the king of Persia's son: but all the following particulars of his history represent him not a prisoner, but at full liberty; for [i] his three chief disciples, who had been sent out into several parts, return to him, and find him in prison, as is pretended: from thence he sends them out again, and they return: after which they are again sent abroad by him to propagate his principles. Soon after this he sends the beforementioned letter to Marcellus by Turbo: which was, as already observed, fully inscribed; and divers people his followers, called saints, join with him in the wish of peace: to this letter he receives an answer from Marcellus, whose messenger has no directions of privacy, nor apprehensions of danger from carrying and delivering a letter to Mani: soon after this he comes to Marcellus with a numerous attendance, and is himself properly and richly habited like a Persian high priest or bishop. Was this man a prisoner? Are these things marks of chains and confinement? Finally, when the disputes in Mesopotamia are over, Mani returns to Arabion, a Persian fortress: that is, he makes the best of his way back again to Persia; which shews that before he made the excursion into Mesopotamia (if ever he made any) he was at full liberty: for he leaves the angry and offended Christians in Roman Mesopotamia, and returns to Persia, his own country, as a place of safety. Since, therefore, we are well assured that Mani was put to death, we may reckon it probable, that in some short time after his return home, he fell under his prince's displeasure, and was condemned by him for some cause or other: nor does any cause of offence appear more likely than his zeal in propagating some speculative opinions.

[a] Arch. c. 4, p. 5. [b] Arch. p. 6, cap. 5.

[c] Marcellus vero, accito uno ex pueris suis, Callisto nomine, præcipit proficisci, qui nihil moratus, illico proficiscitur; et post triduum pervenit ad Manem, quem in castello quodam Arabionis reperit, atque epistolam tradidit. Arch. c. 6, p. 9.

[d] Concerning Arabion see Tillem. as before, art. 8, at the end.

[e] Eâdem autem ipsâ die adventavit Manes, adducens secum juvenes et virgines electos ad viginti duo simul——et primo ——ad Marcellum ingreditur salutandum. Quo ille viso admiratus est primo habitûs indumenta. Habebat enim calceamenti genus, quod quadrisole vulgo appellari solet; pallium autem varium, tamquam ærinâ specie; in manu vero validissimum baculum tenebat ex ligno ebenino. Babylonium vero librum portabat sub sinistrâ alâ. Crura etiam braccis obtexerat colore diverso, quarum una rufa, alia velut prasini coloris erat. Vultus vero, ut senis Persæ artificis, et bellorum ducis videbatur. Arch. c. 12, p. 23.

[f] M. de Tillemont a pris ces vierges pour des filles.——Je ne sai si ceux de ses disciples, qui l'accompagnoient, étoient de jeunes hommes; mais je suis bien assuré qu' il n'y avoit point de jeunes filles avec eux.——Ces vierges et ces saints sont les mêmes personnes. Aussi trouve-t-on dans un endroit de la version Latine virgines electos, ce qui marque que ce sont des hommes. Beaus. T. i. p. 93.

[g] Sed ille vias, quibus venerat, repetens, transito fluvio ad Arabionis castellum rediit, ubi postea comprehensus, oblatus est regi. Arch. c. 45, p. 100. [h] Ap. Arch. c. 5, p. 6.

[i] For the several following particulars see Arch. c. 53, 54.

The history of Turbo is likewise improbable: this man was a disciple of Mani, and had been [a] instructed by Addas, one of Mani's chief disciples: nor is it reasonable to think that a man should be employed in such an affair who might not be confided in: but, having delivered his master's letter into the hands of Marcellus, when he is desired to go back with an answer, he excuseth himself; and a servant of Marcellus having been dispatched with the answer, Turbo presently [b] gives Marcellus and Archelaus, bishops of that city, an odious, and perhaps false account, of Mani's doctrine.

Archelaus likewise, at the end of the disputes, appears to have with him one [c] Sisinnius, who is supposed to give him particular information concerning Mani: but Sisinnius, according to [d] Photius, and [e] Peter of Sicily, was a chief disciple of Mani, and sat in the chair after him as his successor. However, whether those authors are to be relied upon as to that particular or not, it is not reasonable to think that Archelaus, a catholic bishop of the Roman Mesopotamia, should have with him at one and the same time two disciples and intimates of Mani, and both deserters.

Sisinnius is a Greek name: I should be glad to know more of him: if ever there was a Manichee of this name, it might perhaps afford some light for clearing up the time of this piece which we have been examining.

3. Valesius, in his notes upon Socrates, transcribes a passage out of a letter of Libanius to Priscian, president of Palestine: which letter he supposeth to relate to the Manichees in that province, though they are not named: 'These [f] men worship the sun, but without bloody sacrifices, and honour him as a deity in a secondary sense only. They pinch their belly to a great 'degree, and look upon the day of their death as the day of their deliverance. They are in many 'places of the world, but every where a few only: they injure no man, but some there are who 'give them trouble.'

II. That suits the Manichees; they were in many places, but no where numerous. That they were in many parts of the world may be concluded from the many books published against them. Fabricius [g] has a catalogue of ancient authors, who have mentioned the Manichees, or written against them, amounting to more than forty in number; and yet that catalogue might be greatly enlarged.

Epiphanius, in his article of the Manichees, written about the year 376, speaking of authors who had written against them, nameth [h] Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Emesa, Serapion of Thmuis, Athanasius of Alexandria, George of Laodicea, Apollinarius of the same place and Titus of Bostra; and he says there were other authors besides these who had written against them.

1. Photius, giving an account of Heraclean, bishop of Chalcedon, whose works he much commends, (whose time however is not now certainly known) says, that, speaking of others who had opposed the same sect before him, he names [i] Hegemonius, who wrote the disputations of Archelaus with Mani; Titus, George of Laodicea, Serapion of Thmuis, and Diodorus, whose work against the Manichees consisted of five-and-twenty books: this work of Diodorus of Tarsus is in Ebedjesu's [k] Catalogue, and therefore must have been translated into Syriac. And Photius in his own work against the Manichees, or Paulicians, mentions [l] Cyril bishop of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis, Alexander of Lycopolis, the twenty books of Heraclean bishop of Chalcedon, upon whom he again bestows great commendations: but we have now nothing of that work remaining beside the extracts made by Photius.

2. The piece of Alexander just mentioned, written in Greek, who was of Lycus, a city of

[a] Accitum unum ex discipulis, Turbonem nomine, qui per Addam fuerat instructus, traditâ epistolâ, abire jubet, ac perferre Marcello. Arch. c. 4. p. 5.

[b] Vid. Arch. c. 6, 7, et seqq. p. 9, &c.

[c] Sed nunc paucissime dicere volentem deprecor, ut cum silentio audiatis, ut agnoscatis, qui sit, et unde, et qualis sit iste, qui advenit; sicut Sisinnius quidam, unus ex comitibus ejus indicavit mihi, quem etiam ad testimonium eorum, quæ a me dicentur, si placet, vocâre paratus sum. Sed ne ipse quidem dicere recusavit eadem quæ nos dicimus, præsente Mane. Credidit enim doctrinæ nostræ supradictus, sicut et apud me alius Turbo nomine. Arch. c. 51, p. 94.

[d] Σισιννιος, ὁ καὶ το αξιωμα αυτȣ της δυσσεβȣς διδασκαλιας αναδεξαμενος. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 14, p. 59.

[e] Sisinnius, qui Maneti successit. Pet. Sic. Hist. Manich. ap. B. Patr. T. 6, p. 758. A.

[f] Οἱ τον ἡλιον ȣτοι θεραπευοντες ανευ αἱματος, και τιμωντες θεον προσηγορια δευτερα, και την γαστερα κολαζοντες, και εν κερδει ποιȣμενοι την της τελευτης ἡμεραν. Πολλαχȣ μεν εισι της γης, παντάχȣ δε ολιγοι και αδικȣσι μεν ȣδενα, λυπȣνται δε ὑπ' ενιων. Annot. in Socr. l. i. c. 22, p. 13.

[g] Bib. Gr. T. V. p. 289—293.

[h] Hær. 66, n. 21, p. 638.

[i] Cod. 85, p. 204.

[k] Vid. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 3, P. i. p. 29.

[l] Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.

Thebais in Egypt, is still in [a] being. Fabricius supposeth that [b] he was at first a heathen and Manichee, afterwards a catholic Christian. Cave [c] thinks he was originally a heathen, next a Manichee, in the end a catholic: he says that he is a very ancient writer, probably of the fourth century. Photius, as before cited, calls him [d] archbishop of Cyropolis: but Beausobre argues that [e] he was a mere heathen or pagan philosopher, as he calls him. Tillemont likewise says, that 'by [f] his book he appears to have been a pagan philosopher, who, observing that some of 'his fellow disciples embraced the opinion of the Manichees, wrote this piece to confute it by 'natural and philosophical reasons. He speaks with some respect of Jesus Christ, and prefers 'the doctrine of the churches [they are his own words] to that of Mani: but it may be perceived 'by those very places that he is by no means a Christian.' I do not chuse to enter at present into any debate about the character of this writer: the reader, if he pleaseth, may consult the work itself, and the modern authors to whom I have referred: I shall only say that the Manichees were Christians. If ever Alexander was a Manichee he must have been a Christian at that time; what he was afterwards, when he wrote against them, is another question.

3. I do not think it needful to say any thing here particularly of Augustine, whose books however against the Manichees are numerous and still extant, and will be of great use to us, as will appear hereafter. Cassiodorus commends Augustine's writings [g] against the Manichees, as if they were superior to what he had written against other heretics.

4. But there are two catholic writers against the Manichees, Serapion and Titus, of whom I shall here give a distinct account. Their books against the Manichees being their only remaining works, I shall write their history in this place, and observe their testimony to the books of the New Testament.

Serapion mentioned by [h] Epiphanius and [i] Heraclean among authors who before them had written against the Manichees, is placed by Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers; where he speaks of him to this purpose: 'Serapion, [k] bishop of Thmuis, 'who for his great capa-'city was called Scholasticus, and was much esteemed by the monk Antonius, published an ex-'cellent book against the Manichees, another upon the Titles of the Psalms, and useful epistles 'to divers persons; and under the emperor Constantius he was famous as a confessor.'

Cave [l] speaks of Serapion at the year 347, about which time he is supposed to have been made bishop of Thmuis by Athanasius. Basnage, editor of Serapion's [m] book against the Manichees, placeth him at 340; Cave says he died about the year 358; Valesius [n] says he died before the year 359: but Tillemont, who thinks [o] he was made bishop about 349, makes a question whether [p] he was not alive in the year 369; Socrates [q] says that about the year 373 Athanasius sent five bishops, and among them Serapion of Thmuis, to wait upon the emperor Constantius in the west.

It has been observed by learned men that Thmuis in the Egyptian language signifies a goat: the city was so called because that animal was the great object of its worship; Jerom says as much [r] in his Commentary upon the forty-sixth chapter of Isaiah.

It is commonly said that Serapion was a great ascetic, and for a good while lived a mortified course of life in the deserts of Thebais. Cave [s] goes into this supposition; but Tillemont disputes it: for he says that [t] the attainments of learning and eloquence, ascribed to Serapion by Jerom and Sozomen, are not the things for which hermits are wont to be commended; nor do those writers any where say that he ever lived such a course of life, though they have mentioned him several times.

[a] Ap. Combefis. Auct. Nov.

[b] Alexandri Lycopolitæ ex Ethnico Manichæi, atque inde ad ecclesiam reducti, liber.——Videtur scripsisse sæculo quarto. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 290.

[c] Erat quidem primum cultu Gentilis, deinde ad Manichæos, in Egyptum recens delatos, se contulit. Tandem ejuratâ hæresi, ad Catholicorum castra transiit. Cav. Diss. de scriptor. incertæ ætatis.

[d] Phot. contr. Manich. ubi supra.

[e] Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 236.

[f] Tillem. T. iv. Les Manichéens Art. 16. fin.

[g] Contrà quos ita fervore pietatis incanduit, ut diligentius atque vivacius adversus eos dixerit, quam contra hæreses alias disseruit. Cass. de Institu. D. L. c. i. p. 510, T. 2.

[h] H. 66. c. 21. [i] Ap Phot. cod. 85, p. 204.

[k] Serapion, Thmueos episcopus, qui ob elegantiam ingenii cognomen Scholastici meruit, carus Antonio monacho, edidit adversus Manichæum egregium librum, et de Psalmorum titulis alium, et ad diversos utiles epistolas. Et sub Constantio principe etiam in confessione inclytus fuit. De V. I. cap. 99.

[l] Cav. H. L. [m] Ap. Canis. Antiq. Lect. T. i.

[n] Annot. in libr. iv. c. 23. Socr. p. 54, b.

[o] Saint Athanas. Art. 66. Mem. Ec. T. 8. P. i. p. 241.

[p] Ib. p. 243. [q] Socrat. H. E. l. 4, c. 9, p. 547, C.

[r] Θμουις linguâ Ægyptiâ ab hirco. In. Is. T. 3, p. 343, m.

[s] Vitæ instituto ασκητης, inter arctioris disciplinæ cultores diu deserta Thebaidos habitavit. Cav. ubi supr.

[t] Note 70, Sur. S. Athan. ubi supr. T. 8, p. 1179.

Antonius's respect for this bishop of Thmuis is taken notice of by [a] Athanasius, who also himself had a great regard for him, and addressed [b] several of his works to him in epistles.

In Sozomen, Serapion has the character [c] of a man of admirable piety and eloquence; and his name is in [d] Jerom's letter to Magnus. Socrates has preserved a memorable saying of our author, taken from Euagrius of Pontus: 'The [e] angel of the church of Thmuis said: "the soul that has 'drunk in spiritual knowledge is completely cleansed; the parts of the soul fretted with anger 'are cured by love, and other evil affections are corrected by temperance."'

No work of Serapion remains beside his book against the Manichees, which is not very large.

As for his testimony to the books of the New Testament, I observe briefly, that he has quoted the gospels, the [f] Acts of the apostles, and divers of St. Paul's epistles, particularly that [g] to the Hebrews, as his; he quotes the epistle to the Romans [h] as an oracle, and [i] in like manner other parts of scripture.

The reader may perhaps here recollect that [k] we formerly saw the history of another bishop of this place named Phileas, who suffered martyrdom in the persecution begun by Dioclesian.

5. I shall be obliged to cite Titus of Bostra several times; I therefore here write likewise his history: says Jerom, 'Titus, [l] bishop of Bostra, in the time of Julian and Jovian, wrote with 'great strength of argument against the Manichees, and some other volumes: he died under 'Valens.' This last mentioned emperor reigned from 364 to 378: Titus is remembered again by Jerom in his letter to Magnus.

According to Cave, Titus flourished about 362, and died about 371; in Basnage's edition he is placed as writing about the year 360: Tillemont thinks that [m] he published his books against the Manichees in the reign of Valens.

Titus fell under the displeasure of Julian, of which Sozomen has left the following account: 'Julian [n] ordered the people of Bostra to expel the bishop of that church by a public decree, and 'threatened them, that if any disturbance happened there, he should impute it to the bishop and 'clergy. Titus thereupon sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him that the Christians were 'equal in number to the Greeks [or Gentiles;] that they were very quiet; and that, paying a 'regard to his admonitions, they had no thought of making any disturbance. From those words 'Julian took occasion to write a letter to the people of Bostra, in order to incense them against 'Titus, as having accused them, saying: "it was not owing to their own good temper, but to his 'exhortations, that they were kept from sedition."' The letter, or rescript of Julian, still [o] extant, confirms Sozomen's account.

The books of Titus against the Manichees are taken notice of by many ancient authors; as [p] Epiphanius, [q] Theodoret, [r] Heraclean, [s] Stephen Gobar, [t] Photius; as also by [u] Trithemius; beside Jerom above transcribed.

We still have three of those books, with the contents of all four: but the fourth and last seems to be irrecoverably lost: and there may be reason to think that the three books which we have are not complete, or that some parts of them are out of place. It seems to me that some words of [x] Basnage, to whom we are indebted for the publication of Titus in Greek, afford ground for such a suspicion, though he has taken laudable pains to set all right.

Some ascribe to Titus a Commentary upon St. Luke, though it is not distinctly mentioned among his works by any ancient author; learned men therefore are divided in their sentiments

[a] De vit. S. Anton. p. 856, n. 82, p. 864, n. 91.

[b] Vid. Athan. Opp. p. 340, &c. p. 647, &c.

[c] ανηρ εις τα μαλιστα τον βιον θεοσεβειος, και λεγειν δεινος. Sozom. l. 4, c. 9, p. 547.

[d] ——et Serapionis confessoris. Hier. Ep. 83.

[e] ——ὅτι ὁ νους μεν πεπωκως πνευματικην γνωσιν τελειως καθαιρεται· αγαπη δε τα φλεγμαινοντα μορια τῦ θυμῦ θεραπευει, πονηρας δε επιθυμιας επιρρεασας ἱησιν εγκρατεια. ap. Socr. l. 4, c. 23, p. 237, C.

[f] Serap. contr. Manich. p. 47. f.

[g] ὁταν λεγῃ Παυλος· Περι Ρααβ ἡ πορνη ε συναπωλετο τοις απειθησασι. p. 46, m.

[h] τα δε λογια βοωντα και λεγοντα. p. 47, supr. m.

[i] και βοωσιν οι λογοι. p. 47, infr. m. [k] See p. 126.

[l] Titus, Bostrenus episcopus, sub Juliano et Joviano principibus fortes adversum Manichæos scripsit libros, et nonnulla volumina alia. Moritur autem sub Valente. De V. I. c. 102.

[m] Persecution de Julien Art. 25, M. T. 7, p. 669.

[n] Sozom. l. 5, c. 15. p. 616, B. C. D.

[o] Vid. Julian. Opp. T. i. p. 435, Ep. 52.

[p] Hær. 66, c. 21. [q] Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 26, sub. fin.

[r] Ap. Phot. cod. 85. [s] Ap. eund. cod. 232, p. 896.

[t] Contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi. [u] De Script. Ec. cap. 72.

[x] Quinimo plurima inverso ordine turbata intricatissima invenimus. Primâ fronte periisse librum tertium autumabam. ——Sed perlegendo Græca, apparuit nobis ille liber tertius integer, quem primo libro inseruerat amanuensis. Deinde truncatus multis in locis videbatur primus liber. Sed discerpta resarcire, et in genuinum ordinem restituere conati sumus, non modo argumentorum seriem secuti, sed etiam proposito Serapionis scopo, quem ipse delineaverat, sequentes. Basnag. Animadv. ap. Canis. Lect. T. i. p. 58.

about it. Basnage thinks that [a] Titus wrote such a commentary, and that there are fragments of it remaining: Fabricius is of opinion, that [b] the Commentary upon St. Luke is the work of some other Titus, of the sixth century, or later: Tillemont, beside other material things, observes that [c] no ancient author makes particular mention of any work of Titus, but that against the Manichees: and that the Commentary upon St. Luke, which bears his name, has divers marks of a late age.

I shall add here some censures of learned moderns upon Titus; particularly upon that work of his which we have, and is universally received as genuine. Those censures may be of use to assist my readers in forming a right judgment of ancient Christian writers.

Says [d] Tillemont: 'He seems to have followed the dangerous error ascribed to Origen, that 'the pains of the damned, and even those of the dæmons themselves, will not be eternal.'

Du Pin [e] says: 'It is surprising that Titus had not recourse to original sin for explaining all 'the difficulties of the Manichees: it might have served him for a general solution of almost all 'their objections: for there is no longer any difficulty to comprehend, why man is carried to 'evil, why he suffers, why he is subject to hunger, pain, diseases, death, when once original sin 'is admitted: nevertheless he has made no use of this doctrine to explain these questions, but 'examines them like a philosopher. He has not so much as mentioned the grace of Jesus Christ, 'and he seems to have supposed that man can of himself do good as well as evil.'

James Basnage, the first editor of Titus in Greek and Latin, speaks [f] to the like purpose. And indeed it is commonly said that [g] Augustine himself, in his books against the Manichees, spoke of Man's free-will just as Titus and Didymus, and other Greeks did.

I ought now briefly to observe this writer's testimony to the books of the New Testament. He frequently quotes the gospels, and the epistles of St. Paul, particularly that to the Hebrews: he quotes [h] the first words of the epistle, and afterwards, in another place, a [i] large part of the first chapter, expressly as Paul's.

In one [k] short paragraph he quotes the beginning of St. Matthew's and St. Mark's gospels, and the sixth and seventh verses of the first chapter of St. John, and cites all those several evangelists by name.

Titus likewise quotes [l] the Acts of the apostles. I shall have occasion to take particular notice of the passage hereafter.

He has little or nothing out of the catholic epistles or the Apocalypse.

I have observed in this author these general divisions of scripture; 'the [m] law and the 'prophets:' 'the [n] law, the gospel, and Paul:' and presently afterwards, 'the [o] law, our Saviour, 'and the apostle,' often, 'law [p] and gospel' for Old and New Testament.

His respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament is manifest; I need not allege particular passages. At the beginning of his work he says: 'We [q] learn the way of truth from 'the holy scriptures, and the common principles of reason.'

6. This is not a proper time or place for me to give a distinct account of Didymus of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 370, though we still have [r] a tract against the Manichees, and in its original Greek language, which is generally allowed to be [s] his.

I shall only say that here are no hard names, Didymus must have been naturally of a mild temper; or the principles of reason and religion had softened him, and produced in him gentle-

[a] Observandum est igitur, periisse Commentarios Titi in Lucam, sed fragmenta tantum, sive Catenam Græcorum Patrum sub ejus nomine protrudi. Basn. ib. p. 57.

[b] Commentarius in Lucam sub Titi nomine editus——non est hujus Titi, sed scriptoris Cyrillo Alexandrino, ac fortasse sæculo, sexto, junioris, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 8, p. 413.

[c] Vid. Tillem. ubi supra, p. 670.

[d] Tillem. ubi supr. p. 671.

[e] Du Pin Bibl. des Aut. Ec. 2, p. 128, a Amsterdam.

[f] Non modo siluit de peccato originali, quo facile necessitatem et æquitatem pœnarum firmare poterat; sed virtutem a rationis exercitatione hominisque electione pendere absque ullâ Christi gratiâ affirmabat. Basn. ap. Canis. Lect. T. i. p. 57.

[g] Libertatem arbitrii tam ad bonum quam ad malum homini lapso tribuit [Didymus]: nec mirum, omnes enim adversus Manichæos disputantes, ne Augustino quidem excepto, hanc sententiam propugnaverunt. Id. ib. p. 199.

[h] Και ὁ Παυλος οιδε—γραφων μεν Εξραιοις ουτως λεγει. Πολυμερως και πολυτροπως, κ. λ. Tit. contr. Manich. l. 3. ap. Canis, Lect. T. i. p. 142. [i] Ib. p. 153.

[k] Ib. p. 141. [l] Ib. p. 155.

[m] Τοσαυτην γαν επιμελειαν τε νομε και των προφητων πεποιηται ὁ σωτηρ, κ. λ. l. 3, p. 140.

[n] Ειπεν ὁ νομος——ειπε το ευαγγελιον——εδηλωσεν ὁ Παυλος. ——ib. p. 153, in.

[o] Και γεγονηται—εκ νομε, και σωτηρος, και αποστολε. ib. p. 153. [p] Vid. ib. p. 154. in.

[q] Αλλ' αυτην της αληθειας την οδον, εκτε των αγιων γραφων, και των κοινων εννοιων εχοντες. l. i. p. 60.

[r] Ap. Basnag. Canis. Lect. p. 204, &c.

[s] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Didymo. Basnag. ap. Canis. lect. p. 203. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. x. Didyme, Art. iv. in fin. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 8, p. 353.

ness and long-suffering: upon this account, as well as others, this piece deserves to be commended. This character belongs to so few writings in the Manichæan controversy, that one cannot forbear taking notice of it. Most other authors with their arguments have mingled bitter invectives and the harshest expressions that can be thought of. In such kind of language none have exceeded that polite and orthodox writer Photius, patriarch of Constantinople: and honest Serapion, at the beginning of his work, naming Valentinus and Marcion and some other ancient heretics, affirms that 'the [a] Manichæan wickedness and absurdity had so far outgone all other 'things of the kind, as to make them appear almost innocent.' Epiphanius [b] calls this the most venomous of all heresies; and to the like purpose speaks [c] Cyril. However it must be owned that hard names have been given to all sorts of heretics; nor is it easy to say which is the worst heresy: perhaps men are apt to think that so which they are opposing. Athanasius [d] represents Arianism as the most impious of all heresies, not excepting the Manichees; for they and the Valentinians, are expressly named by him just before.

7. All these before-mentioned writers and others are in Fabricius. But I think it not amiss to take notice here of some authors omitted in his Catalogue.

1. The anonymous author of A History of the Heresy of the Manichees; a small piece published by Mr. Pfaff with the Epitome of Lactantius.

2. The anonymous author De Vera Circumcisione, in the appendix to St. Jerom's works, more than once opposeth the Manichees.[e] A distinct account of this piece was given [f] formerly.

3. Arius deserved a place in that Catalogue, if upon no other account, for the sake of the early mention of the Manichæan doctrine concerning [g] the Son, in a letter written before the council of Nice.

4. Nor has Fabricius got Chrysostom, though that great orator often touches upon this point. Montfauçon thought it somewhat remarkable that he did so frequently oppose this error; and therefore takes particular notice of it in [h] his prefaces to several of the volumes of St. Chrysostom's works.

5. St. Jerom likewise frequently mentions and argues against the Manichees. I shall often quote him in writing their history.

6. Pelagius, in his Commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, confutes them several [i] times.

7. Rufinus, upon the Creed, distinctly censures the Manichees, together with divers others called heretics.

8. To all these and others, might be added, from Asseman, divers Syrian authors.

1. The [k] Edessen Chronicle.

2. Ephrem, placed by Cave at the year 370, who in his work against all heresies [l] particularly attacked the Manichees.

3. Asseman mentions several others, whose [m] names are in the margin.

III. All these names of eminent writers upon this point are sufficient to assure us that there were Manichees in many parts of the world; but it does not appear that they were any where numerous: this may be perceived from St. Augustine, who had occasion to be well acquainted with them. He says to them: 'You [n] are a very few, and almost none at all:' and adds, that

[a] Τελευταιον δε εκτρωμα της πονηριας, πασας τας αλλας πονηριας δευτερας αποδειξασα, ἡ τȣ Μανιχαιȣ προηλθε μανια. κ. λ. Serap. contr. Manich. p. 44, m.

[b] Μετα την μοχθηραν ταυτην, και ιοβολον ὑπερ πασαν αἱρεσιν και ἐρπετωδη τȣ Μανι,——θηριοβολιαν.—— H. 97, n. 1.

[c] Vid. Cyr. Cat. 16, n. 9, p. 247.

[d] Οἱ δε Αρειανοι των μεν αλλων αἱρεσεων εισι τολμηροτεροι, και μικροτερας ἑαυτων αδελφας απεδειξαν εκεινας, πλεον αυτων ασεβȣντες. Ath. Hist. Arian. ad Mon. T. i. p, 384, A.

[e] ——quam [vitam] Manichæi non videntes in carne, Ariani non intelligentes in spiritu.——ap. Hieron. opp. T. v p. 154, et passim.

[f] See p. 60.

[g] —— ȣδ' ὡς Μανιχαιος μερος ὁμοȣσιον τȣ πατρος το γενημα εισηγησατο. Ap. Epiph. H. 69, c. 7.

[h] Anomœorum impietatem sæpe oppugnat et insectatur Chrysostomus.——Sed, quod fortasse miretur quispiam, sæpius in Manichæos invehitur.——Licet enim hæc hæresis non tantas turbas daret, quantas haud ita pridem dederant Anomœi, attamen magno illi numero erant, malumque serpebat in dies latius. Præf. ad Chrys. T. 7, n. iii.

[i] Verum totus hic locus contra Manichæos facit, ubi dicit, quod evangelium ante sit promissum——et quod Christus secundum carnem ex David stirpe. Pelag. in Ep. ad Rom. c. i. ver. 1, 2, ap. Hieron. opp. T. v. p. 926. Vid. et p. 928, et 951.

[k] Ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 393.

[l] Refellit S. Doctor omnes generatim hæreses; speciatim autem Bardesanis, Marcionis, et Manichæi. Assem. ib. p. 118, Conf. T. 3, P. i. p. 63.

[m] Hinc adversus eam sectam, præter Græcos et Latinos patres, Syri complures scripsere; Ephraëm, Paulonas, Daniel Rhesinæ, Natanael, et Bud Periodeutes, de quibus Sobensis in hoc catalogo. Ib. T. 3, P. i. p. 220.

[n] Quid autem? inter vos, in tam exiguo et pene nullo numero vestro, nonne plerique sunt tales——? Quæ tamen paucitas sanctorum et fidelium——per se ipsam tantam massam frumenti facit, ut omnes probos et reprobos vestros, quos pariter veritas reprobat, incomparabili multitudine superet. Contr. Faust. l. 20, c. 23.

though good men were scarce, there were vastly more truly good men among the catholics than all the Manichees, whether good or bad. They sometimes argued that they were the few whom our Lord speaks of as walking in the narrow way that leads to life; but Augustine cautions them [a] against being deceived by such an argument, however specious it might appear. In another he magnifies [b] the number of the catholics above the small number of their sect. He says that 'Fortunatus, a Manichæan presbyter, seduced people enow at Hippo to induce him to live there a good while; which, however, I think, does not lead us to suppose that the number of his converts was very great. I need not insist on any more passages of Augustine where [c] he speaks of their small number.

IV. Fabricius has likewise a catalogue [d] of the names of Manichees mentioned by ancient writers. I shall take notice of a few only.

1. Here again occurs Alexander of Lycopolis; of whom I need not say any thing more than I have done.

2. Augustine, a wit of the first order, and a principal glory of the country of Africa, who was entangled in this opinion, and for about nine years was among the auditors of the Manichees, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year of his age; at which time suspicions concerning the truth of their doctrine arose in his mind, and increased, until he quite forsook them. Afterwards he wrote against them at several times with great applause and success.

I have expressed myself with no greater exactness concerning the time of Augustine's being in the Manichæan scheme because he himself speaks differently: sometimes his expression is that he was with them [e] almost nine years, at another time [f] full nine years: sometimes he says that when the difficulties of their scheme perplexed him, he was [g] in the twenty-eighth, at other times [h] in the twenty-ninth, year of his age; nay he speaks of his being [i] in the thirtieth year of his age, or almost thirty years old, before his eyes were opened.

The reason of this different way of speaking seems to be that his change was gradual: for the space of nine years, or very near it, from the nineteenth year of his life, he was entirely [j] theirs; in the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year of his age doubts arose in his mind; about the end of which last year [m] he seems to have determined to be no longer a Manichee: in the next year, the thirtieth of his life, when his mother came to him at Milan, he was only [n] not a Manichee; nay, in his thirty-first year he had not a [o] clear notion of the origin of natural and moral evil; and it was not till the thirty-third year of his age that he was baptized.

Whilst Augustine was among the Manichees he promoted their interest considerably, and [p]

[a] Fuge ista, obsecro; non te decipiat species paucitatis, quoniam ipse Dominus dixit, angustam viam esse paucorum. Contr. Secundin. cap. 26.

[b] ——velitisque intelligi in tantâ vestrâ paucitate latere nescio quos, qui sua præcepta custodiunt, et in tantâ catholicâ multitudine non velitis? De Mor. Manich. cap. ult. fin.

[c] Eodem tempore presbyterii mei, contra Fortunatum quendam, Manichæorum presbyterum, disputavi, qui plurimum temporis apud Hipponem vixerat, seduxeratque tam multos, ut propter illos ibi eum delectaret habitare. Retr. l. 2, c. 14.

[d] Cum in istâ paucitate magnas patiamini angustias, dum a vobis exigitur vel unus ex iis quos electos vocatis, qui præcepta illa custodiat. De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 34.

[e] Ap. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 287—289.

[f] Nam novem ferme anni secuti sunt, quibus ego in illo limo profundi ac tenebris falsitatis, —— volutatus sum. Confess. l. 3, c. xi. n. 20. Et per annos ferme novem, quibus eos animo vagabundus audivi, nimis extento desiderio expectabam istum Faustum. ib. l. 5, c. vi. n. 10. Quid enim me aliud cogebat, annos fere novem,——homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire——? De Util. Cred. cap. i. n. 2.

[g] Novem annos totos magnâ curâ et diligentiâ vos audivi. De Mor. Manich. c. 19, n. 68.

[h] Per idem tempus annorum novem, ab undevicesimo anno ætatis meæ, usque ad duodetricesimum seducebamur et seducebamus. Confess. l. 4, c. i.

[i] Proloquar in conspectu Dei mei annum illum undetrigesimum ætatis meæ. Jam venerat Carthaginem quidam Manichæorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, &c. Confess. l. 5, c. 3.

[j] Et ecce jam tricenariam ætatem gerebam, in eodem luto hæsitans,——dum dico, Cras inveniam. Ecce manifestum apparebit, et tenebo. Ecce Faustus veniet, et exponet omnia. Confess. l. 6, c. xi. n. 18.

[l] Audite doctos ecclesiæ catholicæ viros tantâ pace animi, et eo voto quo ego vos audivi: nihil opus erit novem annis, quibus me ludificâstis. Longe omnino, longe breviore tempore, quid intersit inter veritatem vanitatemque, cernetis. De M. E. C. cap. 18, n. 34.

[m] Dubitans de omnibus, atque inter omnia fluctuans, Manichæos quidem relinquendos esse decrevi; non arbitrans eo tempore dubitationis meæ in illâ sectâ mihi permanendum esse.——Statui ergo tamdiu esse catechumenus in catholicâ ecclesiâ, mihi a parentibus commendatâ, donec aliquid certi eluceret, quo cursum dirigerem. Confess. l. 5, c. ult. n. 25.

[n] Et invenit me periclitantem quidem graviter desperatione indagandæ veritatis. Sed tamen cum ei indicâssem, non me quidem jam esse Manichæum, sed neque catholicum Christianum.——Ib. l. 6. c. i. n. 1.

[o] Et intendebam ut cernerem quod audiebam, liberum voluntatis arbitrium causam esse ut male faceremus, et rectum judicium tuum ut pateremur, ut eam liquide cernere non valebam. ib. l. 7, c. 3. n. 5.

[p] ——seducebamur et seducebamus——et fectabar ista, atque faciebam cum amicis meis, per me ac mecum deceptis. Confess. l. 4. cap. i. Vid. ib. cap. 4. n. 7.

brought over divers to the same opinion; men of good condition, and bright parts, and some of them addicted to a studious course of life: as [a] Alypius, [b] Romanianus, and [c] Honoratus.

3. Adimantus, said to have been a disciple of Mani, wrote [d] a book against the law and the prophets, endeavouring to shew that the gospels and epistles were contrary to them; or, in other words, the disagreement between the Old and New Testament, and that consequently the former could not be of God. This book Augustine confuted in a distinct piece, still extant; and he [e] elsewhere occasionally confutes this writer's objections against the Old Testament.

In another place he says that [f] Adimantus was that disciple of Manichee who was also called Addas. Beausobre [g] thinks this a mistake of Augustine, because the Greek writers distinguish between Addas and Adimantus: but perhaps Augustine had good reason for what he said. Toutée, the Benedictine editor of St. Cyril, assents [h] to Augustine; as does [i] Tillemont, without hesitation. Cave supposed [k] Addas and Adimantus to have been two different persons: I put his words at the bottom of the page. I shall hereafter take some farther notice of the names of those who are said to have been disciples of Mani.

Adimantus is much admired by [l] Faustus; he is next in his esteem to Mani himself, which Augustine [m] fails not to observe: Beausobre therefore concludes that [n] Adimantus was the apostle of Mani, who planted Manichæism in Africa: but to me this appears a conjecture without foundation. Augustine has [o] often mentioned this man, but says nothing of that kind of him. He says he [p] was a disciple of Mani, and much extolled, as having been an eminent teacher of that sect; and [q] that it was commonly said he was a follower of Mani in his lifetime; but he no where intimates that they gave out that Africa was indebted to Adimantus for his presence or personal instructions.

If Adimantus and Addas be two names of one and the same person, as Augustine supposed, it may be reckoned very probable that he was a disciple of Mani in his lifetime, or however, one of the most early abettors of his principles afterwards: for according to the Dispute ascribed to Archelaus, the three chief disciples of Mani were [r] Thomas, Addas and Hermas: in Cyril [s] their names are Thomas, Baddas, and Hermas; in Epiphanius [t] Thomas, Hermias, Addas; in Theodoret [u] Aldas, (by mistake of transcribers probably for Addas,) Thomas and Hermas. I need not add any more authors.

Whether Adimantus be the same person as Addas or not, it is fit I should take notice of what Photius writes in his extracts out of Heraclean. 'That [x] author said that Diodorus of 'Tarsus, in his first seven books, really argued against a work of Addas, called Modion, whilst 'he thought he had been overthrowing the living gospel of Manichee himself.' That title is supposed to have been taken from Mark iv. 21.

[a] Et audire me rursus incipiens, illâ mecum superstitione involutus est, amans in Manichæis ostentationem continentiæ, quam veram et germanam putabat. Conf. l. 6. c. 7. n. 12. vid. ib. l. 11.

[b] Ipsa me penitus ab illâ superstitione, in quam te mecum præcipitem dederam, liberavit. Contr. Academicos, ad Roman. l. 1. c. 1. n. 3.

[c] Tu nondum Christianus, qui hortatu meo, cum eos vehementer exsecrareris, vix adductus es, ut audiendi tibi atque explorandi viderentur.——De Util. Cred. cap. 1. n. 2.

[d] Eodem tempore venerunt in manus meas quædam disputationes Adimanti, qui fuerat Manichæi discipulus, quas conscripsit adversus legem et prophetas, velut contraria eis evangelica et apostolica scripta demonstrare conatus. Huic ego respondi. Aug. Retract. l. 1. c. 22.

[e] Vid. Aug. in Psalm. Serm. 12. cap. 1.

[f] Jam illud aliud quod in eodem codice scribi cœperat, Adimanti opus est, illius discipuli Manichæi, qui prænomine Addas dictus est; ubi de utroque Testamento velut inter se contraria testimonia proferuntur versipelli dolositate.——Aug. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. l. 2. cap. ult. n. 41.

[g] Beaus. ib. T. i. p. 432. not. (6.)

[h] Vid. Cyril. Cat. vi. c. 13. not. (e)

[i] Mem. T. iv. Les Manich. Art. 14. in.

[k] Diversus ab Addâ nostro erat Adimantus ille, cujus toties apud Augustinum occurrit mentio, quemque ipse peculiari opere refutavit. In catalogo enim discipulorum Manetis, tum apud Petrum Siculum, tum apud formulæ Cotelerianæ et Tollianæ auctorem distincte recensentur, etsi in aliâ sententiâ me olim fuisse fateor, et mecum ipse Augustinus. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 145.

[l] ——— a doctissimo scilicet, et solo nobis post beatum patrem nostrum Manichæum studendo [al. stupendo] Adimanto. Faust. l. 1. c. 2. ap. August. T. 8.

[m] Faustus sic miratur Adimantum, ut ei solum præferat Manichæum. Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 6.

[n] Beaus. ib. T. i. p. 433.

[o] Contr. Adimant. c. 12. n. 2. c. 13, n. 1. et 4, et passim.

[p] Quid quod etiam insultare ausus est populo Israël Adimantus, unus ex discipulis Manichæi, quem magnum doctorem illius sectæ fuisse commemorant. Contr. Adim. c. 12, n. 2.

[q] Si autem recenseatis quæ contra Faustum Manichæum scripsimus, et contra Adimantum, qui Manichæi sectator cum ille viveret fuisse jactatur.———Contr. Adv. Leg. et Pr. c. 12.

[r] Acquisivit etiam discipulos tres, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Thomas, Addas, et Hermas. Arch. Disp. c. 53, p. 98.

[s] Cat. vi. c. 31. p. 107.

[t] Hær. 66. c. v. et xii.

[u] Hær. Fab. l. 1. c. 26, p. 214. C.

[x] Ὃς διὰ μὲν τῶν πρώτων βιβλίων ἑπτὰ τὸ τοῦ Μανιχαίου ζῶν εὐαγγέλιον ἀνατρέπει· ἡ τυγχάνει δὲ ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀνατρέπει τὸ ὑπὸ Ἄδδα γεγραμμένον, ὃ καλεῖται Μόδιον. Cod. 85. p. 204.

Here then is a book of Addas; was it the same with that of Adimantus, confuted by Augustine? We cannot be absolutely certain; but possibly it was. The book used in Africa might be a Latin translation of the Greek original; and Addas might be more generally called Adimantus by the Latins, as Mani himself, who for the most part is called Manes by the Greeks is generally called Manichæus by the Latins. We saw before that Adimantus and his book were much esteemed by the Manichees in Africa. If what Heraclean says of Diodorus of Tarsus be true, we have also proof of the great regard paid to the book of Addas in Asia; it must have been common there and in high esteem; otherwise Diodorus had not allotted his first seven books to the confutation of it, and that upon the supposition of its being Mani's gospel.

Heraclean ascribes a like mistake to[a] Titus of Bostra. I rather think that Titus was not mistaken: he knew well enough whom he argued against; but he reckoned it to be one and the same thing to confute the master or a chief disciple. The objections he answered were sometimes taken from Mani himself, sometimes from Addas; but he did not judge it needful expressly to distinguish his authors. Titus has himself more than once intimated, that[b] he argued against somebody beside Mani himself, though he does not name the author. However here is another proof of the commonness of the book of Addas, and of the esteem it was in.

Possibly this book was not always fully titled, or inscribed, exactly in the same manner: and Augustine, a Latin in Africa, might mean, and have before him, the same book that was used by Diodorus and Titus; though he does not call it the Modion of Addas, but Dissertations of Adimantus.

Upon the whole, I think it probable that Addas and Adimantus are only two names of one and the same person; and that the book of Adimantus, which (as appears from Faustus and Augustine) was famous in Africa, is the same with that of Addas, which was used by the Manichees in Asia. In short, this book was every where considered by that sect as one of the best books they had; and I wish we had it too.

4. We are indebted to Photius for the knowledge of another Manichæan writer named Agapius; but his age is uncertain. Photius says that[c] Agapius seems to oppose the error of Eunomius, who flourished about the year 360. But those words need not be understood to mean any more than[d] that his sentiments were different from those of Eunomius, insomuch that he seemed to oppose them: as indeed it is allowed that the Manichæan doctrine concerning the Trinity was different from that of the Arians.

However, what Photius says[e] of this writer's confessing a consubstantial Trinity, and agreeing mightily in expression with the orthodox Christians, may be an argument for his having lived and written after the Nicene council; forasmuch as it is very common with Photius to find in ecclesiastical authors, who lived before that council, many forms of expression different from those in use afterwards.

Photius speaks of a piece, or, as he is generally understood, of two pieces of[f] Agapius; one a work of three-and-twenty books, another consisting of a hundred-and-two chapters, inscribed to a woman of the same sect named Urania: but perhaps that is a fictitious name and character. If those books were extant they would be very curious. It may be collected from the account which Photius gives of them, that they would have furnished us with a good knowledge of the Manichæan scheme; for most, if not all their principles, seem to have been there treated.

In another work Photius, reckoning up the twelve disciples of Mani, mentions[g] Agapius, author of the Heptalogus, as does likewise[h] Peter of Sicily: this book is also in the[i] Anathemas against the Manichees, or Form of abjuring Manichæism. Timothy, presbyter of Constantinople, mentions, perhaps by mistake, the[k] Heptalogus of Alogius: it is generally supposed that[l] this

[a] Phot. Cod. 85.

[b] —— ὡς γε τα τȣ μανεντος συγγραφων φησιν. —— Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 71. infr. m. —— Φησι δε προς λεξιν ἐκεινος, ἡ ἑτερος τις των ἀπ' ἐκεινȣ, επιγραψας το κεφαλαιον περι της ἀνθρωπινης πρωτοπλαστιας. Ib. l. 3. p. 137.

[c] Μαχεσθαι δε δοκει προς την Ευνομιȣ κακοδοξιαν. Cod. 179. p. 405.

[d] Vid. Cav. Diss. de Scriptor. incert. æt. et Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 434.

[e] Και τριαδα δε ὁμοȣσιον ὁ καταρατος λεγει μεν ὁμολογειν. Cod. 179, p. 404. in. τας μεν των ευσεβων λεξεις συνομολογων. ib. infr. p. m.

[f] —— Αγαπιȣ βιβλιον, λογοδρια περιεχον τρια και εικοσι, και ἑτερα κεφαλαια δηθεν δυο και ἑκατον. Cod. 179. p. 401.

[g] —— και Αγαπιος, ὁ την Ἑπταλογον καλȣμενην συνταξας. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 14.

[h] Pet. Sic. de Manich. ap. B. P. P. T. 16, p. 758, B.

[i] Ap. Fabr. Hippolyt. T. 2. p. 203, et Cotel. not. ad Recogn. Clem. l. 4. c. 27, et Toll. Insign. Ital. p. 142.

[k] Vid. Timoth. in Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i. p. 138. 139, et Meursii Var. Divin. p. 117.

[l] Vid. Cav. et Beaus. ubi supra.

is another book of the same Agapius, who wrote the other two beforementioned: if so, Agapius wrote three books in defence of the Manichæan principles. Whether this computation be right I cannot tell; but I can by no means allow that the placing Agapius among the twelve disciples of Mani affords any help for settling this age: because I do not admit the authority of the Catalogues in Photius and Peter, and the Anathemas just quoted; the reasons will be assigned hereafter.

5. Philostorgius tells a story of [a] Apthonius at Alexandria, whom he speaks of as a bishop of the Manichees, and a man in great reputation for knowledge and eloquence. Ætius, he says, had a public disputation with Apthonius, and so entirely overcame him that he died of grief seven days after. In the Catalogues of Photius and Peter of Sicily, and likewise in the Form of abjuring Manichæism, before referred to, is the name of Apthonius; and he is spoken of as one of Mani's commentators.

6. Faustus of Milevi,[b] in Africa published a volume in defence of Manichæism, which St. Augustine answered [c] in a large work of three-and-thirty books, always prefixing at the beginning of each book a passage or section of Faustus himself. Beausobre [d] commends this author's manner of writing, and supposeth that we have his work entire in Augustine; so does [e] Cave: but I do not perceive that clearly: we have the 'introduction, but I do not see any conclusion. Augustine did not consider every thing in the book of Adimantus, but left a part of it near the end unanswered, as he acknowledges [f] in a work written long afterwards. Augustine wrote a book against Mani's epistle of the Foundation; but he therein confuted only the beginning of that epistle, as he informs us in his [h] Retractations. In like manner he may have been obliged, by the multitude of affairs upon his hands, to break off his answer to Faustus before he had confuted the whole of his book. It seems to me that Augustine, having followed Faustus step by step a great way, until he had produced and confuted [i] his furious passages concerning the gospels, supposed he might then put an end to his labours: I think that at the conclusion Augustine intimates he had considered some chapters only of [k] Faustus.

Of this writer Beausobre speaks farther to this purpose: 'We 'might expect in this work of 'Faustus pure and genuine Manichæism: but beside that the African sect was one of the most 'absurd and heretical among them, Faustus treats but a small number of questions.' But, as before said, perhaps we have not his piece entire: and here again our desires may be raised for the works of Agapius, which seem to have been more full and copious. However, I shall be able to make good use of the work of Faustus, for shewing the Manichæan sentiments concerning the scriptures, and other matters.

Augustine insinuates that [m] Faustus was at first very poor, but that he lived well, and somewhat delicately, among the Manichees; notwithstanding the strict rules by which all the elect are bound to govern themselves. Augustine calls him [n] bishop: he speaks of the great esteem which Faustus was in among that people; but says that,[o] excepting his eloquence, there was little in him extraordinary; and that he was no more able than their other teachers, to remove the difficulties in the Manichæan scheme, which he then began to be sensible of. However, Augustine [p]

[a] Ἀφθόνιος τις τῆς Μανιχαίων λύσσης πρόεδρος, καὶ μεγάλην παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔχων δόξαν καὶ δεινότητι λόγων φερόμενος τὴν δόξαν. Philost. l. 8, c. 15, p. 487, 488.

[b] Faustus quidam fuit, gente Afer, civitate Milevitanus, eloquio suavis, ingenio callidus sectâ Manichæus, ac per hoc nefando errore perversus. Noveram ipse hominem.—Aug. contr. Faust. l. 1, c. 1.

[c] Contra Faustum Manichæum—scripsi grande opus, verbis ejus propositis reddens responsiones meas. Triginta et tres disputationes sunt, quas etiam libros cur non dixerim? Retract. l. 2, c. 7. [d] Hist. de Manich. T. 1, p. 224.

[e] In quibus Faustum κατὰ πόδας sequitur, integrumque ejus librum in suum opus transcripsit. Hist. Lit. T. 1. p. 344, Oxon. [f] Vid. Faust. lib. 1. ap. Aug. T. 8.

[g] Quamvis quædam sint perpauca in fine ipsius operis Adimanti, quibus non respondi; nescio quibus enim, ut fieri solet, incurrentibus, quæ magis videbantur urgere, illa interrupta sic remanserunt. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Pr. l. 2, c. 12, n. 41, fin.

[h] Liber contra epistolam Manichæi, quam vocant Fundamenti, principia ejus sola redarguit. Retr. l. 2, c. 2.

[i] Vid. Faust. l. 32, et 33, ap. Aug.

[k] Quapropter, post omnes Fausti calumnias refutatas, duntaxat horum ejus capitulorum, quibus hoc opere quantum Dominus adjuvare dignatus est, sufficienter, ut arbitror, prolixeque respondi, &c. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 33, c. 9.

[l] Ib. p. 224.

[m] Et quia in mattis dormiunt, mattarii appellantur; a quorum stratis longe dissimiles fuerunt plumæ Fausti, et caprinæ lodices; quâ deliciarum affluentiâ non solum mattarios fastidiebat, sed etiam domum patris sui hominis pauperis Milevitani. Contr. Faust. l. v. c. 5.

[n] Jam venerat Carthaginem quidam Manichæorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, magnus laqueus diaboli; et multi implicabantur in eo per illecebram suaviloquentiæ, quam ego tametsi laudabam, &c. Confess. l. 5, c. 3, n. 3.

[o] ——quæ mihi cunctatio in dies major oboriebatur, ex quo illum hominem, cujus nobis adventus, ut nosti, ad explicanda omnia, quæ nos movebant, quasi de cœlo promittebatur, audivi, eumque exceptâ quâdam eloquentiâ talem, quales cæteros cognovi. De Util. Cred. c. 8, n. 20.

[p] Ergo ubi venit, expertus sum hominem gratum et jucun-

has often commended Faustus's manner of speaking; and [a] owns that he was well qualified to make converts, and that he seduced many. He must have excelled in the art of speaking, or Augustine [b] had not given him the preference in that respect to Ambrose, the famous bishop of Milan, who had more learning and was a good speaker likewise. Faustus and other Manichees [c] were banished into some island by the Roman proconsul; but it was not long before they were released. Tillemont [d] supposeth this to have happened in the year 386.

I cannot tell how it came to pass that in Fabricius it is said [e] Augustine heard Faustus nine years; when Augustine in the place referred to, and elsewhere, assures us, that it was not till the ninth year of his being in the Manichæan sentiments that Faustus came to Carthage.

Faustus is spoken of by [f] Cave as flourishing at the year 400; but that is placing him too late. Augustine forsook the Manichees before he was quite thirty years of age; he became acquainted with Faustus in his twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year: at which time he speaks of Faustus as a bishop, and very famous in his party. If Augustine was born in 354, Faustus must have come to Carthage, and their acquaintance must have begun, in 382 or [g] 383. Augustine's book against Faustus seems not to have been written till about the year 400; but the book of Faustus might be written a good while before, and he himself dead; as indeed I suspect he was from Augustine's manner of writing [h] at the beginning of his work and elsewhere. However, I willingly place Faustus at the year 384; though, according to the preceding argument, that is rather too late.

7. Hierax is reckoned among Manichæan writers by [i] Fabricius and Beausobre. This last writer speaks of him in this manner: 'he [k] was an Egyptian, a native of Leontopolis, well 'skilled in the learning of the Greeks and Egyptians: he was not one of those extravagant 'Manichees that reviled the law and the prophets;' and a great deal more, which I need not transcribe.

But, with submission, I see no reason to call Hierax, or Hieracas, a Manichee: that supposition depends upon the authority [l] of Photius, and Peter of Sicily, and the Anathemas, or Form of abjuring Manichæism, before taken notice of; where Hierax is named among the disciples and commentators of Mani. But they are all so late, that their testimony is of no weight against other evidence; for Photius and Peter are writers of the ninth century: and in their writings against the Manichees they so agree that it is [m] reckoned one copied the other; but which is the original is hard to say; and the Anathemas, as given us by Cotelerius and Tollius, plainly appear not to be of an earlier age. The composer of that form was acquainted with the Paulicians, and must have borrowed from Photius, or Peter, or both: in Tollius it is entitled, 'A 'Form of receiving those who are converted from the heresy of the Manichees and Paulicians to 'the true faith.' Beausobre himself has somewhere well observed, upon another occasion, that things are not to be received upon the credit of pieces of so late age.

Hierax has a great character in [o] Epiphanius for learning and piety: nevertheless he had, it seems, some errors which induced Epiphanius to consider him as an heretic; but he does not call him a follower of Mani: he makes a distinct heresy of his opinions: and in like manner [p] Augustine, [q] John Damascenus, and [r] Prædestinatus: nor do any of them insinuate that he borrowed any thing from Mani: and all of them, except Augustine (who has entirely omitted their sentiments concerning the scriptures) expressly say that the Hieracites received the Old and

dum verbis, et ea quæ illi solent dicere multo suavius garrientem. Confess. l. 5, c. 6. n. 10.

[a] Vid. supr. not. [n]

[b] Et delectabar suavitate sermonis, quamquam eruditionis minus tamen hilarescentis atque mulcentis quam Fausti erat, quod adtinet ad dicendi modum: cæterum rerum ipsarum nulla comparatio. Confess. l. 5, c. 13, n. 23.

[c] Faustus autem, convictus vel confessus quod Manichæus esset, cum aliis nonnullis secum ad judicium proconsulare perductis,——in insulam relegatus est. Contr. Faust. l. 5, c. 8.

[d] St. Augustin. Art. 18. Mem. T. 13, p. 43.

[e] ——et novem annos a se auditum testatur. Conf. l. 5, c. 6. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 288.

[f] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 344.

[g] Nam annum ætatis vicesimum nonum egit Carthagine cum Fausto. Libro enim 6 Confessionum cap. xi. scribit: Et ecce jam tricenariam ætatem gerebam. —— Erat tunc annus Christi tricentesimus octogesimus tertius. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 377, n. iii.

[h] Faustus quidem fuit gente Afer.——Noveram ipse hominem, quemadmodum eum commemoravi in libros Confessionum meorum. Contr. Faust. l. i. c. 1.

[i] Bib. Gr. T. 5, p. 288.

[k] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 430, 431.

[l] See Beaus. p. 430, not. (6.)

[m] Quæ dum memoro, non possum non significare dubitationem, quam in notis professus sum, et in quâ me adhuc hærere fateor, uter scilicet horum alterum in scribendo imitatus videatur. Wolf. Præf. ad Phot. contr. Manich. p. 6.

[n] Ap. Toll. Insign. Ital. p. 126.

[o] Hær. 67, n. 1. [p] De Hær. c. 47.

[q] Χωρισεν δε παλαιαν και νεαν διαθηκην. Damas. de Hæres. n. 67, ap. Cot. Monum. Gr. T. i. p. 297.

[r] Prædest. i. n. 47.

New Testament; particularly Epiphanius, briefly in his [a] Synopsis, and more largely in his [b] Panarium. The only ancient author, that I know of, who says the Hieracites rejected the Old Testament, is the anonymous author [c] against all heresies, among the works of Athanasius: nor are they any where charged with holding two principles. Philaster and Theodoret have nothing about them.

Hierax, it is true, is said to have denied the resurrection of the body, and [d] to have expected only a spiritual resurrection: but it does not appear that he took that opinion from Mani. Epiphanius expressly says he supposeth that Hierax learned it of Origen, or formed it out of his own [e] head.

In the letter of Arius to Alexander, as we have it in [f] Epiphanius, and [g] Athanasius in Greek, and in [h] Hilary in Latin, divers opinions concerning the Son are represented; that of Mani, Sabellius, and Hierax, all as different from each other.

If Hierax had been a Manichee, it would be very strange that [i] great numbers of the Egyptian monks, or ascetics, should admire and follow him, as Epiphanius says they did.

Finally, there is no notice taken of Hierax as a disciple of Mani, in the Disputation of Archelaus, nor in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, no more than in Epiphanius.

I conclude therefore there is no reason to think that Hierax, whose opinions make a distinct heresy in Epiphanius, was a Manichee. If Photius, or Peter of Sicily, knew any one of that name who was a Manichee, he must have been different from him mentioned by Epiphanius, and other ancient writers; and probably he was no very early or ancient follower of Mani: but I rather think that they knew not any such person, but have mistaken the character of Hierax, of whom Epiphanius writes.

Let it not be thought to no purpose that I have said so much to shew that Hierax was not a Manichee. Beausobre in several parts of his work has divers arguments, built upon the supposition that Hierax was in the Manichæan scheme; all which reasonings therefore now fall to the ground: nor can we in any case judge of the Manichæan sentiments by those of Hierax, for he was not of that sect, nor had he any concern with it.

Hierax is placed by [k] Cave at 302, who takes his account from Epiphanius, and says nothing of his being a Manichee. Tillemont [l] has written A History of the Hieracites. He says that this heresy arose after that of the Manichees, about the year 290 or 300; but he does not charge the author of it with holding the Manichæan doctrine.

According to Epiphanius, Hierax, notwithstanding his errors, was a very extraordinary person: he was skilful [m] in medicine, was a man of [n] great acuteness, and [o] of a strict and unblemished life, for which he was much respected. He [p] had the scriptures of the Old and New Testament by heart, and wrote commentaries upon them; in particular, A [q] Dissertation upon the Creation of the World in six Days: he likewise composed [r] hymns: he was [s] acquainted with the Greek and Egyptian learning, and [t] wrote in both languages. He lived to a great age,

[a] Vid. Epiph. T. i. p. 605, T. ii. p. 147.

[b] Hær. 67, n. 1.

[c] Ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 235, D. Ed. Bened.

[d] ——πνευματικην δε την αναστασιν φασκει. κ. λ. Epiph. H. 67, n. 1.

[e] Beausobre is pleased to say, (T. i. p. 431) 'What we 'know of his sentiments is, that he denied the resurrection of 'the body; that he did not believe, that Jesus had a true 'human body; and that he admitted three principles of all 'things, God, Matter, and Malice.' But these things are not in Epiphanius. Beausobre here builds upon a passage of a writer of the seventh or eighth century; De Hieracitis locus insignis Joannis Carpathi episcopi, ex MS. opere de Anachoretis, productus a Cangio in Appendice ad Glossarium Græcum. ——οιτινες λεγουσι, μη ανθρωπινον σωμα ανειληφεναι τον σωτηρα, μητε εγειρεσθαι το ημετερον σωμα ὁ περικειμεθα· και ὁτι τρεις εισιν αρχαι, Θεος, και ὑλη, και κακια. ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8, p. 333. I need to say no more than that this is not an authentic account of the principles of Hierax the Egyptian, mentioned by Epiphanius, and other ancient writers. If there ever were people called Hieracites, who held these notions, there is no reason to think they borrowed them from him.

[f] Hær. 69, n. 7, p. 732. D.

[g] Ath. de Synod. T. i. p. 729, E.

[h] —nec, sicut Manichæus, partem unius substantiæ Patris natum exposuit; nec sicut Sabellius,——nec sicut Hieracas, lucernam de lucernâ, vel lampadem in duas partes. Hilar. de Trin. l. 4, p. 833. Vid. et l. 6. p. 881, et p. 885, D. E.

[i] αυτικα πολλοι των ασκητων των Αιγυπτιων αυτω συναπηχθησαν. Hær. 67, c. i. p. 710, A.

[k] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 161.

[l] Mem. T. iv. P. 2, p. 817, &c.

[m] ——ιατροσοφιστικη τε και τοις αλλοις. Epiph. Hær. 67, cap. i.

[n] ——οξυς κατα παντα τροπον. ib. p. 709, D.

[o] ——ην δε ὁ ανηρ εκπλητος τη αυτου ασκησει. ib. p. 710, A. ——ὁ δε Ιερακας αυτος τω μεν οντι πολλην ειχε την ασκησιν, ib. n. 3, p. 712, C.

[p] ουτος μεν γαρ παλαιαν και καινην διαθηκην σαφως ειπειν αποστηθιζων, και εις αυτα εξηγησαμενος. ib. n. i. p. 709, D.

[q] Συνεγραψατο δε Ελληνικως τε και Αιγυπτιακως εξηγησαμενος, και συνταξας της εξαημερου μυθας τινας πλασαμενος. κ. λ. ib. n. 3, p. 712, B.

[r] ὑαλμους τε πολλους νεωτερικης επλασατο. ib.

[s] τοις των Αιγυπτιων και Ελληνων μαθημασιν ακριβως επισας. ib. n. i. p. 709, C. Vid. et B.

[t] Vid. supra not. q.

being, as [a] some say, upwards of ninety years old when he died: he retained his eyesight to the last, using no amanuensis, but writing out his own works, and transcribing likewise the works of others in a fair hand.

Such a character of this Egyptian Christian may well induce us to form a wish for some of his works: though, as may be collected from Epiphanius, his [b] interpretations of scripture were somewhat allegorical.

As all ancient writers in general, who make mention of Hierax, say he received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, it may be concluded that his canon was much the same with that of other Christians in the place where he lived: in particular, we plainly perceive from Epiphanius that [c] he received the epistle to the Hebrews as the apostle Paul's: and, if Epiphanius be not mistaken, he [d] likewise made use of a book entitled The Anabaticon, or Ascension of Isaias.

8. Sebastian, a Manichee, then a young man, was general in Egypt in the reign of Constantius, about the year 356, and afterwards was in high offices under several emperors. Athanasius [e] complains of him more than once: he is mentioned several times by [f] Zosimus, and [g] Ammianus Marcellinus. A note [h] of Valesius upon the last mentioned writer contains a brief history and character of Sebastian, and shews particularly his acquaintance with Libanius.

9. Secundinus, an [i] auditor among the Manichees, wrote a letter to Augustine, which we still have in that ancient writer's works, together with his own answer.

Cave placeth Secundinus at the year 390: he [k] conjectures that he was of Africa, and speaks of his being an old friend and intimate acquaintance of Augustine. But herein that learned and laborious writer has made several mistakes; for Secundinus was a perfect stranger. Augustine [l] had not any personal knowledge of him; nor was Secundinus an African, but [m] a Roman, as he himself plainly intimates. If he had been an African he would not have reproached Augustine [n] with the faithlessness of that country in deserting the Manichees. Tillemont [o] mentions divers other reasons for thinking that Secundinus lived at Rome, or somewhere in Italy. Nor was this letter written so soon as the year 390; it is probable that Augustine would not so long delay to answer it; but in his Retractations he speaks of his answer after his books against Faustus, and after the disputes held with Felix in the year 404, and after another book against the Manichees, entitled De Natura Boni. The character too which Augustine himself gives of his answer, as [p] the best of all his books against the Manichees, leads us to suppose it was one of his last works written in that controversy. In a word, the order in which this book is placed, and the manner in which Augustine speaks of it may induce us to think it was not written before 405 or 406.

V. 'The [q] Manichæan sect, or church, as Augustine's phrase is, consisted of two parts, elect 'and auditors.' He afterwards says: 'As [r] Mani had twelve disciples, in imitation of the

[a] φασι δε τινες περι αυτε, ὁτι ὑπερ εννενηκοντα ετη βιωσας, εως της ἡμερας ἡς ετελευτα, εκαλλιγραφει· καλλιγραφος γαρ ην· εμεινε γαρ αυτῳ συνεχως ὁ ὀφθαλμος. Hær. 67, c. 3, p. 712, C.

[b] Και συνταξας της ἑξαημερε μυθες τινας πλασαμενος, και καπηλειας αλληγοριας. ib. B.

[c] Vid. Epiph. ib. n. 2, 3, 6, 7. [d] Ib. n. 3, p. 712, A.

[e] ——παρεξυνει τον στρατηλατην | Σεβαστιανον, Μανιχαιον ὀντα, κ. λ. Ath. Ap. pro fugâ suâ. n. 6, p. 323, C. Εχοντες δε ὑπηργες εις την πονηριαν τον δεκα Σεβαστιανον, Μανιχαιον ὀντα, και ασελγη νεωτερον. Id. in Histor. Arian. ad Monach. p. 379, f. Vid. eund. ib. p. 381, C. 387, A. B. C.

[f] Zosim. Hist. l. 3, p. 714, l. 4, 749.

[g] ——triginta millia——commisit Procopio, juncto ad parilem potestatem Sebastiano comite ex duce Ægypti. Amm. Marcell. l. 23, c. 3, p. 385. Vid. eund. l. 31, c. 13, f. et passim.

[h] Is est igitur Sebastianus dux Ægypti, sectâ Manichæus. ——Erat autem filius Antiphili, a quo in disciplinam traditus Libanio, mox relicto eloquentiæ studio ad militiam se contulit, tametsi excellenti ingenio præditus: ut docet Libanius in epistolis duabus ad Antiphilum, quibus et aliam subjungit ad Sebastianum, exhortans ut redeat. Exstant in editione Cracoviensi Lat. Libanius 308, 340, 494, epistolas ad eum scribit. Vales. not. [h] p. 385.

[i] Secundinus quidam, non ex eis quos Manichæi electos, sed ex eis quos auditores vocant, quem nec facie quidem noveram, scripsit ad me velut amicus, honorifice objurgans, quod oppugnarem literis illam hæresim, et admonens ne facerem. Aug. Retr. l. 2, c. x.

[k] Secundinus, natione, ni fallor, Afer, sectâ Manichæus, claruit circa ann. 390, certe post Augustini ad ecclesiam reditum.——Magna illi cum Augustino intercesserat familiaritas, dum uterque in hæresi Manichaïcâ versaretur.——Objicit Punicæ gentis perfidiam. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 286.

[l] Vid. not. [i]

[m] Legit enim aliquanta exilè meum, et qualecunque Romani hominis ingenium, reverendæ tuæ dignationis scripta, in quibus sic irasceris veritati, ut philosophiæ Hortensius. Secund. ad Aug. n. 3.

[n] Muta quæso sententiam, depone Punicæ gentis perfidiam, &c. ib. n. 2.

[o] St. Augustin Art. 168, Mem. T. 13, p. 450, a Paris.

[p] Hujus autem mei voluminis titulus est, Contra Secundinum Manichæum; quod, meâ sententiâ, omnibus quæ adversus illam pestem scribere potui, facile præpono. Retr. l. 2, cap. x.

[q] Nam in his duabus professionibus, hoc est, Electorum et Auditorum, ecclesiam suam constare voluerunt. Aug. de Hær. cap. 46.

[r] Propter quod etiam ipse Manichæus duodecim discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri, quem numerum Manichæi etiam hodie custodiunt. Nam ex electis suis habent

'twelve apostles, that number is still respected by the Manichees: for there are twelve of their 'elect, whom they call masters; and there is a thirteenth who is their president: they have 'seventy-two bishops ordained by the masters, and presbyters ordained by bishops. Their 'bishops likewise have deacons: the rest are called elect only: but when they are judged fit, 'they also are sent abroad, either for upholding and spreading their error where it is already, or 'for planting it where it is not.'

That we may the better judge of this division of the Manichees into elect and auditors, it is needful to take notice of some passages of divers authors.

Epiphanius calls their auditors [a] catechumens; and in The Acts of Archelaus the second order of the Manichees is [b] twice spoken of by the name of catechumens.

Faustus expresseth himself as if [c] by elect were meant clergy, and by auditors seculars, or the laity: Augustine [d] in his argument takes notice of this without directly allowing it, that I perceive.

By the Manichæan rule a very different course of life was prescribed to the elect from that of the auditors. These last [e] might eat flesh, drink wine, bathe, marry, traffic, possess estates, bear magistracy, and the like; all which things were forbidden the elect, as appears from divers passages of Augustine. The elect [f] might eat grapes, but they were not to drink wine, though ever so new: the elect also ate [g] apples, pears, melons, and all sorts of fruit and herbage, and [h] common bread; but forbore, as it seems, not [i] only flesh, but also eggs, and milk, and [k] fish. In this respect, as Augustine says, the [l] elect and auditors looked like men of two different religions. He elsewhere speaks of the elect as [m] persons who pretended to greater perfection, and were supposed to be in the highest rank for virtue, and more holy than others: and he sometimes pleasantly calls the elect [n] their grandees or quality; unless he is to be understood to mean only some of the chief even of them.

For what reasons the elect were required to forbear flesh and wine, is not clear. The catholic Christians often say that [o] Paul prophesied of them in 1 Tim. iv. 1—4. And Augustine charges

duodecim, quos appellant magistros, et tertium-decimum principem eorum; episcopos autem septuaginta duos, qui ordinantur a magistris; et presbyteros, qui ordinantur ab episcopis. Habent etiam episcopi diaconos. Jam cæteri tantummodo Electi vocantur: sed mittuntur etiam ipsi qui videntur idonei ad hunc errorem, vel ubi est, sustentandum et augendum, vel, ubi non est, etiam seminandum. Id. ibid.

[a] Παρακελεύονται εν τοις αυτων κατηχημενοις τρεφειν αυτες δαψιλως· ει δε παν ὁτιουν αναγκαιον προσφερσι τοις εκλεκτοις εαυτων. Epiph. H. 66. c. 53, p. 665, B.

[b] ——μετονοματενται εις κατηχημενων σωματα. Arch. c. 9, p. 16, m. λεγει τω κατηχημενω. ib. p. 17.

[c] Idcircoque Christo jam credere non poterant [Judæi], indifferentiam docenti ciborum, et a suis quidem discipulis omnia penitus removenti, sæcularibus vero vulgo concedenti omnia quæ possent edi. Faust. l. 16, c. 6. Neque enim justa hæc nunc vestra sententia est, ut nos quidem, qui solum in plebe sacerdotale hominum genus censeamus a carnibus abstinere debere, dæmoniorum doctrinæ videamur vobis assectatores. Id l. 30, cap. 1.

[d] Auditoribus autem vestris, quos tamquam distinctos a genere sacerdotum dixisti, secundum veniam hæc edendâ conceditis. Contr. Faust. l. 30, c. 5.

[e] Auditores autem qui appellantur apud eos, et carnibus vescuntur, et agros colunt, et, si voluerint, uxores habent; quorum nihil faciunt qui vocantur Electi. Aug. ad Deuter. Ep. 236, al. 74. Nisi forte quod non vescimini carnibus, et vinum non bibitis. De Mor. Manich. c. 13, n. 27. Quandoquidem auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus gradus est, ducere atque habere uxores non prohibeantur. ib. c. 18, n. 65.

[f] Nam et vinum non bibunt, dicentes fel esse tenebrarum, cum vescantur uvis: nec musti aliquid, vel recentissimi, sorbent. De Hær. c. 46, jam vero quæ tanta perversio est, vinum putare fel principum tenebrarum, et uvis comedendis non parcere? De Mor. Manich. c. xvi. n. 44.

[g] Vid. de M. Manich. cap. xiii. et xiv.

[h] Sicut enim in ipso errore vestro, cum eo pane vescamini quo cæteri homines, et fructibus vivatis et fontibus, lanâ et lino similiter texto amiciamini, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 20, c. 23.

[i] Nec vescuntur saltem carnibus.——Nec ova saltem sumunt,——sed nec alimoniâ lactis utuntur.——De Hær. cap. 46.

[k] ——cur ita eum vos noxium prædicatis, ut si alia esca non occurrat, prius fame consumamini, quam pisce vescamini? Contr. Faust. l. 16, c. 9.

[l] ——non intuentes, non considerantes, in eisdem habendis agendisque rebus tantum ad diversam vitam valere, si diversa sit fides, ut cum auditores vestri et uxores habeant, et filios quamvis inviti suscipiant, eisque patrimonia congerant vel custodiant, carne vescantur, vinum bibant, lavent, metant, vindemient, negotientur, honores publicos administrent, vobiscum eos tamen, non cum gentibus computetis, cum facta eorum gentibus videantur similiora quam vobis. Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 23.

[m] ——quam purgare putant Electis suis eo genere vitæ, quam vivunt Electi Manichæorum, velut sanctius et excellentius Auditoribus suis. De Hær. cap. 46. Nôstis, fratres.—— quasi justos eminentiores, in se tenentes primum gradum justitiæ, Electos vocari apud Manichæos. Enar. in Ps. 140. n. 10.

[n] Nam etiam de quodam dicente, nullam substantiam malum esse, unus de primatibus hujus hæresis, quem familiarius crebriusque audiebamus, dicebat. De M. Manich. cap. 8. n. 11.——cum ad ipsos primates detulissemus,——ib. c. 19, n. 70.

[o] Verumtamen quod apostolus Paulus——futurum prævidérit in talibus, qualis Manichæus fuit, quales et estis vos. ——Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia in novissimis temporibus quidam recedent a fide,——prohibentes nubere, abstinere a cibis, quos Deus creavit, &c. Act. cum Felic. l. i. c. 7.

them with [a] thinking such meats to be evil in their own nature; and Faustus himself says that, [b] in his opinion, all flesh is impure; possibly, however, for no other reason, but because flesh was supposed to be a great fuel of concupiscence, which therefore they, who were obliged to continence, ought to avoid: somewhat of this kind is intimated in The Acts of Archelaus. If so, the Manichæan elect forbore those things for the like reasons that the catholics, as Augustine says, practised [d] certain abstinences, to humble the body and strengthen the mind. But that this was the only reason and foundation of this forbearance, I do not affirm.

The auditors [f] were obliged to maintain the elect. They [g] kneeled down to the elect to ask their blessing. This ceremony was performed by the auditors before all the elect, and not only before bishops, presbyters and deacons.

From all these passages we may be able to form some judgment concerning this distinction in the Manichæan sect. Archelaus and Epiphanius denoting the second order by the name of catechumens, we might have been induced to think that elect and auditors, among the Manichees, answered to faithful and catechumens among the catholics. But when we consider what Faustus said, and that the elect, when qualified, were employed in spreading their principles, and that the auditors maintained the elect, and asked a blessing from them upon their knees, we are rather led to another notion.

Beausobre gives this account of the matter: 'The [h] elect were their doctors, their bishops, 'their presbyters, their ecclesiastical ministers: but this title does not properly denote the episcopate, or any other office; it denotes a particular kind of life, or the observation of some 'counsels, called evangelic; such rules as Mani had prescribed to those who aimed at perfection, 'and particularly to the ministers of his sect. Thus the Manichæan elect were the ministers of 'their church, and in general all who made profession of celibacy, virginity, poverty, and practised certain abstinences and austerities, which were judged proper for them; for which reason 'they are called [i] the perfect by Theodoret.' Beausobre farther observes that, [k] among the catholics, catechumens were such as had not been initiated by baptism; whereas among the Manichæan auditors there were many who had been baptized, though perhaps not all.

According to this account, as the same learned writer expresseth himself in another [l] place, 'the elect were ecclesiastics, and in general all such as made profession of observing certain 'counsels, called evangelic; as if we should say the clergy and the monks. The auditors were 'laity.'

Whether this account be quite right I cannot certainly say; for Augustine seems to intimate that [m] the reason why he was not present at their eucharist was, that he was only an auditor.

But, however that be, I would observe that the word elect, denoting the higher order so often found in Augustine, is also used in the like manner [n] by Gregory Nazianzen; and that [o] some Manichees, who were only in the rank of auditors, appear to have practised much strictness and abstemiousness, resembling that required of their elect.

Beausobre thinks that [p] the auditors were so called because they heard in the church whilst others taught and instructed.

[a] Vos autem ipsam creaturam negatis bonam, et immundam dicitis, quod carnes diabolus operetur fæculentiore materiâ mali. ——Hoc animo, hac voluntate, hac opinione ab escis hujusmodi temperatis, quod non significatione, sed naturâ malæ et immundæ sint. Contr. Faust. l. 30. c. 5.

[b] Ego quidem, quia omnem carnem immundam existimem Faust. l. 6, c. 1.

[c] Cum quis vestrûm carnalibus, aliisque cibis fuerit satiatus, tunc ei concupiscentiæ oboritur invitatio.——Manes ap Arch. cap. 14. p. 17.

[d] Et Christiani, non hæretici, sed catholici, edomandi corporis causâ, propter animam in orationibus amplius humiliandum, non quod illa immunda esse credant, non solum a carnibus, verum etiam a quibusdam terræ fructibus, abstinent. Contr. F. l. 30, c. 5.

[e] See Beaus. T. 2. p. 767, &c.

[f] Suisque Auditoribus ideo hæc arbitrantur ignosci, quia præbent inde alimenta Electis suis.——Itaque ipsi Electi, nihil in agris operantes, nec poma carpentes, nec saltem folia ulla vellentes, exspectant hæc afferri usibus suis ab Auditoribus suis.——Aug. de Hær. cap. 46. Illae autem purgare nos ab istis sordibus expetentes, cum eis qui appellarentur electi et sancti, afferremus escas.——Confess. l. 4. c. 1. in. Vid. et Epiph. H. 66, c. 53. p. 665, B.

[g] Sed ipsi Auditores ante Electos genua figunt, ut eis manus supplicibus imponantur, non a solis presbyteris vel episcopis aut diaconis eorum, sed a quibuslibet electis. Aug. ad Deut. Ep. 236, al. 74. n. 2.

[h] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 763, 764. See likewise T. 1. p. 17. n. 8.

[i] οἱ καλουμενοι τελειοι παρ' αὐτοις. H. Fab. l. 1. c. 26, p. 214, A.

[k] Ib. p. 763.

[l] Ib. T. 1. p. 17, note 8.

[m] Quid autem inter vos agatis, qui Electi estis, ego scire non possum. Nam et eucharistiam audivi a vobis sæpe quod accipiatis: tempus autem accipiendi cum me lateret, quid accipiatis, unde nôsse potui? Disput. contr. Fort. 1 n. 2.

[n] ——ὡσπερ οἱ Μανιχαιοι τοις εκλεκτοις λεγομενοις, ὁλην την νοσον αὐτοις εκκαλυπτουσες. Greg. N. Or. 52, p. 746, C.

[o] Nam quidam vester auditor, in illa memorabili abstinentiâ nihilo electis cedens. De M. Manich. c. 20, n. 74, in.

[p] T. 2, p. 763.

I do not remember to have seen in him, or any one else, a reason assigned for the use of the word elect, denoting all those of the sect which were not auditors; but perhaps they borrowed it from those texts of the gospels and epistles where the word is used for Christians, or God's peculiar people; as Matt. xxiv. 22, 24, 31; Luke xviii. 7; Rom. viii. 33; Col. iii. 12; and other places: Augustine[a] has a passage which may lead us to this thought.

Photius, in his first book against the Paulicians, usually reckoned a branch of the Manichees, relates a singularity of theirs: they[b] reduced all their sect, or the professors of their principles, to six churches: the first was called Macedonia, the second Achaia, the third was called the church of the Philippians, the fourth that of the Laodiceans, the fifth that of the Ephesians, the sixth that of the Colossians; themselves[c] they called Christians; the catholics they named Romans, as[d] if they had been mere heathens. This fancy of reducing their sect to six churches is also taken notice of by[e] Peter of Sicily, and the author of The Form of abjuring Manichæism, as it is in[f] Cotelerius, and[g] Tollius.

Moreover, it was a common thing among them, their leaders especially, to change the name by which they were first called for that of some apostolical man. Photius[h] produces several instances: Simeon, who changed his name to Titus; Joseph, who, leaving his own name, took that of Epaphroditus; Gegnesius, who altered his name to Timothy; and Sergius, who called himself Tychicus: insomuch that Mr. Wolff, the learned editor of Photius, could not forbear remarking that[i] these people mightily affected apostolical things.

VI. The Manichees are sometimes spoken of as an impious, dissolute sort of people: their eucharist particularly is represented as an abominable rite, not fit to be described; as may be seen in[k] Cyril of Jerusalem, and[l] Augustine. Beausobre[m] speaks largely to this infamous story of their eucharist, to whom I refer: however I shall here mention some of his arguments and observations.

The thing is altogether incredible, especially when related[n] of people who by profession were Christians; who believed that Jesus Christ was a perfect model of all virtues; who acknowledged the reasonableness and excellence of the precepts of the gospel, and that the essence of religion lies in obeying them.

The Manichees always denied their practising the abominable rites laid to their charge: so[o] Augustine himself says. And in the year 392, when he had been several years a catholic, and was now presbyter, he had a public conference with Fortunatus, a Manichæan presbyter. Before they enter into dispute upon matters of belief, Fortunatus openly calls upon Augustine, who for several years was one of them, to tell[p] if he knew any of the crimes with which they were reproached. This confidence of Fortunatus, says[q] Beausobre, is a strong presumption of the innocence of the sect. Augustine[r] puts by that question. When he is still pressed by Fortunatus, who insists upon an answer, Augustine is not able to produce any thing material against

[a] Electi quidem Dei sunt omnes sancti, et habemus hoc in scripturis: sed usurpârunt sibi illud nomen, et quasi familiarius sibi applicaverunt, ut tamquam proprie jam Electi appellentur. Enarr. in Ps. 140, n. 10.

[b] Ἐξ δε αυτων ανομολογουσιν εκκλησιας, ὡς την μεν Μακεδονιαν καλουσιν, κ. λ. Phot. l. i. cap. v. in.

[c] Και τους μεν αληθως οντας Χριστιανους Ῥωμαιους οἱ τρισαλιτηριοι ονομαζουσιν. ἑαυτοις δε την κλησιν, ἡς αλλοτριοι παντελως καθεστηκασι, των Χριστιανων περιαπτουσιν. Phot. ib. l. i. cap. 6.

[d] Seipsos —— Christianos nuncupant; nos autem —— Romanos, ethnico nomine proprium permutare conati, appellant. Pet. Sic. ap. Bib. Patr. T. 16. p. 756, B.

[e] Vid. supr. not.[d]

[f] Ap. Recognit. Clem. l. 4. c. 27.

[g] Insign. Ital. p. 144.

[h] Phot. ib. l. i. c. iv.

[i] Adeo in omnibus apostolici ævi speciem affectârunt, ut, quemadmodum virorum apostolicorum, ita et ecclesiarum veteris memoriæ nomina adoptarent, ad exemplum factionis istius, quæ apostolicorum nomine apud veteres nominatur. Ap. Phot. p. 15.

[k] Cat. vi. cap. 33.

[l] Quâ occasione, vel potius exsecrabilis superstitionis quâdam necessitate, coguntur Electi eorum velut eucharistiam conspersam cum semine humano sumere. Sed hoc se facere negant, et alios nescio quos sub nomine Manichæorum id facere affirmant. Detecti tamen sunt in ecclesiâ, sicut scis, apud Carthaginem, —— ubi puella, nomine Margarita, istam nefariam turpitudinem prodidit, quæ, cum esset annorum nondum duodecim, propter hoc scelestum mysterium se dicebat esse vitiatam. Tunc Eusebiam quamdam Manichæam quasi sanctimonialem, idipsum propter hoc ipsum passam, vix compulit confiteri —— quæ totum illud turpissimum scelus, ubi ad excipiendum et commiscendum concumbentium semen farina substernitur. —— similiter indicavit. Aug. de Hæres. cap. 46.

[m] Beaus. Hist. de Manich. l. 9, ch. 7, 8, 9. T. 2. p. 720, &c.

[n] Beaus. ib. p. 732.

[o] Sed hoc se facere negant. Vid. supr. not.[l]

[p] Ex te ergo præsentes audiant boni viri, utrum sint vera super quibus criminamur et appetimur, an sint falsa. —— Purgare me prius volo penes conscientiam vestram —— si ea, quæ jactantur, vidit in nobis, vel consecutus est. Act. contr. Fortunat. in.

[q] Ibid. p. 737, m.

[r] Interfui. Sed alia quæstio est de fide, alia de moribus; ego de fide proposui. Act. Fortun. n. 2.

them of his own knowledge; but excuseth [a] himself because he was not one of the elect, but only an auditor.

In the year 391 or 392, Augustine wrote a book for the sake of his friend Honoratus, whom [b] of a heathen he had persuaded to become a Manichee; who also still adhered to that sect when he himself had left it. Augustine is allowed to argue here for the most part very well: but, says [c] Beausobre, why does he not in this book, for the sake of his dear and illustrious friend, make use of that decisive argument, their abominable mysteries? No good reason, he thinks, can be assigned for this omission; but that there was no ground for the accusation.

The general silence of ancient authors is another argument of the falsehood of this story. Cyril of Jerusalem published his Catechetical Discourses about the year 347, seventy years, as is supposed, after the death of Mani: but, as [d] Beausobre says, he is the first who has spoken of this matter: and [e] from Cyril to Augustine he does not find any author, Christian or heathen, who has reproached the Manichees with these obscene mysteries. There [f] is no mention made of them in The Dispute of Archelaus; Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, contemporary with Cyril, says not a word of them; nor has he perceived this accusation in any works of Ephrem; Theodoret, Titus of Bostra, and Abulpharagius, in his Dynasties are also silent upon this head. And, as Beausobre goes on, if to these fathers we add the two pagan philosophers, Alexander of Diopolis, and Simplicius, who both wrote against these people, and are profoundly silent about the crimes they are reproached with, the number of witnesses to their innocence in this respect will greatly surpass that of their accusers.

I shall say nothing more concerning that point: but as [g] Suidas, without any particular regard to the eucharist, upbraids the Manichees with noctural assemblies and obscene mixtures, and others [h] often speak of them as an impious set of men, I shall add some things which perhaps may be of use to set the character of this people in a proper light.

About the year 388, some time after he was returned to the catholics, Augustine wrote two books; one entitled Of the Manners of the Catholic Church, the other Of the Manners of the Manichees; and they were occasioned by the Manichees [i] boasting of their own strict course of life, and [k] by their censures of the loose behaviour of the catholics.

At the beginning of the first of those two books Augustine owns that [l] the Manichees ensnared many by the specious appearance of chastity and temperance. This was the very thing that [m] brought his friend Alypius into their nets.

Augustine himself seems to have acquitted them. Whilst he was among them he lived a sensual course of life, and his head was filled with ambitious schemes: but he owns that [n] this was not owing to their doctrine; for they earnestly exhorted men, he says, to mind better things. So he writes at the beginning of his book addressed to his friend Honoratus: and at the end of it he speaks of the pale countenances of these [o] men.

It is a saying of Ephrem the Syrian, that [p] the devil gave Mani a pale complexion, the better to deceive the simple and unwary.

[a] Nôstis autem me non Electum vestrum, sed Auditorem fuisse. ——— Quid autem inter vos agatis, qui electi estis, ego scire non possum, et reliqua. ib. n. 3.

[b] Tu nondum Christianus, qui hortatu meo, cum eos vehementer exsecraris, &c. De Util. Cred. c. i. n. 2.

[c] Ib. p. 741. [d] ——— p. 725.

[e] ——— p. 728. [f] Ib. p. 734, 735.

[g] Και καθυσεις τινας εναγεις και νυκτερινας, και παρανομους μιξεις. κ. λ. Suid. V. Μανης.

[h] In Moreri's article of Manes are these words: 'He condemned marriage, still allowing his followers to plunge 'themselves in all manner of sensuality:———' et condamnoit le marriage, permettant portant à ses disciples de se plonger dans toutes sortes de voluptés brutales. Docens,. .. illicitas esse nuptias, licitos concubitus promiscuos. Lamp. Synops. H. E. l. 2. c. 2, p. 125. How could any man believe that?

[i] Jam baptizatus autem cum Romæ essem, nec ferre tacitus possem Manichæorum jactantiam de falsâ et fallaci continentiâ et abstinentiâ, ——— scripsi duos libros, unum de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, alterum de Moribus Manichæorum. Retr. l. i. c. 7.

[k] Nolite consectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsâ verâ religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti sint quid promiserint Deo. De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 34, n. 75.

[l] Sed quoniam duæ maxime sunt illecebræ Manichæorum, quibus decipiuntur incauti, ——— altera, cum vitæ castæ et memorabilis continentiæ imaginem præferunt. De Mor. Ec. Ca. cap. i. n. 2.

[m] ——— amans in Manichæis ostentationem continentiæ, quam veram et germanam putabat. Confess. l. 6. c. 7, n. 12.

[n] cum vitæ hujus mundi eram implicatus, tenebrosam spem gerens, de pulcritudine uxoris, de pompâ divitiarum, de inanitate honorum, cæterisque noxiis et perniciosis voluptatibus. Hæc enim omnia, quod te non latet, cum studiose illos audirem, cupere et sperare non desistebam. Neque hoc eorum doctrinæ tribuo. Fateor enim et illos sedulo monere, ut ista caveantur. De util. Cred. ad Honorat. c. i. n. 3.

[o] ——— quo illi homines exsangues corporibus, sed crassis mentibus, adspirare non possunt. ib. cap. ult.

[p] Quare sic interpretor: Pallore Manetem diabolus tinxit, ut incautos falleret. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 119.

St. Chrysostom observes of the Manichees, that [a] they had an appearance of modesty, but they hid the wolf under sheep's clothing.

It appears, from divers things said by St. Jerom, that the [b] Manichees were great fasters, and that they had among them many virgins, persons who professed to live a chaste and single life. The gay ladies of his time endeavoured many ways to put a good face upon their luxurious course of life: sometimes they [c] said: "To the pure all things are pure." And if at any time they met a woman who looked pale and sad, they would say: 'Ah child, thou art a nun, or a miserable 'Manichee, I suppose.'

Jerom, commenting upon Amos iii. 15, "And I will smite the winter-house with the summer-house," says, that 'by the [d] winter-house may be understood those heretics that morti-'fied themselves with fasting and abstinence, who fared hard and lodged hard, such as Tatian, 'and Mani, and their followers: the summer-house may denote the Nicolaitans and other heretics, 'who indulged their appetites, and lived in all manner of excess.' And upon Joel i. 14, "Sanctify ye a fast," he has these words: 'Mani [e] and Tatian, and many other heretics fast, 'but their fasting is worse than gluttony and drunkenness.' Once more the same ancient and learned writer declares: 'Virgins, such [f] as are said to be among divers heretics, and even 'among the impure Manichees, are to be esteemed whores, not virgins.' Such is the unhappiness of heresy which turns virtues into vices! It is true however, that the Manichees fasted and lived chastely; but their great abstinence and virginal chastity were of no value.

Chrysostom expresseth himself in the like manner. He says he [g] dares not call the virgins of heretics virgins; and affirms that [h] the sobriety of heretics is worse than the greatest dissoluteness.

I suppose the reason of these hard sentences may be, what is somewhere observed by Augustine, that [i] actions are qualified by the views and ends with which they are performed.

I presume that all these passages of ancient writers may be sufficient to render it probable that the Manichees had no doctrines which countenanced a licentious course of life. Some of their elect, it is likely, failed [k] in observing the strict rules by which they were bound; but so it was with the catholics: there were bad livers likewise among them; some [l] who pretended to much sanctity and devotion were guilty of great enormities. Augustine's complaint of the Manichees is verified in all parties; men [m] say, and do not; they commend and teach what they do not perform.

VII. The Manichees seldom had the protection of the Roman laws. Tillemont, in his history of this people, has an entire article concerning the laws of the emperors against them. In Augustine's works against the Manichees we find frequent notice of the difficulties they lay under. Faustus [n] glories in the persecutions they endured, as a proof of their being good Christians:

[a] Και γαρ οι Μανιχαιοι——το σχημα μεν επιδεικνυνται επιεικιας,——και κατακρυπτουσι τη δορα το προβατειω τον λυκον. In Gen. Serm. 7, p. 680, B. ed. Bened.

[b] Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare possimus,——Nec tamen Manichææ hæreseos accusandi sunt, quum carnalis cibus præferri non debuerit spirituali. Ad Lucin. Ep. 52, al. 28, T. 4, p. 579.

[c] Istæ sunt, quæ solent dicere: Omnia munda mundis.—— Et quam viderint pallentem atque tristem, miseram monacham, et Manichæam vocant. De Custod. Virg. Ep. 18, al. 22, p. 32, f.

[d] Et percutiet domum hiemalem; eos hæreticos, qui laborant continentiâ et jejuniis, xerophagiis, chamæeuniis, e quibus Tatianus et Manichæus. Et domum æstivam, ut Nicolaïtas,——qui, propter ventris ingluviem, omnem recipiunt voluptatem. In Amos l. i. T. 3, p. 1396, in.

[e] Jejunat Manichæus, et multi hæretici, maximeque Encratitæ, quorum princeps Tatianus. Sed hoc jejunium saturitate et ebrietate deterius est. In Joël. cap. i. ib. p. 1345, f.

[f] Cæterum virgines, quales apud diversas hæreses, et quales apud impurissimum Manichæum esse dicuntur, scorta sunt æstimandæ, non virgines. De Custod. Virg. Ep. 18, T. 4, p. 47.

[g] Τας γαρ των αιρετικων ουκ αν ειποιμι ταυτα παρθενους εγω. Chr. De Virgin. T. i. p. 268, B.

[h] Και γαρ ασελγειας απασης η των αιρετικων σωφροσυνη χειρων εστιν. ib. p. 271. E. Vid. et. A. B. C. ib.

[i] Nisi forte quod non vescimini carnibus, et vinum non bibitis.——Quod quæro a vobis, quo fine faciatis? Finis enim quo referuntur ea quæ facimus,——si non solum inculpabilis, sed etiam laudabilis fuerit, tunc demum etiam facta nostra laude aliquâ digna sunt. De Mor. Manich. l. 2, cap. 13, n. 27.——Sed tamen significantes, vanam esse continentiam istam, nisi ad aliquem rectissimum finem, certâ ratione feratur. ib. n. 28. Si ergo parcimoniæ gratiâ et coërcendæ libidinis, quâ escis talibus et potu delectamur et capimur, audio et probo. Sed non ita est. ibid. Vid. et eund contr. Faust. l. v. c. 5.

[k] Vid. Aug. de Mor. Manich. cap. 18, 19, 20.

[l] Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores. Novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates, ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni, &c. De Mor. Ec. Ca. c. 34, n. 74.

[m] Cum autem laudatis et docetis ista, nec facitis, quid vobis fallacius——dici aut inveniri potest? De Mor. Manich. c. 19, n. 68.

[n] Vides pauperem,——esurientem, sitientem, persecutiones et odia sustinentem propter justitiam. Et dubitas, utrum accipiam evangelium? Faust. l. 5, c. 1.

this was a common subject of boasting among them: and they argued that [a] they were not of the world, and must needs be sincere lovers of truth, because the world hated them, and they were always under persecution.

It appears by Augustine's second day's conference with Felix, at Hippo, in the year 404, that the Manichæan books, or papers of Felix, had been taken from him, and were in the custody of a public officer. Felix [b] desired to have them restored to him for his assistance in the debate: Augustine at length allows that any thing he pointed to might be recited out of those writings. Among them was a letter of Mani, called The Epistle of the Foundation. And, in the first day's conference, Felix several times intimates [c] the difficulty he lay under in disputing against the imperial laws.

When Augustine [d] speaks of the banishment of Faustus and others into an island, I think he intimates that by law they might have been punished more severely: for he says that moderate sentence was obtained by the intercession of those very Christians who prosecuted Faustus and his Manichæan friends in the proconsul's court. And, in the same context, a little before, he speaks of the [e] advantage the Manichees had from the mildness of the catholics, which was such that their sufferings were few and almost none at all. But then it should be observed that [f] Augustine computes banishment into a desert island to be a mere trifle, and little more than retirement, which gives men an opportunity for meditation: moreover, as he assures us, the banishment of the Manichees beforementioned was of short duration; they were all soon released by public authority.

And it may be collected from some things said by Augustine, upon another occasion, that [g] though their assemblies were prohibited by law at Carthage, they found opportunities to meet together for divine worship: such was the zeal of these unhappy people, or such was the moderation of those who were intrusted with the execution of the laws against them.

Not long after the year 410, pope Leo [i] made strict inquiry after the Manichees at Rome and in other places, and destroyed great numbers of their books; so writes Prosper: and from Leo himself, in a letter to the bishops of Italy, we learn that [k] he detected many of this people at Rome: some he converted; the rest, who were unmoved by his arguments, were condemned to perpetual banishment as the laws directed.

Photius says that [l] though many emperors had punished those apostates even with death, the progress of their impiety had not been stopped.

They who are desirous of knowing more of this matter may consult the Codes [m] of Justinian, and [n] Theodosius; where are divers laws against these men, which cannot be denied to have an appearance of much severity.

[a] Ubi est ergo quod perpetuam sibi persecutionem in hoc mundo futuram prædicant, eoque se commendatiores haberi volunt, hinc interpretantes, quod hic mundus eos oderit. De M. Manich. c. 19. n. 69.——aut definite vos inde jactare, quod multis detestabiles sitis. Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 8.

[b] Et quia nullam scripturam inter manus habui, quia non mihi sunt redditæ, unde me instruere possem. Nullus enim ad certamen exit, nisi prius munitus fuerit: et nullus litigator potest sine suis chartis litigare. Similiter et ego sine meâ scripturâ respondere non possum.———Modo peto, codices reddantur mihi.——Aug. dixit: Sed quia codices tuos repetis, qui sub sigillo publico custodiuntur.——Tolle autem codices tuos, et dic quid inde velis proferri.———Felix dixit: Omnes scripturas, quæ mihi sublatæ sunt. Ista enim Epistola Fundamenti est, &c. Act. cum Fel. l. 2. c.

[c] Non tantum ego possum contra tuam virtutem, deinde contra leges Imperatorum.—— Act. cum. Fel. l. 1. c. 12. Vid. ib. infra, et cap. 6.

[d] Faustus autem, convictus vel confessus quod Manichæus esset, cum aliis nonnullis secum ad judicium proconsulare perductis, eis ipsis Christianis, a quibus perducti sunt, intercedentibus, levissimâ pœnâ, si tamen illa pœna dicenda est, in insulam relegatus est; quod suâ sponte quotidie servi Dei faciunt, se a turbulento strepitu populorum removere cupientes;—— Denique non multo post inde omnes eâdem solenni sorte dimissi sunt. Contr. Faust. l. 6, c. 8.

[e] Pro quâ impiâ perversitate, propter Christianorum temporum mansuetudinem, quam parva et prope nulla patiamini, cur non cogitatis? ib. [f] Vid. not. [d].

[g] ——quod eo tempore, quo conventicula, eorum lege publicâ prohiberentur. De Mor. Man. c. 19, n. 69.

[h] Non erant hi [Electi] ex unâ domo; sed, diverse prorsus habitantes, ex eo loco ubi conventus omnium factus erat, pariter forte descenderant. ib. n. 68.

[i] Hoc tempore plurimos Manichæos intra Urbem latere diligentiæ Papæ Leonis innotuit, qui eos de secretis suis erutos, et oculis totius ecclesiæ publicatos, omnes dogmatis sui turpitudines et damnare fecit et prodere, incensis eorum codicibus, quorum magnæ moles erant interceptæ, &c. Prosper. Chr. Integr. ap. Canis. et Basnag. Lection. T. i. p. 304.

[k] Plurimos impietatis Manichææ sequaces et doctores in Urbe investigatio nostra reperit.———Aliquanti vero, qui ita se demerserant, ut nullum his auxiliantis posset remedium subvenire, subditi legibus, secundum Christianorum principum constituta, ne sanctum gregem suâ contagione pollucrent, per publicos judices perpetuo sunt exilio relegati. Leo. Ep. 2. ad omn. Ep. Ital.

[l] ——πολλων δε ευσεβων βασιλεων ξιφει την δικην της αποστασης εισπραττομενων, και μηδ' ετω της ασεβους φορας ισταμενης. Phot. Contr. Man. l. 1. c. 16, p. 61.

[m] Just. cod. l. i. Tit. v. De Hæreticis, et Manichæis, et Samaratis.

[n] Cod. Theod. l. 16. Tit. v. De Hæreticis.

In Baronius [a] may be seen such a rescript of Dioclesian and Maximian, said to be given at Alexandria in the year 290, occasioned by an account received from Julian, proconsul of Africa, of the great disturbances occasioned by the Manichees in that country. This rescript is, I think, generally allowed to be [b] genuine: but Samuel Basnage [c] offers divers weighty arguments against that supposition: one of them is, that there is no mention of this law in Eusebius, Cyril, or Augustine: he has many other reasons which are very considerable, and may be seen in his own work.

Indeed it seems to me altogether unlikely that Manichæism should so soon have gained footing, and made such progress in Africa, as is here supposed, so as to cause disturbances to divers people and [d] cities, and [e] be received by men of high rank as well as others.

It appears to me also very probable that, if Dioclesian had made such a law as this, the Manichees, would have been expressly named in Constantine's edicts against heretics; whereas, it does not appear from Eusebius, that [f] they were so named in any such laws of that Christian emperor.

It must be owned Ammianus Marcellinus says that 'Constantine,[g] desirous to get exact in-'formation concerning the opinions of divers sects, the Manichees and the like, employed Stra-'tegius for the purpose; who acquitted himself so well in the office assigned him, that the 'emperor ordered that he should for the future be called Musonianus.' But perhaps Ammianus accommodates his way of speaking to the state of things in his own time, when the Manichees were well known as well as greatly disliked. Ammianus mentions no other sect distinctly beside the Manichees, as if they were the principal subject of inquiry; which can hardly be allowed when we perceive from our ecclesiastical historians that there were other sects at that time which made much more noise in the Roman empire: however, the inquiry here spoken of is no proof that the Manichees were named in any of Constantine's laws against heretics.

Beausobre [h] admits the genuineness of this law: but then he says Dioclesian [i] and his ministers must have been very little acquainted with the true principles of the Manichees; which I think should have led him to suspect the reputed original of this rescript, and ascribe it rather to some ignorant and designing impostor.

Before I conclude the remarks upon this rescript, I should acknowledge that it is mentioned in [k] the Commentaries upon St. Paul's thirteen epistles, usually joined with the works of St. Ambrose: but, as the Benedictine editors say, those [l] Commentaries have been interpolated in many places; and they may have been so here. However, the age of that work is not certainly known: I formerly [m] took some notice of it.

[a] Baron. Ann. 287, n. i. ii. &c. Vid. et Coteler. Mon. Gr. T. i. p. 778, 779.

[b] Vid. Tillem. Les Manicheens Art. 17. et Diocletien. sect. 14. [c] Basn. Ann. 287, n. iv.

[d] ——et multa facinora ibi committere: populos namque quietos perturbare, nec non civitatibus maxima detrimenta inferre. ap. Baron. ib. n. 3.

[e] Si qui sane etiam honorati, aut cujuslibet dignitatis, vel majoris personæ, ad hanc inauditam, turpemque sectam,—— se transtulerunt. ib. n. 4.

[f] Vid. Eus. de Vit. Constant. l. 3, cap. 63, 64.

[g] Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quæreret sectas, Manichæorum et similium, nec interpres inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit; quem, officio functum perite, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum. Amm. M. l. 15, c. 13.

[h] See. B. Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 183. T. 2, p. 799.

[i] Dioclétien et ses ministres connoissoient fort mal ces héretiques, s'ils les croyoient capables d'approuver les incestes, eux qui toléroient à peine le mariage. ib. T. i. p. 284.

[k] Quippe cum Diocletianus imperator constitutione suâ designet, dicens: Sordidam hanc et impuram hæresim, quæ nuper, inquit, egressa est de Perside. Ambrosiast. in 2 Tim. c. iii. p. 310, C.

[l] Illud insuper adjiciendum est, eosdem librarios magnâ licentiâ saltem in tres priores epistolas abusos esse: quandoquidem ab eis non raro longa fragmenta ibidem inserta fuisse probabile est, quæ in vetustioribus manuscriptis non inveniuntur, &c. Admon. p. 21, f. [m] See before, p. 15.

SECT. II.

THE HISTORY OF MANI.

I. *His name, country, parents, qualifications.* II. *The time of the rise of Manichæism.*

I. MANI, always [a] so called by the Persians and Arabians, usually called Manes, or Manichee, by the Greeks and Romans, was [b] a Persian, or at least lived in the territories of the king of Persia; as is allowed [c] by all authors who speak of him.

Beausobre [d] says it is certain he was a Persian, if thereby be meant that he was a native subject of the kings of Persia: but if thereby be meant that he was of the province of Fars, or Persia, it is doubtful. Ephrem says [e] he was a Babylonian; that is, of the province of Babylon, or else of Chaldæa, which [f] is often confounded with that of Babylon: this seems to be confirmed by The Acts of Archelaus, where [g] that bishop reproaches Mani with understanding no language but his Chaldee; which implies that he was a Chaldean.

It is not a little disagreeable to observe the poor thoughts of divers ancient Greek writers, occasioned by the name of this man. The thing is taken notice of by several moderns: I quote two of them in the margin, [h] Cave and [i] Tollius.

They speak as if his name had been derived from the Greek noun mania, signifying madness, or from the verb mainomai; and as if his name were the same as maneis, that is, mad or furious; whereas the name is certainly Persic or Chaldaic. Eusebius, formerly quoted, is pleased to allude to this imaginary signification of the word. Cyril of Jerusalem says, 'he [k] changed his 'name from Cubricus to Manes, thinking thereby to gain honour among the Persians; but divine 'Providence so ordered it that he thereby affixed to himself among the Greeks the character of 'madness.' Epiphanius [l] has somewhat to the like purpose. Titus of Bostra, who writes the name Moneis, instead of Manes, has also condescended [m] to adopt this slight thing; for so I must call it, though it is also found in so fine a writer as [n] Photius.

The poor people were so often teazed with this silly fancy, that, as Augustine says, for that reason they [o] prolonged the name, and called their master Manichee, to avoid the reproach of

[a] Manes Persa, in eorum libris dictus Mani pictor, nam talis fuit professione suâ.——Cum itâque in omnibus Arabum et Persarum libris constanter vocetur Mani, hoc verum ejus nomen Persicum fuisse tuto credamus. Hinc Græcis et aliis vulgo audit Μανης. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 21, p. 280, 281. Vid. et Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. m. p. 734.

[b] Μανης δε ετος απο της των Περσων ωρματο γης. Epiph. Hær. 66, n. 1.

Manichæi a quodam Persâ extiterunt, qui vocabatur Manes. Augustin. de Hær. c. 46, in.

Persa, quem accusâsti, non aderit. Secundin. Ep. ad Aug. c. 3.

[c] Manetem genere Persam omnes veteres faciunt. Assem. B. Or. T. i. p. 122. [d] T. i. p. 66.

[e] Babylonium fuisse docet [Ephræm] infra hymno xiv. Assem. ib.

[f] Vid. Cellar. Orb. Ant. T. 2, p. 755.

[g] Persa barbare, non Græcorum linguæ,——non ullius alterius linguæ scientiam habere potuisti, sed Chaldæorum solum, &c. Arch. n. 36, p. 63.

[h] Græci vero, quo aptiorem irridendi occasionem arriperent, illud a μανια deducere solent. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 140, f. Oxon.

[i] Quia vero, Græcis, aut Græca intelligentibus adversariis, vox illa Μανης uberiorem irridendi ansam præbebat, quasi a Græco μανια, *insania*, seu μαινομαι, *insanio*, derivata esset, et sic nomen et omen insaniæ Maneti obtigisset; tum quod et eadem vox Μανης *stupidum* significaret, ut apud Aristophanem, Μεγαινετος θ' ὁ μανης. Manichæi Manichæos se vocari volebant, quaso derivato nomine a *manahath* requies. Nec apud Judæos iidem contumeliâ caruerunt, qui omnes impios Manetes appellârunt, &c. Toll. not. ap. insign. Ital. p. 126.

[k] ἡ δε τε θεε οικονομια και ακονΐα αυΐον ἑαυΐε κατηγορον εποιει γενεσθαι· ἱνα εν Περσοιδι νομισας ἑαυΐον τιμαν, παρ' Ἑλλησι μανιας επωνυμον ἑαυΐον καΐαγγελλη. Cyr. Cat. 6, n. 24.

[l] Hær. 66, n. i, p. 617, C. D.

[m] ὁ δε Μανεις εκ βαρβαρων, και της μανιας αυΐης επωνυμος, κ. λ. Titus contr. Manich. l. i. in. p. 60.

[n] Vid. Phot. contr. Man. l. i. c. 12, p. 45, 46, 47.

[o] Manichæi a quodam Persâ exstiterunt, qui vocabatur Manes: quamvis et ipsum, cum ejus insana doctrina cœpisset in Græciâ prædicari, Manichæum discipuli ejus appellare maluerunt, devitantes nomen insaniæ. Unde quidam eorum quasi doctiores, et eo ipso mendaciores, geminatâ *N* literâ, Mannichæum vocant, quasi manna fundentem. Aug. de Hær. c. 46, in.

Et per dominum vestrum Manichæum, qui Manes linguâ patriâ vocabatur. Sed vos, ut apud Græcos nomen insaniæ vitaretis, velut declinato et prolongato nomine, quasi fusionem addidistis, ubi amplius laberemini. Sic enim mihi quidam vestrûm exposuit, cur appellatus sit Mannichæus, ut scilicet in Græcâ linguâ tamquam manna fundere videretur, quia Græce fundi χεειν dicitur, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 19, c. 22.

that odious derivation; and some of them pretended that the true way of writing the name was Manichee, denoting one that poured down the heavenly bread manna. I have transcribed at the bottom of the page two passages of Augustine, where he speaks of this matter. James Basnage, in his notes upon Titus,[a] has judiciously censured both sides for their trifles. One might be apt to think that [b] Mani, or Mane, or Manes, should be the name of the man, and [c] Manichæus denote a follower of him. But the Greeks and Latins do often use [d] this last for himself, as well as the former. I put in the margin [e] a few other observations, though of no great importance, concerning the different ways of writing this name in several authors. I hope I need not make any apology for generally writing his name Mani [f] after the people of the east, where he lived: and Epiphanius says that [g] Mane was the name he took instead of Cubricus.

It is not among the Greeks that we must seek for the original of this name; for Archelaus himself says that [h] Corbicius changed his name after the death of the widow, his patroness, at the court of Persia; and all the Greek writers in general say that in taking the name Manes he intended to secure himself honour among the Persians.

But though the name Mani be Persic or Chaldaic, learned moderns, skilled in the oriental languages, are not agreed about the original of it. However, it may be observed that Cyril of Jerusalem says, Manes [i] in the Persian language signifies discourse or eloquence; and that he changed his name from Cubricus to Manes, partly to obliterate the memory of his servitude, partly for the sake of gaining the reputation of a good speaker: this is taken up by [k] Photius and others. Epiphanius says that [l] Mane, in the Babylonian language, signifies vessel or instrument: Ephrem the Syrian [m] seems to refer to this notion of the word; which is also approved by Asseman; and it may be supposed to be alluded to in [n] The Acts of Archelaus; nor does Hyde deny that [o] Mân, or Mana, in Assyrian and Chaldee, signifies vessel.

[a] ———Ut averterent omen Manetis discipuli apud Græcos Manichæum illum appellabant, eumque velut angelum e cœlis μαννα χεονλα, panem cœlestem, mannam scilicet, effundentem referebant. Sic ab utrâque parte ludebatur circa nominis etymologiam. Sed futiles admodum sunt illæ observationes, quas quisque ad suæ partis gloriam trahere conatur. Basn. ad Tit. B. p. 60.

[b] Manichæi post hos de Perside a Mane homine——ita dicto surrexerunt.——Philast. de H. c. 61. in.

[c] ——Notabis Manichæum dici a Leone, quem Manem potius vocare debebat. Μανης est hæresiarcha ipse, Μανιχαιος, qui ejus sectæ est, et Μανιχαιον δογμα. Tamen nunquam aliter a veteribus patribus vocatur, quam Manichæus, ut Hieronymo, et aliis primæ notæ scriptoribus: quod perinde est, ac si Marcionista pro Marcione diceretur, Valentinianus pro Valentino, Photinianus pro Photino. Neque Semel Μανιχαιος et Μανης pro eodem apud Epiphanium. Jos. Scal. Animadv. in Eus Chron. p. 240. f.

[d] Even in the Acts of Archelaüs, Mani's name is written both ways; that is, sometimes he is called Manes, at other times Manichæus. I shall refer to some examples: Et post triduo venit ad Manem. Arch. c. 6. p. 9. Nullum ex nobis, ô Manes, Galilæam facies. ib. c. 36. p. 62. His auditis, turbæ volebant comprehendere Manem. c. 55. p. 100. Dic mihi illud etiam, ô Manichæe. c. 49. p. 90. His letter to Marcellus is there thus inscribed: Μανιχαιος, κ. λ. c. 5. p. 6. In like manner Epiphanius useth both ways of writing Mani's name.

[e] Suidas says: Μανης, ονομα Περσικον——κλινεται Μανεντος. Which might almost induce one to suppose, that he wrote the name Μανεις, for Μανης, the proper name of a slave, is, I think, generally declined Μανε. In Titus, this name is always written Μανεις, and he declines as Suidas directs: οι χαλεπως φερος τα Μανεντος πεπαιδημενοι. Tit. B. contr. Man. l. i. p. 64. m. The same way of declining is used in the Form of abjuring Manichæism. Αναθεματιζω τον πληρωδη Μανεντος μυθον. ap. Toll. p. 130. Αναθεματιζω τον πατερα Μανεντος Παθικιον. ib. p. 144. Epiphanius declines otherwise: ου Μανη τινος. H. 66. n. i. p. 617. C. ἑως τα Μανη. ib. c. 20. p. 637. D. μαθητη οντι τα Μανη. ib. c. 12. p. 629. B. I add some other examples from other authors.——εις τον Μανηλα. Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c. 26. p. 213. D. Cyril of Jerusalem always writes Manes, never Manichee. And he declines, as Epiphanius——ανθ ὡν Κυβρικον Μανην ἑαυτον επωνομασεν. Cat. 6. n. 24. καθεπαλαισε τον Μανην ὁ Αρχελαος. ib. n. 30.——αλλ' ἑνος των κακων τριων τα Μανη μαθητων. ib. n. 31. How Philaster declined Manes, appears from the beginning of his article. See note [a]. In The Acts of Archelaüs, where the name is written Manes in the nominative, and not Manichæus, it is not prolonged in the genitive: et quomodo de Perside venientem Manem.——Arch. n. 35. p. 61. His auditis, turbæ volebant Manem comprehensum tradere.——c. 55. p. 100.——non ex Mane originem mali hujus manâsse. ib. p. 101. And see before, note [d].

[f] Les Persans et les Arabes appellent notre hérésiarque Mani.——Beaus. Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 73. m. and see note [a]. p. 116.

[g] Κυβρικος μεν το πρωτον καλουμενος, επονομασας δε ἑαυτῳ Μανη ονομα. H. 66. n. i. in.

[h] Tunc ergo Corbicius, sepultâ Dominâ, bonis sibi derelictis omnibus uti cœpit, et migravit ad medium civitatis locum, in quo manebat Rex Persarum, et commutato sibi nomine Manem semetipsum pro Corbicio appellavit. Arch. n. 53, p. 98.

[i] Ειτα, ἱνα μη το της θηλειας ονομα επονειδισθον ῃ, ανθ ὡν Κυβρικον Μανην ἑαυτον επωνομασεν, ὁπερ καλα την Περσων διαλεκτον την ὁμιλιαν δηλοι· επειδη γαρ διαλεκτικος εδοκει τις ειναι, Μανην ἑαυτον επωνομασεν, οιονει ὁμιλητην τινα αριστον. κ. λ. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24.

[k] Δηλοι δε τουτο Περσιδι γλωσσῃ τον οιον ὁμιλητικον, και προς διαλεξιν δραστηριον. Ph. contr. Man. l. i. c. 12, p. 45.

[l] Το γαρ Μανη απο της Βαβυλωνιας εις την Ἑλλαδα μεταφερομενον σκευος αποφαινει τ' ονομα. H. 66. n. i. p. 617. C D.

[m] Manes, Chaldaïcum nomen, vas, vestem, instrumentum quodlibet significat. Huc spectat quod S. Ephræm hoc loco scribit: Manetem diabolus tamquam propriâ induit veste, ut eo, velut instrumento suo abuteretur, suaque per ipsum promeret oracula. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 119.

[n] Vas es Antichristi, et neque bonum vas, sed sordidum et indignum. Arch. c. 36. p. 62.

[o] Verum quidem est, quod in linguâ Assyriacâ et Chaldaïcâ Mân seu Mânâ sit Vas. De Rel. V. Persp. p. 281, in.

I shall not concern myself about other derivations or significations of this name; but only refer to some [a] authors, where they may be seen by those who are curious.

Whatever was the meaning of the name, as [b] Beausobre observes, it certainly was very honourable; and, if it signified any thing, there is reason to think it denoted some advantageous quality; for [c] divers kings of Edessa were named Manes or Maanes; and Asseman says that [d] it was a common name of the princes of Syria and Arabia.

It is said that Mani's father's name was Patitius or Patecius, and his mother's name Carossa: their names are in The [e] Form of abjuring Manichæism, and in [f] Hyde. Cave [g] has Patricius, by mistake probably; but the thing is of no importance.

The Greek writers continually represent Mani as a slave, purchased by a widow, and afterwards set at liberty. This we have already seen in Socrates, with whom others agree. This is one thing with [h] which Cyril upbraids him; though he at the same time owns that it is no real scandal. If he was once poor and a slave, he obtained his liberty, and came to the possession of a great estate by that time he was twelve years of age. According to [i] Archelaus, and [k] Cyril, the widow that purchased him for a slave soon set him at liberty, adopted him for her son, gave him a good education, and in the end made him her heir.

But I think it may be questioned whether Mani ever was a slave; for there is no notice taken of it in the eastern writers; and even the Greek authors speak of him as rich, learned, educated among philosophers, and at the court of Persia in his early age. Manes among the Greeks was a common name for [l] slaves: and one may be almost apt to think that this gave occasion for the common opinion of the Greek writers concerning Mani's servitude.

The eastern authors, cited by [m] Hyde and [n] Herbelot, say that Mani was a painter and engraver by profession: what use he is said to have made of his skill in painting will be seen hereafter.

It is said by the same writers, quoted both by [o] Hyde and [p] Herbelot, that he had so fine a hand as to draw lines and make circles without rule or compass: and he made a terrestrial globe with all its circles and divisions.

It may be argued that Mani was skilful in the science of astronomy, because Epiphanius says he [q] wrote a book of astrology, and that his followers boasted of their understanding in astronomy.

Augustine too says, that [r] the Manichæan writings were filled with a fabulous philosophy about the heavens and the stars, and the sun and moon. Faustus, however, the Manichæan bishop,

[a] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 281, 282. Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 281 Le Moyne Var. Sacr. p. 634. Joseph. Scal. Animadv. in Eus. Chron. p. 240, 241. Touttée ad Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24. Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 70—74. Jac. Basn. ad Tit. Bostr. l. i. p. 60.

[b] T. i. p. 73.

[c] Vid. Chron. Edess. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 418, 419. &c.

[d] Maanus, nomen tum Syris tum Arabibus principibus familiare. Assem. ib. p. 418.

[e] Αναθεματίζω τον παίδερα Μανενίος Παΐδεκιον, και την αυτε μητέρα Καρόσσαν. ap. Toll. Insign. p. 144.

[f] Ille——apud Shahristanium vocatur Manes ibn Phaten doctus seu Philosophus. At pro Phaten legendum Phatec. Nam pater fuit Πατέκιος, et mater Καρόσσα. Hyde ib. p. 280.

[g] —— patre Patricio, matre Carossâ natus. H. L. T. i. p. 140. b.

[h] ——τα περι αυτε πάμπολλα κακα, μεμνησο πρωτον την βλασφημιαν· δευτερον, την δουλειαν· ουχ ότι αισχυνη ή δουλεια. κ. λ. Cat. 6, n. 26.

[i] ——comparavit sibi puerum annorum fere septem, Corbicium nomine, quem statim manumisit, ac literis erudivit: quique cum duodecim annorum esset effectus, anus illa diem obiit, ipsique universa bona sua tradidit. Arch. n. 53. p. 97.

[k] Και τουτον εις υιοθεσιαν λαβουσα, επαιδευσε τοις Περσων μαθημασιν ως υιον——και Καθρικος ο κακος οικετης εις μεσον φιλοσοφων ηκμασε· και τελευτησασης της χηρας εκληρονομησε και τα βιβλια και τα χρηματα. Cat. 6, n. 24.

[l] Μανης γαρ εστι δουλος. Aristoph. Av. ver. 1329. et passim. Γελοιον εφη, ει Μανης μεν χωρις Διογενες ζη Διογενης δε χωρις Μανε ου δυναται. Diog. Laërt. l. 6, n. 55. Vid. Menag. in locum, et in. l. 5. n. 55. Conf. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8. Vid. et Suid. V. Μανης, cum Kusteri notis, et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 281, 282.

[m] Manes Persa, in eorum libris dictus Mani pictor. Nam talis fuit professione suâ. Hyde ubi supra, c. 21, p. 280.

[n] Mani. Manes——étoit peintre et graveur de sa profession. Herbelot. Bib. Orient.

[o] Orientales aiunt, quod ex pictoriæ artis, quâ excellebat, superbiâ elatus, se prophetam venditaret. Ferunt eum potuisse ad 20 ulnarum longitudinem ducere lineam, in quâ applicando normam nulla curvitas deprehendi potuit. Hyde ib. p. 282, m.

[p] Ce Manes savoit faire quelques prestiges, et avoit la main si juste, qu'il tiroit des lignes, et décrivoit des cercles sans règle et sans compas. Il fit aussi un globe terrestre avec tous ses cercles et ses divisions. Herbelot. ib.

[q] ——αλλην δε την περι αστρολογιας· η γαρ αποδεικτις της τοιαυτης περιεργιας, αλλα μαλλον αυτοις εν προχειρω καυχηματος προκειται αστρονομια. Hær. 66, n. 13, p. 629. D.

[r] Libri quoque eorum pleni sunt longissimis fabulis, de cœlo et sideribus et sole et lunâ:——quæ tamen ubi consideranda et discutienda protuli, modeste sane ille nec ausus est subire ipsam sarcinam. Noverat enim se ista non nosse, nec eum puduit confiteri. Non erat de talibus, quales multos loquaces passus eram, conantes eam docere, et dicentes nihil. Iste vero cor habebat, etsi non rectum ad te, nec tamen nimis incautum ad seipsum. Conf. l. 5, c. 7, n. 12.

did not concern himself with those speculations; which, I think, is to his honour, and seems to shew that as among other sects, so among them likewise, there were doctrines maintained by some, which the wiser and more understanding did not consider as essential parts of their scheme, or at all belonging to it.

Beausobre [a] has shewn it to be probable that Mani believed our earth to have two hemispheres, an upper and a lower, both inhabited; and consequently that there are antipodes. He collects as much from some things said in The [b] Acts of Archelaus; and he refers to a passage of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who says that [c] the Manichees are much of the same opinion with the Greeks, and believe as they do that the heaven is spherical.

Sharistani, an Arabian author in Hyde, calls Mani [d] a learned man, and a philosopher; and another author of the same country says [e] that Mani wrote a system of philosophy, and invented a musical instrument, called by the Arabians Oud.

Beausobre argues that [f] Mani was skilled in medicine; but he has no direct evidence: it is not expressly said by the Greek or eastern writers. And Beausobre does not give credit to the story of his attempt to cure the king of Persia's son. I therefore leave that a doubtful point.

But Mani was learned. This appears from all the particulars just mentioned, and from what is said by the Greek writers of the literary and philosophical [g] education bestowed upon him by the good widow, into whose hands he came. And in The Acts of Archelaus he is spoken of as [h] if he was equal to the most knowing among the Persians, or was the first man of his time among them for learning.

I shall now translate a long article in Herbelot, taken from eastern authors, who say that 'Mani,[i] having gained some esteem, began to gather together a number of people, in the 'character of disciples, who opposed the worship and ceremonies of the religion of Zoroaster, 'which the Persians professed at that time. This novelty having occasioned some disturbances, 'Sapor would have had him punished; but Mani, perceiving that he was sought for, fled, and 'retired into Turkestan: here he had full scope to spread his notions among an ignorant sort 'of people, and make himself pass among them for a wonderful man, or even a god. Having 'found a cave where was a fine spring, he got some provisions, sufficient for a year, to be lodged 'there: and then he told his disciples that he was about to take a journey to heaven, and that 'they would be a whole year without seeing him; after which time he would come down again 'from heaven, and appear in a certain cave which he told them of.

'At the end of the year they failed not to look for him, and found him at the appointed 'place. Then he shewed them that wonderful book, filled with uncommon images and figures, 'and called Ergenk and Estenk, which he said he had brought from heaven. This new impos-'ture greatly increased the number of his followers, who all went from Turkestan into Persia 'upon the death of Sapor.

'Hormisdas, having succeeded his father Sapor, used Mani very kindly: he even embraced 'his sect, and built him a castle for his security.

'Baharam, or Varanes, succeeding his father Hormisdas, appeared in the beginning of his 'reign to favour Mani: but, having got him out of his castle under a pretence of disputing with 'the doctors of the Zoroastrian sect, he soon after flayed him alive, filled his skin with chaff, and 'had it hung up in a conspicuous place to terrify those of his sect; whereupon the greatest part 'of his followers fled into India, and some even to China. All that staid in Persia lost their 'liberty, and were reduced to servitude.'

The same story is told in [k] Hyde from the same historian Condemir, or Khondemir, with only

[a] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 374—376.

[b] Και παλιν εισιν ἑτεροι κοσμοι τινες, των φωςηρων δυνοντων απο τετε τε κοσμε, εξ ὡν ανατελλεσι. Arch. c. 9. p. 17. Και οἱ ανθρωποι παντες ριζας εχεσι, κατω συνδεδεισας τοις ανω. ib. c. 8. p. 14. Conf. Lactant. Instit. l. 3. c. 24.

[c] Μανιχαιοι, παραπλησια τοις Ἑλλησι φρονεντες, τον τε ερανον και αυτοι σφαιροειδη νομιζοντες, κ. λ. Cosm. l. 6. p. 271. B.

[d] Apud Shahristanium——Manes ibn Phaten doctus, seu philosophus. Hyde, p. 280

[e] Ibn Shahna dicit Manetem scripsisse philosophiam, quam vertit in linguam Persicam: eumque extitisse auctorem instrumenti musici, dicti Arabibus Oud, id est, Testudo, Chelys. ib. p. 280.

[f] T. i. p. 81, 82.

[g] ——εις μεσον φιλοσοφων ηκμαζε. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24.

[h] ——eruditus secundum doctrinam quæ in locis illis est, et pene dixerim super omnem hominem. Arch. n. 53, p. 98.

[i] Vid. Herbelot. Bib. Or. v. Mani.

[k] Persarum historicus Chondemir narrat, quod Manes, Saducæus, fuit egregius pictor et sculptor; qui postquam audierat quod Jesus se missurum paracletum declarâsset, diabolus lapideæ cordis ejus tabulæ insculpsit suggestionem, ipsum esse dictum paracletum. Quod tempore Shabur filii Ardeshar Babecam prophetiam jactabat: cumque Shabar eum interficere quæreret, aufugit in Turkistan, ubi multos seduxit. Postea ibi inveniens speluncam, ubi optimæ aquæ fons erat, ibi clanculum reposuit annonam ad unius anni spatium duratu-

some few variations. As Hyde's book is not very common, I have transcribed his words at the bottom of the page.

I think it may be best to make here a few remarks, omitting others, which might be mentioned, and possibly may be remembered at another time.

1. The eastern authors, quoted in Hyde's and Herbelot's collections, are not ancient, but rather modern: for they are either Mahometans, or Christians of late times.

2. The eastern writers declare Mani to have been a Christian. It seems to be implied in Khondemir's account, as it stands in Herbelot: but it is plainly intimated at the beginning of his article in Hyde: and Sharistani, cited by Hyde, says that[a] Mani received the prophecy or religion of Jesus, but not that of Moses.

3. The eastern writers agree with the Greeks in representing Mani as an impostor, or one that pretended to prophecy and inspiration.

4. If these writers are to be relied upon, Mani improved his skill in painting for gaining, or supporting the reputation of his being a prophet, or some extraordinary person. This is more than once taken notice of[b] by Hyde, who likewise speaks particularly[c] of the painted, finely-figured book of his Revelations, called Ertengh.

5. According to the eastern, as well as the Greek writers, Mani was put to death by a king of Persia; so Khondemir, before transcribed; and[d] so likewise Sharistani; but the Persian and Arabian authors make Mani's death owing to his zeal for religious principles, or the disturbances occasioned thereby. Thus Khondemir, as we have seen. And Hyde says it[e] is certain that Varanes put to death the dualists, or those who maintained two principles, and hung up Mani at the gate of the city. These writers say nothing of Mani's having occasioned the death of the king of Persia's son: they seem not to have had any the least knowledge of that matter.

6. I must take notice of a mistake of these writers; for according to them the place of Mani's retirement was China; where likewise they say he had several churches finely painted. But[f] Hyde says they must or should mean Turkestan; for Mani never was in China. This we should not have been able to perceive from Herbelot, who seems to have concealed and disguised this mistake of his authors. He declares indeed that they speak of Mani's followers going into India and China after his death; but as for the place of his retirement, when he fled from Sapor, one would have thought that they had called it Turkestan, whereas it seems they name China. This may be collected from Hyde, and must lessen the credit and authority of those writers.

Perhaps some may suspect that by China those writers mean what we call Turkestan. To which I answer; if so this remark is of no value: but I am confirmed in the persuasion of its solidity by a passage of Abulpharagius, who says that Mani[g] sent his twelve disciples into all the countries of the east, even as far as India and China; where by China he must, I think, mean the same country that we call by that name; but if he does, very probably it is a mistake.

Turkestan[h] is said to be a country containing several provinces, or small kingdoms: it is situated on the east of the Caspian sea, and borders upon Sogdiana.

ram, et asseclis suis prætendebat, se ad cœlum ascensurum, et post unius anni spatium se rursus ad eos descensurum. Quocirca seipsum ab eis subducens, in dictam speluncam abiit, ibique ad præstitutum tempus permansit. Et deinde rursus comparens, produxit tabulas egregie pictas, quas Ertengh-Mani vocant, affirmans se eas a cœlo accepisse: unde plurimi ei fidem adhibuere. Deinde in Persidem festinans Regem Behram ad suam religionem invitavit. Et quidem Rex fuit ex primis qui ejus dictis fidem adhibuit. Et cum asseclæ ejus multi evaderent, Magorum doctoribus præcepit, ut cum eo disputarent. At tandem omnes qui servitio ejus addicti erant, Regis Behram jussu occisi sunt, et fervor ejus ignis hoc modo extinctus. Hyde de Rel. V. Pers. cap. 21, p. 282, 283.

[a] —— Ille amplexus est religionem inter Magismum et Christianismum, asserens prophetiam Christi, sed non asserens prophetiam Mosis. Apud Hyde, p. 282.

[b] Orientales aiunt, quod ex pictoriæ artis, quâ excellebat, superbiâ elatus, se prophetam venditavit. ib. p. 282.

[c] Utcumque tamen fuerit, impius iste Mani, cum esset professione pictor, impiorum suorum dogmatum librum, ut speciosior appareret oculis, et eo nomine multo gratior esset, eleganter quâ potuit pinxit, et varii generis picturis ornavit et decoravit, et Persice illum vocavit Ertengh, vel abbreviate Tengh —— ibi intelligendum est Manetis Evangelium pictum, seu Ertengh sc. picturarum liber, in quo dogmata sua et revelationes scripsit. ib. p. 281, 282.

[d] Shahristani in libro de Religionibus Orientis de eo refert: Mani apparuit tempore Shabur filii Ardeshir, et occidit eum Behram filius Hormuz filii Shabur. ib. p. 282.

[e] Sic ille; nam Rex Behram interfecit dualistas, et Manetem in portâ urbis crucifixit. p. 283.

[f] Apud Rustemi epitomatorem legitur.——Tchigil est picturarum domus Chinensis, scil. illud delubrum, quod in regno Chinæ Manes magister pinxit. Quod autem dicunt de Chinâ, intelligendum est de Turkistan, ubi Manes commoratus est. Et ibidem est alia ecclesia dicta Ghalbila, quam Manes picturis ornavit. Et ibi est urbs Tchigil. Ille enim nunquam fuit in Chinâ. Hyde, p. 281.

[g] Deinde a fide desciscens, seipsum Messiam nominavit, et duodecim discipulos sibi adscitos in omnes Orientis regiones, Indiam usque et Sinam misit, qui in ipsis doctrinam Thanawiorum seminarent; sc. duos esse in mundo deos.—— Abulph. Dynast. p. 82.

[h] See Beausobre T. i. p. 187. See likewise the article of Turkestan in Herbelot's Bibliothéque Orientale.

II. I now proceed to what I formerly proposed to do in this space: which is to settle the time of the rise of the Manichæan sect; or, if that cannot be done, to shew at least the sentiments of ancients and moderns about it.

We have already seen the sentiments of two learned ancients. Eusebius,[a] or Jerom, said, that Manichæism rose in the second year of Probus, the year of Christ 277; Socrates[b] not long before the reign of Constantine. I shall now shew the sentiments of divers others.

Jerom elsewhere says it[c] is certain that the Manichees appeared before the council of Nice.

Augustine, that[d] this sect did not arise until after Tertullian, and even after Cyprian. In another place he says that[e] Cyprian obtained the crown of martyrdom before Manichæism was at all known in the Roman empire. It is likely that Augustine thought he spoke within compass. However, if we should not be able to be more exact than this with full certainty, it is of importance to be assured, that as this sect evidently appeared in the Roman empire before the council of Nice, so it did not arise in the world until after Cyprian, who was ordained bishop about the year of Christ 248, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in 258.

In The Acts of Archelaus[f] the reign of Probus is several times mentioned as the time of Mani's appearing, or the time of the dispute with him; soon after which he was put to death.

Cyril of Jerusalem, who wrote his Catechetical Lectures about the year 347, observes that[g] the Manichæan heresy arose not very long ago, about seventy years, and that there were then men living who had seen Mani. In another place he speaks[h] of Mani's not appearing till the apostles had been dead two hundred years. Toutée supposes Cyril to mean the year of Christ 277, which was the second of Probus; and that he computed the apostolic age to have ended about the year of Christ 77. It may be also supposed that Cyril took his date of Manichæism from The Acts of Archelaus, where Mani's coming is placed under the emperor Probus.

Epiphanius is not consistent with himself, placing Mani earlier at one time than another. In one of his works he says that[i] Mani came from Persia, and disputed with Archelaus in the ninth of Valerian and Gallienus; that is, in the year of our Lord 261 or 262; which date is also in[k] Photius. But, in his work Against Heresies, Epiphanius sometimes mentions[l] the fourth of Aurelian; that is, the year 273 or 274; at other times[m] the reigns of Aurelian and Probus; that is, about the year 276. Moreover, Epiphanius, who wrote about the year 376, says he[n] had conversed with persons who were acquainted with Hermias, disciple of Mani.

Pope Leo[o] placeth the rise of Manichæism in the consulate of Probus and Paulinus, or the year 277.

In the Edessen Chronicle,[p] published by Asseman, Mani's birth is placed at the year of our Lord 240, a thing not mentioned, that we know of, any where[q] else.

Alexander of Lycopolis mentions it as a common report that[r] Mani lived in the time of the emperor Valerian, who was taken captive by the Persians in[s] the year 259; that he went to the

[a] P. 139. [b] P. 140.

[c] Alioqui hoc argumento,——nec Marcion, nec Cataphryges, nec Manichæus damnari debent; quia Synodus Nicæna eos non nominat; quos certe ante Synodum fuisse non dubium est. Hieron. ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41 al. 65, p. 344, in.

[d] Nam constat, non solum post Tertullianum, verum etiam post Cyprianum, hanc hæresim exortam. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 13, c. 4, in. Ecce prædicatissimus tractator divinorum eloquiorum [Cyprianus] antequam terras nostras vel tenuissimus odor Manichææ pestilentiæ tetigisset. Id. contr. duas Ep. Pelag. l. 4, c. 8, n. 24.

[e] ——numquid et gloriosissimæ coronæ Cyprianus dicetur ab aliquo, non solum fuisse, sed vel esse potuisse Manichæus, cum prius iste sit passus, quam illa in orbe Romano pestis apparuit? De Nuptiis et Concup. l. 2, c. 29, n. 51.

[f] ——sub Probo demum Romano imperatore.—— Arch. n. 27, p. 46. Vid. n. 28, init.

[g] ——τον πρωην επι Προβε βασιλεως αρξαμενον· προ γαρ ολων εβδομηκοντα ετων ἡ πλανη· και εισι μεχρι τε νυν ανθρωποι αυτοις οφθαλμοις θεωρησαντες εκεινον. Cat. 6, n. 20.

[h] αρα οι τελευτησαντες αποστολοι απο διακοσιων ετων εξεδεχοντο Μανην:——Cat. 16, n. 9.

[i] ——εν τω εννατω εν ετει της τετων βασιλειας ενεδη Μανης απο της Περσιδος, κ. λ. De Mens. et Pond. c. 20, p. 176, A.

[k] Contr. Manich. l. 1, c. 15, in.

[l] περι ετος τεταρτον της αυτε [Αυρηλιανε] βασιλειας. Hær. 66, c. 1. in.

[m] ἑως τε χρονε τε προδηλωθεντος Αυρηλιανε τε και Προβε, εν ω ἑτος ὁ Μανης εγνωριζετο. κ. λ. ib. c. 19, f. vid. et n. 20, p. 637, D. Προβος δε ην ὁ κατ' εκεινα καιρα βασιλευς, και Αυρηλιανος ὁ προ αυτε, ὁτε ἑτος ὁ Μανης ενεδημει. ib. n. 77, in.

[n] και εστι γαρ αρχαϊζουσα ἡ αἱρεσις, και οἱ συντετυχηκοτες τω προειρημενω Ἑρμεια, μαθητη οντι τε Μανη, ημεν τα κατ' αυτον διηγησαντο. H. 66, n. 12.

[o] Manichæus ergo, magister falsitatis diabolicæ, et conditor superstitionis obscœnæ, eo tempore damnandus innotuit.—— Probo Imperatore Paulinoque Consulibus. Leo Hom. 2. de Pentec. cap. 7.

[p] Anno quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo natus est Manes. Chr. Ed. ap. Assem. Bib. Orient. T. i. p. 393.

[q] ——natus enim fuit juxta Chronicon nostrum anno Græcorum 551, Christi 240, quod nemini hactenus de ejus natali observatum. Assem. ib. in notis.

[r] αυτος επι Ουαλεριανε μεν γεγονεναι λεγεται, συγρατευσαι τε Σαβωρη τω Περση· πρασμησαντα δε τι τετω απολωλεναι· Alex. lyc. p. 4, A.

[s] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 252, n. 7, et seqq. Basnag. Ann. 259, n. 3.

wars with Sapor king of Persia; and, having by some means displeased the king, was put to death by him.

Having put down so many accounts from ancient authors, I shall now mention the opinions of moderns.

The general opinion, as Asseman owns, is, that [a] Mani disputed with Archelaus in the year 277, and died in 278. To the like purpose [b] Tillemont, and [c] Basnage, and others. And Zacagni observes that [d] whereas Epiphanius, in the work first quoted above, placed the dispute of Archelaus and Mani, in the ninth of Valerian and Gallienus, he afterwards followed a later date in his work Against all Heresies, having then obtained better information. But Asseman [e] prefers the first account of Epiphanius, followed by Photius and others; though then, if Mani was born in 240, he must have finished his course when he was little more than twenty years of age; which, surely, must appear improbable to most persons.

Tillemont never saw the Edessen Chronicle: but having taken notice of what Alexander says of Mani's living in the time of Valerian, he adds, that [f] in order to reconcile him with Jerom's Chronicle, we may suppose Mani to have been in an advanced age in 277, when he was put to death; and then he may easily have gained reputation in Persia before the year 260.

Beausobre does not disallow it to be probable that [g] Manichæism began to be known in the Roman empire about the year 277, the time fixed in Jerom's Chronicle; but it may have arisen [h] eight or ten years sooner in Persia. Nor is it, he says, very improbable that [i] Mani might be author of a new sect by that time he was thirty years of age: for more he could not be, admitting the authority of the Edessen Chronicle concerning the time of his birth, as Beausobre does: nay, he supposeth that [k] Mani might make a figure in 267.

Toutée observes that, [l] since Cyril says in his time there were persons living who had seen Mani, we cannot reasonably place the dispute with him before the year 277, at which time his heresy was first brought into the Roman empire, and in the following year he was put to death: which, I think, cannot be denied by those who have any regard for the Acts of [m] Archelaus.

Cave therefore is somewhat singular when he says that [n] Mani began to spread his notions in 277, and [o] lived to near the end of that century; and yet he may be thought to have some reason for that supposition when it is recollected that in Cyril's time there were some who had seen Mani; in Epiphanius's, some who had conversed with his disciple Hermias; provided those authors may be depended upon.

Pagi approves [p] of the date in Jerom's Chronicle, but says that, according to the success and

[a] Deinde communior fert scriptorum opinio, eam disputationem anno Christi 277, Manetis interitum anno 278, accidisse. Bib. Or. T. 3. P. 2, p. 45.

[b] Mem. Ec. T. 4, Les Manichéens, art. 7, et 12, et note v.

[c] Ann. 277, n. 3, etc. Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 262, 281.

[d] Dicendum itaque est, Epiphanium in libro de Mensuris et Ponderibus errâsse, et multo certiora de Manichæorum hæresis exortu in libris adversus hæreses nobis tradidisse, licet in eisdem quoque libris iterum sibi non constare deprehendatur. Zacagn. Pr. n. 8, p. 9.

[e] Hujus hæreseos initium accurate describitur a S. Epiphanio lib. de Mensuris et Ponderibus. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 393, not. 2. Atqui ex Epiphanio, Photio, et Petro Siculo, Manes ex Persarum carceribus in Mesopotamiam anno Gallieni nono, id est Christi 261, aufugit. Anno igitur sequenti, vel ad summum anno 263, dignas impietatis suæ pœnas persolvit; idque anno ætatis suæ circiter vigesimo tertio, si auctori Chronici Edesseni credendum, qui illum, ut supra dixi, natum scribit anno Christi 240. Assem. ib. T. 3. P. 2, p. 45.

[f] Les Manichéens, Note v. fin.

[g] See Beaus. Vol. i. p. 121, 122.

[h] J'explique tous ces passages, non du tems de la naissance du Manichéisme, qui avoit commencé en Perse environ dix ans auparavant, mais du tems, ou cette hérésie commença de faire du bruit dans l'empire. Beaus. T. i. p. 123.

[i] Je ne vois point de raison assez forte, pour rejetter le témoignage de la Chronique d'Edesse, sur le tems de la naissance de Manès.—— Or ce prince [Sapor] étant mort en l'année 271 ou en 272, il ne pouvoit avoir alors que trente deux, ou trente trois ans. Il est vrai encore, que l'on peut être surpris que Manès soit devenu chef de secte, étant encore si jeune. Mais ces raisons ne sauroient balancer le témoignage d'un auteur Syrien, ou Mesopotamien, qui paroît bien instruit des faits, qui se sont passés en Orient. Beaus. T. i. p. 65.

[k] J'en ai marqué le tems à l'année deux cens soixante sept, en quoi j'ai suivi Abulpharage, qui témoigne, qu'elle parût sous Aurélien. Ib. p. 186, in.

[l] Is est annus 277 a Christi nativitate. Non esse in anteriora tempora retrahendum Manetis exortum argumento est id quod Cyrillus subjicit, fuisse adhuc suo tempore superstites, qui Manetem ipsi suis oculis conspexissent. Quod autem sub Probo innotuit Manes, intelligendum de ejus in Mesopotamiam et Romanorum imperium adventu, qui uno tantum anno ejus necem antecessit. Toutt. ad Cyr. Cat. 6, p. 99, not. 3.

[m] Vid. Arch. n. 55, p. 100.

[n] Hæresin suam disseminare cœpit circa ann. 277. Probi imperatoris anno secundo. H. L. T. i. p. 139, in Manete.

[o] Insaniæ suæ virus non ante annum 277 propinare cœpit Manes, et plures postea annos in vivis erat, ac proinde, ad exitum vergente hoc sæculo, Agapium sibi discipulum adscivit. Cav. Diss. de Script. incertæ æt. sub. in.

[p] In Annalibus origo hæreseos Manichæorum anno præcedenti consignatur; sed eam ad præsentem retrahendam esse evincit Eusebius in Chronico. Pagi Ann. 277, n. vi. Verum est, varias sub idem fere tempus eruptiones monstri illius fu-

progress of this doctrine in several places, authors have spoken differently concerning the time of it.

For my own part, I think it very difficult to determine exactly the time of the rise of Manichæism in Persia, or of its first appearance in the Roman empire: and I am apt to think that most considerate persons may be in suspense here. It is evident from the letter of Arius, and the testimonies of Jerom and Augustine, that Manichæism was known in the Roman empire before the council of Nice, and not till after the time of Cyprian. As for the edict of Dioclesian, I am not satisfied about its genuineness. What ground Eusebius, or rather Jerom, in the Chronicle, had for fixing Manichæism at the second year of Probus, we cannot now certainly say: excepting only the authority of The Acts of Archelaus, which there is not much reason to think that Eusebius was acquainted with. It appears to me remarkable that Alexander of Lycopolis, who, as is said, once was a Manichee, and afterwards wrote against them, speaks not with assurance about Mani's time. The little notice taken of Manichæism by Eusebius is another thing that deserves observation; as do likewise the words of Cyril and Epiphanius, where they speak of Mani or Hermias having been personally known to some of their times: insomuch that, upon the whole, I am doubtful whether Manichæism was known in the Roman empire before the very end of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth. If it was known there sooner, I think its progress must have been very inconsiderable.

SECT. III.

MANI'S PREDECESSORS AND WORKS.

I. *His predecessors;* 1. *Scythian;* 2. *Terebinthus.* II. *His works.*

It will be proper, in the next place, to give an account of Mani's works.

I. But it is requisite that I beforehand take notice of two persons spoken of as Mani's predecessors, and [a] sometimes called his master's, Scythian and Terebinthus; both expressly named in the long passage of Socrates, transcribed at the beginning of this chapter.

1. It has been the prevailing opinion of learned men that Scythian lived in the apostolic age, or near it. Epiphanius [b] placeth him near the times of the apostles; which [c] Cave thinks may be understood with so great latitude as to leave room to suppose that Scythian lived to near the end of the second century.

In The Acts of Archelaus, Scythian is said [d] to have lived in the time of the apostles; but that seems not very consistent with what follows, where [e] it is said that Terebinthus was a disciple of Scythian, and intimate with him: and Mani, who appeared not in the world till after the middle of the third century, is said to have been the slave and adopted son of the woman at whose house Terebinthus died.

Indeed there is reason to believe that Scythian was contemporary with Mani, as [f] some learned men have perceived; for [g] in Photius is express mention made of a [h] letter of Mani to Scythian.

isse, et insignibus alicujus facinoris notis celebratas. Quæ causa fuit, cur non iisdem Imperatoribus hæresis istius origo mandata fuerit. Ib. n. vii.

[a] ——τῆς Μανεντος διδασκαλης. Vid. Anathem. ap. Coteler. Clem. Recogn. l. 4, c. 27, in.

[b] ——περι τῆς χρονῆς των αποστολων. H. 66, n. 3, p. 620, A.

[c] Tradit Epiphanius ipsum Hierosolyma profectum περι τῆς χρονῆς των αποστολων. [H. 66, n. 3, p. 620, A.] Quod laxiore quidem sensu de sæculo ævum apostolicum proxime secuto intelligendum est; adeo ut vergente ad exitum sæculo secundo diem fatalem obiisse censeri potest. Cav. H. l. T. i. p. 140. Oxon. 1740.

[d] Scythianus nomine apostolorum tempore fuit sectæ hujus auctor et princeps.——Arch. n. 51, p. 95.

[e] Discipulum habuit quemdam nomine Terebinthum. Arch. n. 52, p. 96.——quia ergo aliquantulum temporis secum isti ambo decreverunt soli habitare;——Ille vero discipulus, qui cum eo fuerat conversatus,——ib.

[f] Hunc Scythianum Manetis adhuc ætate vixisse non dubito, licet ætate ac senio eum præcessit.——Certe ex Manetis epistolâ ad Scythianum fragmentum a me infra afferetur. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 280. Vid. et Beausobre Hist. des Manich. T. i. p. 26, et 63.

[g] Και μην και ὁ Μανιχαιος προς Σκυθιανον επιστελλων—— ap. Phot. in Eulogio cod. 230, p. 849.

[h] See a French translation of the fragment of that letter in B. T. i. p. 45.

Archelaus in one place says that [a] Scythian was of the country of Scythia: but afterwards he says he [b] was a Saracen or Arabian; which is also said by [c] Cyril and [d] Epiphanius. Photius too says, not very differently from [e] Archelaus, that Scythian [f] was descended from the Saracens, but chose to live in Egypt, and particularly at Alexandria.

2. Terebinthus, reckoned another predecessor of Mani, is said by [g] Epiphanius to have been a learned man as well as Scythian. The common account of this man in [h] Archelaus, [i] Cyril, [k] Epiphanius, and others, is, that after the death of his master Scythian, he went into Persia, or the country of Babylon, where he changed his name from Terebinthus to Buddas; and gave out that he was born of a virgin, and brought up by an angel in the mountains; and that at last he was thrown off the top of a house by [l] an angel, or some other spirit, where he had gone up very early one morning to perform some sacred rites.

As for his changing his name, in all probability there was no bad design in that, Buddas [m] being in the Babylonian language equivalent to Terebinthus, which in Greek signifies a certain tree.

What is said of his pretending to have been born of a virgin, and educated in the mountains, must needs be a fiction; because, as [n] Beausobre observes, the Manichees universally denied the possibility of such a birth, and always supposed that [o] Mani himself was born in the ordinary way.

As for the manner of his death, there is no reason to receive the account of it as true, from those who have suffered themselves to be imposed upon in so many particulars: but it is not improbable that Terebinthus often went to the upper part of the house to perform his devotions there; the Manichees being frequent in prayer, and the top of the house [p] being a place much used for that purpose by the eastern people. Whether Terebinthus died suddenly in such a place I do not know.

Finally, whereas it is said that Terebinthus outlived Scythian, and that having died himself at the house of a widow, who, coming to the possession of his estate, purchased the boy Cubricus or Mani, then seven years of age, it must be all without foundation; for Scythian himself was contemporary with Mani, and alive after that Mani had published his peculiar opinions, as has been shewn. Moreover, Terebinthus, or Buddas, or Addas was a disciple of Mani: his name is in all catalogues of the first disciples of that Persian master, and he wrote in defence of his scheme. And by Scythian may then be meant Mani, who, as [q] Theodoret says, was sometimes so called; possibly, because he was awhile in that country.

Let this suffice for shewing that the common accounts concerning these two predecessors of Mani, are not be relied upon, but are really idle fictions.

I have already several times quoted Beausobre.[r] I here again refer to his History of the Manichees.

II. We come now to Mani's works, of which I shall give the best account I can.

Socrates, in the passage formerly cited, speaks of four books written by Terebinthus or Buddas, entitled Mysteries, The Gospel, The Treasure, and Chapters. By [s] Cyril, and [t] Epi-

[a] ——quidam ex Scythiâ, Scythianus nomine. Arch. n. 51, p. 95.

[b] Quique Scythianus ipse ex genere Saracenorum fuit, et captivam quamdam accepit uxorem de superiore Thebaide, quæ eum suasit habitare in Ægypto, magis quam in desertis. ib. n. 52, p. 96.

[c] —— Σαρακηνος το γενος. Cat. 6, n. 22.

[d] —— απο της Σαρακηνιας ὁρμωμενος. H. 66, n. 1.

[e] See before note [b].

[f] Σκυθιανος τις την πατριδα Αιγυπτιος, το δε εξ ανθρωπων γενος Σαρακηνος την Αλεξανδριαν ωκει. Ph. contr. Manich. l. 1. c. 12, in.

[g] ην γαρ και ὁτος εν γραμμασιν επιμελεστατα πεπαιδευμενος. H. 66, n. 3, p. 620, D.

[h] —— et Babyloniam petiit, quæ nunc provincia habetur a Persis,—quo cum venisset, talem de se famam pervulgavit ipse Terebinthus, dicens——se vocari non jam Terebinthum, sed alium Buddam nomine,——ex quâdam autem virgine natum se esse, simul et ab angelo in montibus enutritum. ——Tunc deinde mane primo ascendit solarium quoddam excelsum, ubi nomina quædam cœpit invocare.——Hæc co cogitante, justissimus Deus sub terras eum detrudi per spiritum jubet, et continuo de summo dejectus, exanime corpus deorsum præcipitatum est, quod anus illa miserta collectum locis solitis sepeliit. Arch. c. 52, p. 97.

[i] Cyr. Cat. vi. n. 23. [k] Hær. 66, n. 3.

[l] ——ὑπο αγγελω καταχθεις κατεπεσε. Epiph. ib. p. 621, A.

[m] Qui in Persiam concedens, ut meliùs celaretur, transtulit nomen suum in Buddam, (rectius Butm, seu Budm,) Terebinthum significans. Hyde, p. 280, Conf. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 53, 54, 55. [n] T. i. p. 56.

[o] ——cur hominem susceptum a Spiritu Sancto, Manichæum, non putatis turpe, natum ex utroque sexu prædicare? Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c. 7, n. 8. Cum enim vos non timeatis viscera et sanguinem Manichæi de humano concubitu venientem,——id. ib. Vid. et Alex. Lyc. p. 14, D.

[p] See Beausobre, T. i. p. 60.

[q] Σκυθιανος δε δηλεσων προσηγορευετο. Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 26, in.

[r] T. i. p. 53——64. [s] Cat. 6, n. 22.

[t] Hær. 66, n. 2.

phanius, and [a] Photius, they are ascribed to Scythian, as they are also in The [b] Acts of Archelaus. But there being an ambiguity in one place of that work [c] where they are mentioned, it is likely that thereby Socrates was induced to call them Terebinthus's, as has been hinted by [d] some learned men.

Socrates says that Mani, coming to the possession of those books, distributed them among his followers as his own. Archelaus [e] speaks to the like purpose; only he says that Mani first made additions to them. It seems to me probable that they are really Mani's; and I shall consider them as such. Beausobre does the same.

The four books, mentioned by Socrates, are differently placed by the authors just cited. I chuse to speak of them in the order in which they are named by Archelaus and Epiphanius: Mysteries, Chapters, Gospel, Treasury. Afterwards I shall put down the titles of other things ascribed to him.

1. The first is The Mysteries. 'It appears,' says [f] Beausobre, 'by comparing Titus of 'Bostra and Epiphanius, that it began with these words: "God [g] and matter existed, light and 'darkness, good and evil: they were entirely separate and contrary to each other." This book 'was divided into [h] two-and-twenty sections, according to the number of the letters of the 'Syriac alphabet. As for the subject of the book, Photius [i] says the author there blasphemed 'the law and the prophets. But that was not the principal design of this pernicious work: it is 'the doctrine of two principles that Mani there endeavoured to prove by a demonstration a 'posteriori: I mean from the mixture of good and evil which there is in the world. All his 'reasoning is founded upon this maxim, that if there were one sole cause, who is most simple, 'most perfect, most good, all effects would be answerable to the nature and will of that cause; 'the whole would shew his simplicity, his perfection, his goodness; and every thing would be im-'mortal, holy, happy, like himself. We may with assurance conclude what were the contents 'of this book, The Mysteries, from the confutation of it by Titus of Bostra; who follows his 'adversary very closely, though he does not concern himself minutely with every [k] thing.'

Some learned men, as [l] Cave, and [m] Fabricius, thought that Mani wrote a book Concerning the Faith. They suppose it to be quoted by Epiphanius. But Beausobre well argues that [n] the passage in Epiphanius is taken out of the book of the Mysteries, as appears by comparing him with Titus of Bostra. I think Epiphanius does not intend a book different from others there named, but says that in the books mentioned by him, particularly that of The Mysteries, Mani shews what was his faith or doctrine.

I therefore shall not speak of this as a distinct book of Mani, as some have done.

2. The second book is that called Chapters or Heads: summarily representing, it is likely, the fundamental principal articles of the Manichæan doctrine. Beausobre [o] puts the question, whether this be not The Epistle of the Foundation. As I see no reason for such a supposition, I shall speak of that afterwards among Mani's epistles.

3. The third book was entitled The Gospel; which, as Cyril says, did [p] not contain the history of the life of Christ, but resembled the gospels in name only. We might be apt to conclude from those words of Cyril that he had seen the book; but perhaps he speaks only by way of conjecture; as [q] Photius seems to have done when he says that [r] therein were related things derogatory to the honour of Christ our Saviour. I suppose this to be the same book which is

[a] Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 12.

[b] ——etiam quatuor illos libellos, quos Scythianus scripserat, non multorum versuum singulos. Arch. n. 53, p. 97.

[c] Discipulum autem habuit [Scythianus] quemdam nomine Terebinthum, qui scripsit ei quatuor libros, ex quibus unum quidem appellavit Mysteriorum, alium vero Capitulorum, tertium autem Evangelium, et novissimum omnium Thesaurum appellavit. Arch. n. 52, p. 96.

[d] Scythianus——discipulum habuit Terebinthum, qui alio nomine Buddam se vocavit, scripsitque ei (hoc est ab eo dictatos) quatuor libros. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 280. Vid. et Touttée in Cyr. not. 2, p. 101. et confer. Beaus. T. i. p. 46, m.

[e] Tunc assumit illos libellos, et transfert eos, ita ut multa alia a semetipso insereret eis——nomen vero libellis proprium adscribit, prioris nomine deleto, tamquam si eos solus ex semetipso conscripserit. Arch. n. 53, p. 98.

[f] B. T. i. p. 46, 47.

[g] Ην Θεος και ὑλη· φως, και σκοτος· αγαθον, και κακον· εν τοις πασιν ακρως εναντια. Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 63, in. et ap. Epiph. H. 66, n. 14, in.

[h] Epiph. H. 66, n. 13, p. 629, C. D.

[i] Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 12, p. 40.

[k] What Beausobre says farther of this book may be seen T. i. p. 427.

[l] H. l. T. i. p. 139.

[m] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 282.

[n] T. i. p. 426, 427.

[o] Ib. p. 48, in.

[p] ——ευαγγελιον, ὁ Χριστου πραξεις περιεχουσαν, αλλ' απλως μονον την προσηγοριαν. Cyr. Cat. 6, n. 22.

[q] Vit. Toutée not. [b] in Cyr. p. 101.

[r] Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 12, p. 40.

sometimes called [a] The Living Gospel. Beausobre says [b] it was a collection of Mani's meditations and pretended revelations. But I cannot see how he should know this, when he adds that it was written in Persic, and probably was never translated into Greek: and in another place he says that [c] he has not observed any fragments of it in the authors that have confuted Mani. I suppose that conjectural conclusion is built upon the story of Mani's journey to heaven, spoken of by eastern authors, for which I see no good foundation. For my own part I cannot say what was in the book; I know nothing of it beside the title.

4. The fourth is called The Treasure, and [d] Treasure of Life, and [e] The Treasures in the plural number, as if there were more than one: a greater, perhaps, and a less. Epiphanius speaks of a book called The little Treasury, as distinct from that called The Treasure: [f] perhaps it was an abridgment of the former; but we cannot be certain. The Treasure was one of the books which were confuted by [g] Heraclean. Beausobre thinks that [h] the pompous title of The Treasure, or Treasure of Life, might be an allusion to some words of Christ, where he compares his doctrine to a treasure hid in a field: See Matth. xiii. 44. Augustine [i] and the author [k] De Fide, joined with Augustine's works, allege a passage as taken out of The Treasure: but [l] Beausobre says it is not genuine, and offers very weighty arguments against it. As I do not intend to examine all the notions of the Manichees, I shall have no occasion to consider that passage.

5. By Epiphanius, Mani is said to have written [m] a book about astrology: it is likely he means astronomy.

6. In Photius is a book entitled [n] The Gigantic Book: it is one of the three books of Mani which were confuted by Heraclean: the other two are The Gospel and The Treasures. Timothy of Constantinople mentions a Manichæan book, entitled [o] The Giant's Enterprize: very probably he means the same with that just taken notice of.

7. Mani's epistles: of which there was a [p] book or [q] collection made by somebody.

1. The first to be observed by us is The Epistle of the Foundation: this was confuted by Augustine, who transcribed the beginning of it into his own [r] works. There is a large fragment of it in another book of [s] Augustine: there are fragments of it also in the [t] treatise De Fide, joined with Augustine's works. It was publicly read by the Manichees in their [u] assemblies. Possibly it was a long epistle; for Augustine [x] calls it a book, and says it contained almost their whole scheme.

There is an epistle to Patricius, cited by [y] Julian the Pelagian, in the Opus Imperfectum of Augustine. Tillemont [z] considers this as different from The Epistle of the Foundation, though he allows that also to have been sent to some particular person. But to me it seems probable that they are one and the same epistle; for according to the reading [aa] in the Benedictine edition of Augustine's Answer, The Epistle of the Foundation appears to be sent to Patricius. Which is the right reading, that in the Opus Imperfectum of Augustine, or that in his Answer to The

[a] το των Μανιχαιων ζων ευαγγελιον. Ap. Phot. Cod. 85, p. 204, f. Conf. Timoth. Const. ap. Meurs. Varia Divina, p. 117. et Form. Recip. Manich. ap. Toll. P. 142. et Cotel. Clem. Recogn. l. 4. c. 27. [b] T. i. p. 48.

[c] Ib. p. 426. not. 2.

[d] Θησαυρος ζωης. ap. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 40. Θησαυρος της ζωης. ap. Meurs. Var. Div. p. 117. et Toll. p. 142. et Cotel. ubi supr.

[e] και τες Θησαυρες καταλεγει. Phot. Cod. 85. p. 204.

[f] Ετερα δε Θησαυρος· και αλλας δη βιβλες καττυσας φανταζεται, τον μικρον δη Θησαυρον ὅτω καλεμενον. Epiph. H. 66. n. 13, p. 629. D.

[g] Phot. Cod. 85. [h] Beaus. T. i. p. 49.

[i] Aug. de Natura Boni. cap. 44. Vid. et Act. cum Felice. l. 2. c. 7. et Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 6. [k] Cap. 14. &c.

[l] Vid. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 49, 426. T. ii. p. 387. &c.

[m] Αλλην δε την περι αςρολογιας. H. 66. n. 13. p. 619. D.

[n] Ανατρεπει δε το παρα τοις Μανιχαιοις καλεμενον ευαγγελιον, και την γιγαντειον βιβλον, και τες Θησαυρες. Phot. Cod. 85, p. 204.

[o] Η των γιγαντων πραγματεια. ap. Meurs. Var. Div. p. 117.

[p] Και το των επιςολων αυτε βιβλιον. ap. Coteler. ubi supr. et Toll. p. 142.

[q] ἡ των επιςολων ὑμας. ap. Meurs. ib. p. 117.

[r] Vid. Aug. contr. Ep. Manichæi.

[s] Vid. De Naturâ Boni. cap. 46. T. 8.

[t] De Fide. cap. v. xi. xxviii.

[u] Ipsa enim nobis illo tempore miseris quando lecta est, illuminati dicebamur a vobis. Aug. contr. Ep. Man. cap. v. n 6.

[x] Et potissimum illum consideremus librum, quem Fundamenti epistolam dicitis, ubi totum pene quod creditis continetur.——Aug. Ibid.

[y] Sic etiam in illâ ad Patritium epistolâ. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 186.——Dixit hoc idem et Manichæus in epistolâ ad Patritium. Dixit et in epistolâ, quam scripsit ad filiam Menoch. ib. l. 4. c. 109.

[z] Mem. Ec. T. iv. Les Manichéens, Art. 13.

[aa] De eo igitur, frater dilectissime Pattici, de quo significâsti, &c. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. 12. n. 14, 'ubi subjicitur in imâ paginâ hoc monitum.' Editi, 'dilectissime, audisti.' Vetus codex Corbeiensis, ante mille annos scriptus, loco 'audisti,' habet 'Pattici:' forte nomen illius, cui epistolam dedit Manichæus.

Epistle of the Foundation, I do not determine: but it seems likely that hereby is meant the same name with that of Mani's father: and if Patec, or Phatec, was the name of his father, and of his friend, or disciple, to whom The Epistle of the Foundation was sent, it may afford ground to think that this was a common name among the Persians or Chaldeans.

2. A letter to [a] Menoch, a Manichæan woman, found at [b] Constantinople, and [c] often quoted by Julian the Pelagian. I think the genuineness of this letter is not disputed; but [d] Augustine did not know any thing of it till it was quoted against him by Julian.

3. A letter to Marcellus, found in The [e] Acts of Archelaus, and in [f] Epiphanius. Beausobre [g] allows this letter to be genuine: but I think that if those Acts are fictitious, and the history of Mani there recorded is for the most part improbable, and without ground, it will be difficult to maintain this letter. Again, if genuine, it must have been written in Greek, as Beausobre grants. That learned writer has indeed some arguments to prove that Mani understood Greek; but perhaps they are of no great moment: the contents of the letter may increase the suspicion of its genuineness. It may be doubted whether in writing to a stranger Mani would take upon him his apostolical character, as he here does, unless indeed he means nothing extraordinary by it; and whether he would call one who was not of his opinion his [h] dear son. It seems to me likewise improbable that Mani should reveal his sentiments so clearly to one, who as yet had no knowledge of him; for he declares openly the doctrine of two principles, and his opinion concerning the birth of Christ: and, in speaking of this last, he [i] useth broad and offensive expressions. I might add other observations; but I forbear.

4. A letter to Scythian, cited by Eulogius in [k] Photius. The passage may be likewise seen among some other fragments of Mani's writings in [l] Fabricius.

5. An epistle to Zebenna, of which there are two fragments in [m] Fabricius.

6. A letter to Cudarus, of which Fabricius has also a [n] fragment.

7. A letter to Odas [or perhaps Addas, or Buddas:] Fabricius [o] has likewise obliged us with a fragment of this epistle.

8. Augustine [p] speaks of an epistle of Mani, containing the strict rules by which the elect ought to govern themselves. By his manner of speaking it appears to have been well known at Rome and in Africa. Whether it was The Epistle of the Foundation, or some other, I cannot say; but I suppose it was not improper just to mention here this particular.

8. In some late writers mention is made of a book entitled [q] Memoirs, or Memorable Sayings and Actions, of Mani; the loss of which is much regretted by [r] Beausobre.

9. Alexander of Lycopolis mentions [s] a book of Mani concerning our Saviour's crucifixion. But it may be questioned whether he means a distinct book, or only that in some book Mani had treated of that subject.

10. An eastern author, cited by Hyde, speaks of a [t] book of philosophy written by Mani.

11. In [u] Photius is quoted a passage as Mani's; it is to this purpose: 'I am not so unmerciful as Christ, who declared, "Him that denies me before men, him also will I deny." As for me, I say on the other hand: "him that denies me before men, and by lying secures himself, I will receive with joy as if he had not denied me; and his lie and apostacy I will consider as a service to my interest."' This saying, with some difference, and not quite so absurd and impudent, is in The Form of abjuring Manichæism, as we have it in [x] Cotelerius, and [y] Tollius. I think that [z] Beausobre is in the right to dispute the genuineness of this passage,

[a] See before, note [y].

[b] Sed quia post editionem illorum,——apud Constantinopolim Manichæi epistola inventa est, atque ad has directa partes, opera est aliqua ejus inserere. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 166.

[c] Ap. Augustin. ib. c. 172, 174, 175, 176, 187, et passim.

[d] Si dicam tibi, istam Manichæi epistolam me omnino nescire; quamvis verum dicam, non credes. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 172.

[e] Arch. c. v. p. 6, 7.

[f] H. 66. c. 6. [g] T. i. p. 94, 95.

[h] ——τεκνῳ αγαπητῳ. ap. Arch. p. 6.

[i] Χριστον, Μαριας τινος γυναικος ελεγον ειναι υἱον εξ αἱματος και σαρκος, και της αλλης δυσωδιας των γυναικων γεγενησθαι. ib. p. 8.

[k] Cod. 280. p. 849. m.

[l] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 284.

[m] Ibid. [n] Ib. p. 285. [o] Ibid.

[p] Proposita est vivendi regula de Manichæi epistolâ. Aug. de Mor. Manich. c. 20. n. 74.

[q] και την των απομνημονευματιων. (sive Manetis dictorum factorumque memorabilium Commentarium.) ap. Tollii Insign. p. 142. et Cotel. ubi supra. [r] T. i. p. 430.

[s] ὁπερ αυτος ὁ Μανιχαιος διαπραττεται λογῳ περι τουτου διδασκων. Alex. Lyc. p. 19. B.

[t] Ibn Shahna dicit Manetem scripsisse Philosophiam, quam vertit in linguam Persicam. Hyde, p. 283.

[u] Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 8. [x] Ubi supra.

[y] Toll. ubi supr. p. 148. [z] T. ii. p. 796.

found only in late authors, without naming the work whence it is taken. I am sure it is contrary to the noble saying of Mani, to be alleged by and by [a] from The Acts of Archelaus, where he professes willingness to suffer, and to fear God more than men: it is also contrary to the practice of his followers, who were generally in suffering circumstances for their principles, and yet persevered, and shewed as much constancy as the men of any other sect. Beausobre [b] has quoted a passage of [c] Secundinus, shewing that the Manichees did not approve of dissimulation, nor of denying the Lord Jesus. Augustine assures us, that [d] the Manichees alleged as genuine words of Christ what is recorded Luke xviii. 29, 30; "There is no man that has left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold."

Perhaps this impudent saying was in The Memoirs, or Memorable Acts and Sayings, of Mani: if so, Beausobre had no reason to set any great value upon that piece. Indeed I suspect the collection with that name to have been a late thing; and I apprehend it not unlikely to have been made by Mani's enemies, and to have been injurious to him in some respects, though there may have been in it some of his genuine sayings and observations.

12. Titus of Bostra intimates that [e] Mani's books, at least the book he answered, was written in Syriac. Augustine however supposeth that [f] they had books written in Persic.

13. From Augustine we learn that the [g] Manichees had many and large books, adorned at great expense. Perhaps the bulk of the volumes was owing to the largeness of the letters in which [h] they were written throughout; such as were otherwise generally used only at the beginnings of books or chapters.

14. I have now finished my account of Mani's works: I wish we had more of them, or at least The Epistle of the Foundation entire, that we might judge for ourselves. Perhaps it might please the curious if some learned man would publish a collection of all Mani's fragments.

[a] See the next section, near the beginning.

[b] Ib. p. 796, 797.

[c] Ipse enim non ignoras, quam pessimus sit, quamque malignus, quique etiam tantâ calliditate adversus fideles et summos viros militat, ut et Petrum coëgerit sub unâ nocte tertio Dominum negare. Secundin. ad August. c. 4.

[d] ——— quid si alius dicat illud esse immissum, et falsum, quod ipsi proferunt dicente Domino: Omnis qui reliquerit domum, aut uxorem, aut parentes, aut filios propter regnum cœlorum, &c. Aug. contr. Adimant. c. 3. n. 2.

[e] Ὅσα μεν αν ἑτερα, γραος δικην μυθολογει και γραφει τῃ Συριων φωνῃ χρομενος. Tit. l. i. p. 69, in.

[f] Itane Persicis libris me jubes credere, qui Hebræis me dixisti non credere? Aug. contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 17.

[g] ——— conspuuntur [al. conspiciuntur] tam multi et tam grandes et tam pretiosi codices vestri: et multum dolentur labores antiquariorum, et sacelli miserorum, et panis deceptorum. Contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 6. Incendite omnes illas membranas, elegantesque tecturas decoris pellibus exquisitas, ut nec res superflua vos oneret. ib. cap. 18. ———cum te illi sonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter voce solâ, et libris multis et ingentibus. Confess. l. 3. c. 6. n. 10. Vid. et c. 12.

[h] Habeant, qui volunt, veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel initialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis, onera magis exarata, quam codices: dummodo mihi, meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos. Hier. Pr. in Job. T. i. p. 798.

SECT. IV.

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE MANICHEES CONCERNING DIVERS POINTS.

I. *Mani was a Christian.* II. *Divers particulars in which the Manichees agreed with other Christians.* III. *Whether Mani was an impostor? The question proposed, and the opinions of several about it.* IV. *Reasons for thinking he was an impostor, with an examination of those reasons.* V. *Additional observations.* VI. *The Manichæan sentiments concerning the divine perfections. Whether they believed two gods? They believed God creator, and a Trinity. Whether they worshipped the sun?* VII. *They held two eternal principles.* VIII. *Their account of the creation of the world.* IX. *Of the formation of man.* X. *That man has two souls.* XI. *Of the fall of man.* XII. *Of marriage.* XIII. *Of free will.* XIV. *Of fate.* XV. *Of the lawfulness of war.* XVI. *They held the transmigration of souls.* XVII. *They denied the resurrection of the body.* XVIII. *Of the future judgment, and the eternity of hell torments.* XIX. *Of the end of the world.* XX. *The grounds and reasons of their faith in Christ.* XXI. *They believed Christ to be God, but not man.* XXII. *Their opinion of Christ's crucifixion, death, and resurrection.* XXIII. *Whether they thought the death of Christ to be a propitiatory sacrifice?*

I. THE first thing I observe for shewing Mani's sentiments is, that he was a Christian.

Entering into the debate with Archelaus, he is made to say: 'I, brethren, am[a] a disciple and 'and an apostle of Jesus Christ.' His letter to Marcellus, inserted in the work ascribed to Archelaus, is thus inscribed: 'Mani, an[b] apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the saints with me, 'unto Marcellus my dear son, grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord 'Jesus Christ.' In that letter he complains that 'some,[c] even Christians, did not believe the things 'said in the gospels by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' At the village Diodoris, Mani is represented speaking to Archelaus in this honest, and resolute, and truly Christian manner: 'If[d] 'you have a mind to persecute me, I submit: if you would inflict punishments upon me, I do not 'decline them: if you would kill me, I am not afraid. For we ought to fear him alone, who is 'able to destroy both soul and body in hell:' see Matt. x. 28.

Faustus in his book usually proposeth difficulties and objections against their scheme in the way of question: 'Do[e] you receive the gospel? Yes certainly.' Afterwards: 'Do[f] you receive 'the gospel; and do you ask me whether I receive the gospel, when in fact it appears that I 'receive it by doing what it commands?' which he there proceeds to shew in a variety of particulars. He[g] speaks 'of the wholesome, or saving words of the Lord, and his divine dis-'courses.' And, according to him, Christ[h] is light and truth itself, and[i] a teacher and model of all virtue.

Faustus readily professeth himself and the rest of the Manichees[k] to be disciples of Christ and his apostles: nor[l] will they be prevailed upon by any to forsake Jesus, the son of God, their master. Our[m] Lord, and our Saviour, are characters and titles by which they continually speak of Jesus Christ.

[a] Ego, viri fratres, Christi quidem sum discipulus, apostolus vero Jesu. Arch. n. 13, p. 24, in.

[b] Μανιχαιος αποστολος Ιησυ Χριστυ ——— χαρις, ελεος, ειρηνη απο θευ πατρος και κυριυ ἡμων Ιησυ Χριστυ. κ. λ. n. 5, p. 6.

[c] Ουτε γαρ τοις εισημενοις εν ευαγγελιοις παρ' αυτυ τυ σωτηρος ἡμων και κυριυ Ιησυ Χριστυ πιστευεσιν. ib. p. 7.

[d] Si persequi volueris, paratus sum: et si inferre supplicia, non refugiam. Si etiam interficere me vis, non reformido, &c. Arch. n. 47, p. 84.

[e] Accipis evangelium? Et maxime. Faust. l. 2, c. i.

[f] Accipis evangelium? Tu me interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium, in quo id ipsum accipere apparet, quia quæ jubet observo——? Ego patrem dimisi——, et interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium? Nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod evangelium nuncupatur. l. 5, c. i.

[g] —— credimus,—— tum præcepta salutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque sermonem deificum. Id. l. 32, c. 7.

[h] —— Christum lumen, sanctimonium, divina omnia petentem. l. 14, c. i. f.—— veritatis auctori. l. 16, c. 2.

[i] Quid vero et de magistro ipso dicemus ac sanctimonii totius auctore Jesu——? l. 30, c. 4.

[k] ——ut fere Christo placet et ejus apostolis, et nobis profecto. l. 24, c. i. med.——neque id temere aut præsumtive, sed a Christo discentes et ejus apostolis, &c. eod. cap. ad fin.

[l] Nos vero quamvis de hac sententiâ nemo prorsus dejiciat, ex Deo accipiendi filium Dei. l. 23, c. 3, in.

[m] Et merito dixisse Dominum nostrum. Fortunat. Disp. i. c. 14. Evasimus igitur, quia spiritalem secuti sumus salvatorem. Nam illius tantum erupit audacia, ut si noster Dominus carnalis foret, omnis nostra fuisset spes amputata. Secundin. ad. Aug. c. 4.

Titus of Bostra owns that[a] they honoured the name of Christ. Augustine observes, that[b] they would not say the doctrine of the apostles of Christ was in any respect false and mistaken.

By all which we may perceive how much the later ingenious Stephen Nye was mistaken, when he said that[c] the Manichees never were accounted a sect of Christians.

I shall add but little more here.

Fortunatus, the Manichæan presbyter, in the dispute with Augustine, says, the[d] soul cannot be reconciled to God but by the Lord Jesus Christ: that[e] Christ our Saviour has taught us what good we ought to do, and what evil we ought to avoid, in order to please God: that[f] the doctrine of Christ is sound doctrine, by which the soul may be purified from its defilements, and brought back to the kingdom of God.

II. Mani then and his followers were Christians. It will appear farther from great numbers of things to be taken notice of as we go along. However, I would here add a few passages shewing, in some measure, what opinions they held in common with other Christians.

They believed a God and a Trinity, and that God made the world; so Augustine[g] says, Nevertheless we may hereafter observe some differences between them and other Christians upon these heads.

They required and encouraged repentance, as Augustine likewise assures[h] us.

And he observes that[i] he and the Manichees agree in saying that we ought to love God and our neighbour. But they denied that this was taught in the Old Testament.

Let me here add the confession of faith made by Fortunatus at the beginning of the dispute with Augustine in the year 392; though some expressions there used are not altogether agreeable to the catholic doctrine.

'Our belief,' says[k] Fortunatus, 'is this, that God is incorruptible, glorious, inaccessible, 'incomprehensible, impassible, dwelling in his own eternal light: that he produceth nothing 'from himself that is corruptible, not darkness, not dæmons, not Satan: that he has sent a 'Saviour like himself, the Word, born before the foundation of the world; who after the world 'was made, came among men to save the souls worthy of his holy favour, sanctified by his 'heavenly precepts, through faith and reason endowed with the knowledge of heavenly things: 'and that under his conduct those souls shall again return to the kingdom of God, according to 'his holy promise, who said: "I am the way, the truth, and the door: and no man cometh unto 'the Father but by me:" John xiv. 6. These things we believe, forasmuch as souls cannot 'otherwise, that is, through any other mediator, return to the kingdom of God: for he himself 'says: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father also:" ver. 9. and, "He that believeth on 'me shall not taste death, but passeth from death to life, and cometh not into condemnation:"

[a] ——αλλ' επειδη τετιμηται το ονομα τε Ιησε,——Tit. l. 3. in. p. 139.

[b] Nam illa vox altera Paganorum est, qui dicunt, Apostolos Christi non recta docuisse. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16. in.

[c] Nye's Def. of the Canon of the New Test. p. 87, &c.

[d] ——et animam aliter non posse reconciliari Deo, nisi per magistrum, qui est Jesus Christus. Aug. et Fortu. Disp. i. n. 17.

[e] ——auctore Salvatore nostro, qui nos docet et bona exercere, et mala fugere. Disp. 2, n. 20, f.

[f] —— si post admonitionem Salvatoris nostri, et sanam doctrinam ejus, a contrariâ et inimicâ sui stirpe se segregaverit anima;——Unde patet recte esse pœnitentiam datam post adventum Salvatoris, et post hanc scientiam rerum, qua possit anima, aesi divino fonte lota, de sordibus et vitiis tam mundi totius, quam corporum in quibus eadem anima versatur, regno Dei, unde progressa est, repræsentari. Fort. Disp. 2, c. 21.

[g] Numquid propterea dicere non debemus, quod bonus Deus fecerit mundum; quia hoc dicit etiam Manichæus?—Item si interrogemur, utrum sit Deus? et nos et Manichæi respondemus: Est Deus.—De ipsa quoque Trinitate interrogati, utrique dicimus, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ejusdem esse naturæ. Aug. Op. Imp. l. v. c. 30.

[h] Nam, ut inter omnes sanos constat, et quod ipsi Manichæi non solum fatentur, sed et præcipiunt, utile est pœnitere peccati. Aug. de duab. Anim. c. 14, n. 22, m.

[i] Atque in his duobus convenit mihi cum Manichæis, id est, ut Deum et proximum diligamus: sed hoc veteri testamento negant contineri. De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 28, n. 57.

[k] Et nostra professio ipsa est, quod incorruptibilis sit Deus, quod lucidus, quod inadibilis, quod intenibilis, impassibilis, æternam lucem et propriam inhabitet: quod nihil ex sese corruptibile proferat, nec tenebras, nec dæmones, nec Satanam; nec aliquid adversum in regno ejus reperiri possit: Sui autem similem Salvatorem direxisse, Verbum natum a constitutione mundi, cum mundum fabricaret, post mundi fabricam inter homines venisse, dignas sibi animas elegisse sanctæ suæ voluntati, mandatis suis cœlestibus sanctificatas, fide ac ratione imbutas cœlestium rerum; ipso ductore hinc iterum easdem animas ad regnum Dei reversuras esse, secundum sanctam ipsius pollicitationem, qui dixit: Ego sum via, veritas, et janua; et nemo potest ad Patrem pervenire nisi per me. His rebus nos credimus, quia alias animæ, id est, alio mediante non poterunt ad regnum Dei reverti, nisi ipsum repererint, viam, veritatem, et januam. Ipse enim dixit: qui me vidit, vidit et patrem meum; et, qui in me crediderit, mortem non gustabit in æternum, sed transitum facit de morte ad vitam, et in judicium non venit. His rebus credimus; et hæc est ratio fidei nostræ, et pro viribus animi nostri mandatis ejus obtemperare, unam fidem sectantes hujus Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 3.

'chap. v. 24. These things we believe, and this is the ground of our faith; as also, that with all the 'powers of our mind we are to obey his holy commandments, holding the doctrine of the Trinity 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

Thus Fortunatus; who likewise just before had professed his belief and expectation [a] of the future judgment of the just judge Jesus Christ: and Secundinus, in his letter to Augustine, reminds [b] him of the just tribunal of the Great Judge; and asks him if [c] it be not true which Paul says, "that every one must give an account of his works?" Rom. xiv. 12.

III. Before we proceed to a more particular examination of Mani's principles, it may be proper to consider what were his pretensions, or upon what grounds he recommended his peculiar doctrines; whether upon the foot of reason only or of a peculiar revelation.

We have already seen how Eusebius and some other catholic writers express themselves. Eusebius in particular says, 'he [d] made an appearance of being Christ, and sometimes said he 'was the Comforter, and the Holy Ghost himself; and that like Christ he chose himself twelve 'apostles.' Epiphanius says that [e] he presumed sometimes to say he was the Holy Ghost, and at other times that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ. According to Cyril, Mani [f] said he was the Comforter, and the defender of truth: and in another place that [g] he said he was the Holy Spirit.

In The Acts of Archelaus, at the beginning of the conference at Caschar, he is made to say: 'I, [h] brethren, am a disciple and apostle of Jesus Christ. I am the Comforter, promised to be 'sent by Jesus, "to convince the world of sin, and of righteousness:" John xvi. 8, as also 'Paul sent before me said: "We know in part, and prophecy in part;" 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10; 'reserving to me that which is perfect, that I might "do away that which is in part:" receive 'therefore this third testimony by me, and own me as a chosen apostle of Jesus Christ. If you 'will receive my words, you will obtain salvation: if not, you will be consumed by everlasting 'fire.'

Theodoret says that [i] Mani gave out he was the Christ, and called himself the Holy Ghost.

And, as Jerom expresseth it, some [k] pretended that Mani was the Comforter himself. And to the like purpose [l] Rufinus.

It is not easy to conceive how any man should say all these things of himself; that he is the Christ, and an apostle of Christ, and the Holy Ghost himself. However, to reconcile these accounts, if possible, it may be observed, that perhaps some of these writers use words in a different sense from that in which they are now generally understood by us: and when it is said that Mani pretended to be Christ, the meaning may be that he acted like Christ in chusing for himself twelve companions; or, by Christ may be meant the Holy Ghost, with whom Christ was anointed, and whom Mani pretended to have received. So the word Christ is used in some ancient [m] writings, particularly in [n] The Acts of Archelaus.

As for his calling himself the Comforter, or the Holy Ghost, and an apostle of Christ, possibly the meaning is, that he said he had received the Holy Ghost, and was an apostle of Christ, eminently furnished with spiritual gifts.

That must be the highest pretension he made. This is Augustine's summary account of the

[a] ——et in futurâ justi judicis Christi examinatione.—ib. n. 3.

[b] Quis igitur tibi patronus erit ante justum tribunal judicis, cum et de sermone et opere cœperis te teste convinci. Secund. ad Aug. n. 3.

[c] An falsum in Paulo est, quod operum singuli suorum erunt reddituri rationem? ib. [d] See before, p. 140.

[e] Ελεγε δε ἑαυτον ὁ Μανης ειναι το πνευμα το παρακλητον, και ποτε μεν αποστολον φασκει ἑαυτον Χριστου, ποτε δε πνευμα παρακλητον. Epiph. H. 66. n. 12. p. 629. B. Conf. n. 19. p. 635. C.

[f] —— ὁ γαρ λεγων ἑαυτον παρακλητον, και της αληθειας αγωνιστην, κ. λ. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 20.

[g] Μανης, ὁ ἑαυτον ειπων το πνευμα το ἁγιον. Cat. 16. n. x. p. 248. D.

[h] Ego, viri fratres, Christi quidem sum discipulus, apostolus vero Jesu.——Sum quidem ego Paracletus, qui ab Jesu mitti prædictus sum, ad arguendum mundum de peccato, et de injustitiâ, sicut et qui ante me missus est Paulus, ex parte scire, et ex parte prophetare se dixit; mihi reservans quod perfectum est, ut hoc quod ex parte est destruam. Tertium ergo testimonium accipite, apostolum me esse Christi electum. Et si vultis mea verba accipere, invenietis salutem; nolentes autem, vos æternus ignis absumere habet. Arch. n. 13. p. 24.

[i] —— ετολμησεν ἑαυτον ὁ παμπονηρος και Χριστον προσαγορευσαι, και πνευμα ἁγιον ονομασαι. Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c. 26. p. 214.

[k] Sicut aliæ hæreses Paracletum in Montanum venisse contendunt, et Manichæum ipsum dicunt esse Paracletum. ad Vigilant. T. 4. P. 2. p. 285. in.

[l] Consilium namque vanitatis est, quod docet Manichæus: primo, quod seipsum Paracletum nominavit. Ruf. in Symb. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 142.

[m] See Beaus. T. i. p. 115, and 255.

[n] Hic est Christus Dei, qui descendit super eum, qui ex Mariâ est. Arch. n. 50. p. 93. in. Vid. ib. n. 34. p. 59, 60.

matter in his book Of Heresies. 'They [a] say that Our Lord's promise of sending the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, has been fulfilled in their master Mani: and in his epistles he styles himself apostle of Jesus Christ, forasmuch as Christ had promised him, and in him had sent the Holy Ghost. Accordingly he had himself twelve disciples, in imitation of the number of the apostles, which number is still kept up by the Manichees.' Again, Augustine says, 'the [b] Manichees pretended that Christ's promise of sending the Holy Ghost had been fulfilled in their leader.' And in another place, 'they said that [c] the Holy Ghost, whom the Lord had promised to send to his disciples, had come to them by him.' Once more Augustine says, that 'Mani [d] endeavoured to persuade men, that the Holy Ghost did personally dwell in him with full authority.'

That this is all which Mani can be supposed to have pretended to, is evident from the arguments made use of in confuting him. The ancient writers, in their answers, shew that the promise of sending the Holy Ghost had been fulfilled in the apostles soon after our Lord's ascension: whereas Mani did not appear until long after the death of all the apostles, in the time of Probus, or Aurelian. This is largely argued by [e] Archelaus, [f] Epiphanius, and others. And in the dispute itself Mani is represented explaining his claim in this manner, 'that [g] the Spirit came upon him.' And Archelaus argues, that [h] the Holy Ghost was to descend upon and dwell in none but Christ, and Paul, and the other apostles; that is, in the most eminent and extraordinary manner.

All therefore that Mani could say is, that he was an apostle of Christ, and had the spirit as an apostle.

But whether he said so much may be questioned. Godfrey [i] Arnold a learned German, who wrote a history of heresies in his own language, denies that Mani took upon him any extraordinary character: but Beausobre, though a man of great candour, thinks Arnold was mistaken herein. 'Arnold [k] was in the right to say that Mani never pretended to be the Comforter; but he was in the wrong to deny that he aimed to pass for the prophet of the Comforter; or a man extraordinarily sent to reveal to the Christian church some truths which Jesus Christ had not made known to his disciples. The Manichees themselves had this opinion of their patriarch.' So Beausobre.

I beg leave to consider this point distinctly. I have not had the advantage of seeing Arnold's work. I can only represent the case as it appears to me.

IV. In the first place I shall mention divers reasons and arguments for thinking that Mani was an impostor, and examine them, After which I shall mention some additional observations.

The reasons and arguments are such as these: 1. The ancient Greek and Roman Christian authors represent his pretensions as very extraordinary; 2. As do likewise the eastern writers. 3. Mani imitated Christ in chusing and sending out twelve apostles. 4. He called himself apostle. 5. Divers other of his expressions shew him to have pretended to a divine commission. 6. His followers conceived of him as an apostle, or an inspired teacher. 7. They rejected the book of the Acts, because of the evidence it afforded, that the promise of sending the Spirit had been fulfilled in the apostles, and therefore could not belong to Mani.

1. The ancient Greek and Roman Christian writers represent Mani's pretensions as very extraordinary.

I answer, that we have shewn them to be mistaken in several things. In particular, divers of them say that Mani called himself the Comforter, which is not true. We must therefore look

[a] Promissionem domini Jesu Christi de Paracleto Spiritu Sancto in suo hæresiarchâ Manichæo dicunt esse completam. Unde se in suis literis Jesu Christi apostolum dicit, eo quod Jesus Christus se missurum esse promiserit, atque in illo miserit Spiritum Sanctum. Propter quod etiam ipse Manichæus discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri; quem numerum Manichæi hodieque custodiunt. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

[b] —— Mirâ cœcitate asserentes eamdem Domini promissionem in suo hæresiarchâ Manichæo esse completam. Aug. ad. Ceret. Ep. 237. [al. 253] n. 2.

[c] Nôsti enim, quod, auctoris sui Manichæi personam in apostolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum ad nos venisse. De Util. Cred. c. 3. n. 7.

[d] Non enim parvi existimari se voluit, sed spiritum sanctum consolatorem et ditatorem fidelium tuorum, auctoritate plenariâ personaliter in se esse persuadere conatus est. Confess. l. 5. cap. 5. n. 8.

[e] Vid. Arch. n. 27, 28. [f] Ep. H. 66. n. 20, 21.

[g] Spiritum enim venisse super te dixisti, quem promiserat Jesus esse missurum. Arch. n. 50. p. 92. m.

[h] Et sicut non super omnes homines spiritus habitare poterat, nisi super eum qui de Mariâ natus est, ita et in nullum alium Spiritus Paracletus venire poterat, nisi super apostolos, et super beatum Paulum. Arch. n. 34. p. 59. m.

[i] Germanice illam epistolam [Fundamenti,] exhibet Gothofredus Arnoldus in Historiâ sive Apologiâ Hæresium. T. iv. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 283.

[k] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 239, 240.

for some other evidence of his imposture beside their word. Mani published several new notions as doctrines of religion: some might therefore say: 'A man that does this had need to be inspired.' And thence some might be led to conclude, that he actually pretended to be inspired in an extraordinary manner, and sent by Christ to reveal new truths. Some might speak of him to this purpose; and others might take up this account without much examination.

2. The eastern writers, whether Persians or Arabians, whose account was formerly [a] taken, speak of him in the like manner.

I answer, that those writers are not very ancient. Their account of Mani's imposture, particularly his journey to heaven, is taken from the history of Mahomet, who is much later than the person whose affairs we are examining. Therefore probably that story is a fiction, without any real foundation. I formerly [b] observed a mistake of these writers (some of them at least) concerning the place of Mani's retirement. It is also very improbable, which is said by the eastern historians, as quoted by Herbelot, that numerous followers have been gained in China, or Turkestan; they all went into Persia upon the death of Sapor. Nor did Mani attempt to pass for a God. Once more, the eastern writers are not agreed about the time in which Mani lived, some [c] placing him much later than others. The testimony of these authors therefore is not to be relied upon.

3. The third argument is, that Mani imitated Christ in chusing and sending out twelve disciples.

In answer to which I would say: supposing that he had twelve disciples, and sent them abroad to propagate his principles, it does not follow that he was an impostor; for we have been informed by [d] Augustine, that this was the ecclesiastical constitution of the Manichæan sect. There were twelve of the elect called masters, and a thirteenth, who was their chief or principal. If this was an institution of Mani himself, and put in practice in his own time, he must have been the principal; and perhaps only by way of an innocent, or at the worst an affected, imitation of the state of things at the first rise of the Christian religion in the time of Christ and his apostles: which, I suppose, is all that can be thought of their keeping up the same form in Augustine's time.

But it may be questioned whether Mani had twelve disciples distinguished from the rest. It is true Eusebius intimates as much: but what ground he had for it we cannot say. However, Augustine [e] says it expressly, as does [f] Theodoret, about the year 420. But this is not to be found in more ancient authors, excepting Eusebius only, who has been just named; and there are two reasons to doubt of it. First, several ancient writers are silent about this particular, who would have mentioned it if true. In [g] The Acts of the Dispute with Archelaus there are but three of Mani's disciples named, whom likewise he is there said to have sent abroad to spread his opinions; one into the east, another into Syria, and the third into Egypt; Thomas, Addas, and Hermas: the same three that are mentioned by [h] Cyril and [i] Epiphanius. Secondly, if Mani had twelve disciples, whom he called apostles, or employed as such, it is likely that their names would have been transmitted to us by some ancient authors: but there is no such catalogue any where to be found, except in the forementioned authors, Photius, Peter, and The Form of abjuring Manichæism: all which are too late to be of any authority, as was observed formerly. That catalogue too is itself liable to several exceptions. In [k] Photius their names stand thus: Sisinnius, said to have succeeded Mani in his [l] chair; Thomas, Budas, Hermas, Adamantus, and Adimantus; Hierax, Hieraclides and Apthonius, called [m] commentators upon Mani; Agapius author of the Heptalogus, Zarvas and Gaurialius: and to the like purpose in the two other [n]

[a] See p. 167. [b] See p. ib.

[c] L' auteur du Tarikh Khozidek le fait plus moderne, &c. See Herbelot Bib. Orient. in Mani.

[d] See before, p. 155.

[e] Propter quod etiam ipse Manichæus duodecim discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

[f] Οὗτος δυοκαιδεκα μαθητας κατα τον κυριακον ποιησαμενος τυπον. Hær. Fab. l. i. p. 214. C.

[g] Ταυτην δε πασαν την διδασκαλιαν παρεδωκε τοις τρισιν αυτε μαθηταις, κελευσας ἑκαστον εις κλιματα ὁδευειν. κ. λ. Arch. c. xi. p. 22. Acquisivit etiam discipulos tres, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Thomas, Addas, et Hermas. ib. c. 53. p. 98.

[h] Τοτε μαθηται τρεις γεγονασι, Θωμας, και Βαδδας, και Ἑρμας. Cyr. Cat. vi. n. 31.

[i] Epiph. H. 66. n. v. et xii.

[k] Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. n. 14.

[l] Σισιννιος, ὁ και το αξιωμα αυτε της δυσσεβες διδασκαλιας αναδεξαμενος. ib.

[m] Ἐξηγηται, δε αυτε και οἱον ὑπομνηματισται. ib.

[n] Porro discipuli Maneti antichristo fuere duodecim: Sisinnius, qui Maneti successit: Thomas, qui Evangelium Manichæi novum condidit: Buddas, et Hermas, Adamantus et Adimantus, quem in diversas orbis partes erroris præconem amandavit. Manetis interpretes et explanatores erant Hierax, et Hieraclides, atque Aphthonius. Adjuncti his et alii terni hujus sectatores, Agapius, qui Heptalogum commentus est, Zarvas, et Gabrialius. Pet. Sic. de Man. ap. Bib. P. P. T. 16. p. 758. A.

writers. But it is plain that this catalogue is of no value. In The Acts of Archelaus, [a] Sisinnius is said to have deserted Mani, and to have been a convert to the catholic church. Then there are two or three different names, which are but one and the same person; Budas, Adamantus, and Adimantus; that is, Addas, otherwise called also Buddas and Baddas. Apthonius lived in the fourth century, as was [b] formerly shewn. Hierax was no [c] Manichee. Touttée has a good note upon Cyril relating to this matter, which might be consulted. I put down a small part of [d] it.

4. The fourth argument is that Mani called himself an apostle of Jesus Christ. Augustine assures us that [e] all his letters began in that manner; particularly, that [f] called The Epistle of the Foundation: 'Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ by the providence of God the Father:' in like manner [g] The Epistle to Marcellus, in The Acts of Archelaus; and The [h] Epistle to Menoch, cited by Julian the Pelagian.

Answer: If this title must be here understood in the highest and strongest sense, of a person commissioned by Christ, and inspired as an apostle, the argument is complete and unanswerable. But possibly Mani meaned no more than a disciple of Christ, and a teacher of his religion. This may be argued from the passage already cited from Augustine, where he speaks of the ecclesiastical constitution of the sect. The word may be supposed to be so used in The Dispute of Archelaus. That bishop having given hard words, Mani tells him that [i] apostles are patient and long-suffering: thereby, perhaps, intending to shew what Archelaus should be, as well as what he himself was, according to his own profession. Turbo, when asked who he was, answered, that [k] he came from Persia, and was sent by Mani, a master of the Christians; the very title, which, as Augustine informs us, was [l] given to twelve of the Manichæan elect in his own time, who yet, I presume, were not reckoned inspired apostles: and masters is a word made use of in [m] The Acts of Archelaus to denote ministers of the catholic church. I might add that the eastern people are very apt to use a lofty style. They give and take high titles without incurring the suspicion or charge of blasphemy.

5. It is argued that Mani's imposture may be proved by other high expressions made use of by him beside that of apostle. In The Epistle to Marcellus he not only stiles himself apostle of Jesus Christ, but says also that [n] he was sent for the amendment and reformation of men. Several passages have been already cited [o] from The Dispute of Archelaus, containing high pretensions, which should be recollected here; particularly that passage where he says: 'If you 'receive my words, you will obtain salvation: if not, you will be consumed with everlasting fire.' But then it should be remembered likewise, that in that piece are many misrepresentations of things.

There are also strong expressions at the beginning of The Epistle of the Foundation. After having called himself apostle he adds: 'That [p] the words he is going to deliver are wholesome 'words, proceeding from the living fountain. He that hears and believes and keeps them shall 'never die, but shall obtain a glorious and eternal life.' These expressions ought to be considered. If they relate to any doctrines not founded on scripture, they contain a bold claim: but if he intends to recommend only scriptural doctrines, the interpretation may be softened. And it is observable that Augustine, having cited those words, does not, in his remarks upon them, censure them as wicked, or antichristian, or the like; but only says that [q] here is a promise of teach-

[a] Arch. n. 51. p. 94.

[b] See p. 152. [c] See before, p. 153, &c.

[d] Quod quamvis antiqua sit illa de duodecim Manetis discipulis opinio, ab augustino in libro de Hæresibus, et Theodoreto commemorata, non tamen apud antiquiores legatur. Non id refert Archelaüs, non Epiphanius. In Cyril. Cat. p. 107.

[e] Omnes tamen ejus epistolæ sic exordiuntur: Manichæus, apostolus Jesu Christi. Contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 4.

[f] Certe sic incipit: Manichæus, apostolus Jesu Christi, providentiâ Dei Patris. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 5. n. 6.

[g] Arch. cap. v.

[h] Manes, apostolus Jesu Christi, filiæ Menoch. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 172. Sed nisi Menoch filiam, et Manichæum, qui se Christi apostolum nominat, titulus indicaret, te omnino suum pollicerentur auctorem. Julian. ib. c. 187.

[i] Tu quoque, Archelaë, bene me de Deo sentientem, dignamque opinionem de Christo retinentem, verbis molestissimis obtundis, licet tale sit apostolorum genus, patiens et ferens omnia, etiamsi eos conviciis quis aut maledictis, obtrectet. Arch. c. 47, in.

[k] De Perside autem venio, a Manichæo, magistro Christianorum, missus. ib. c. 4.

[l] Nam ex electis suis habent duodecim, quos appellant magistros. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

[m] Cui enim oportet credi? magistris illis vestris, qui carnibus vescuntur, et affluentissimis deliciis perfruuntur—? Manes ap. Arch. c. 13. p. 24.

[n] Ὅθεν πρὸς επανορθωσιν τε των ανθρωπων γενες αποσταλεις. Ap. Arch. c. 5. [o] See before, p. 178.

[p] Hæc sunt, inquit, salubria verba ex perenni ac vivo fonte, quæ qui audierit, et eisdem primum crediderit, deinde quæ insinuant custodierit, numquam erit morti obnoxius, verum æternâ et gloriosâ vitâ fruetur. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. xi. n. 12.

[q] Et hæc, ut videtis, pollicitatio est, nondum exhibitio veritatis: et vos quoque animadvertere facillime potestis, isto

ing the truth, but without good assurance: and that any body might say as much to draw in simple people. Augustine then cites the words next following in that epistle: 'The [a] peace of 'the invisible God, and the knowledge of the truth, be with the dear and holy brethren, who 'both believe and keep the heavenly commands:' which Augustine does not blame at all, but says he readily joins in the same wish: and if Mani never spoke otherwise he might be read and followed by every body. Nay, he seems to declare himself well satisfied [b] with every thing at the beginning of that epistle.

6. Still it is urged that his followers conceived of him as an inspired apostle and messenger of Christ, and honoured him accordingly. Some of their expressions have been mentioned already, to which others may be now added.

Faustus, considering that text, Matt. v. 17: "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil," says: 'He [c] must be for ever thankful to his master,' meaning Mani, 'for helping him here: 'for otherwise he had been a Jew, not a Christian.' However, he might speak thus of Mani, though he considered him only as a good interpreter, and no inspired prophet or apostle. In another place Mani is called [d] their divine. What can be inferred from this I do not know; I do not perceive any uncommon honour to be here given. Faustus also calls Mani [e] their blessed father. But perhaps no more is meant thereby than what the catholics often said of saints and martyrs. Faustus in another place speaks [f] as if by the Spirit, whom they had received, they were enabled to discern what texts of the New Testament are genuine, what not. But afterwards [g] he retracts in some measure those bold expressions.

Farther, the Manichees celebrated the day of their master's death: but so did the catholics that of many martyrs. Mani's Epistle of the Foundation was read in the assemblies of his followers: and so likewise were some writings publickly read among the catholics, which they never esteemed canonical scripture, or a part of the rule of their faith. Nay, I do not know but here may offer a thought, which may afford a good argument that the Manichees did not esteem their leader an apostle: for if they had so done they would have had more of his writings, and have publicly read them: whereas it seems that the Manichees in Africa had few of them. Augustine, who was nine years among them, and afterwards wrote many volumes in the controversy, has quoted very few, and does not speak of any other book, or letter of his being read in their assemblies, but the epistle above-named.

And upon all these things, beside what has been already hinted, I observe in general, that some, or all of these honours were paid by catholics to men who had not the character of apostles: that it is no uncommon thing for honours to be given to men after their death, by some people, which they never expected or desired; and that we should interpret expressions as they are intended to be understood. The catholic Christians often speak [h] of men's receiving the Holy Ghost in baptism. In The Dispute of Archelaus it is spoken of as an incontestible thing that [i] the Spirit was still given to men. And Epiphanius says that [k] God, according to his promise, bestowed gifts of the Spirit largely upon the presbyter at Diodoris, to enable him to confute Mani: quoting also Matt. x. 19. But yet no one thinks that apostolical inspiration is here intended.

7. In the seventh place it is argued that they rejected the Acts of the apostles, because of the evidence it afforded, that the promise of sending the Spirit had been fulfilled in the apostles of Christ, and therefore could not belong to Mani. Augustine [l] says as much.

velamine quoslibet errores fucari posse, ut imperitorum animis per ornatam januam latenter irrepant. August. ibid.

[a] Pax, inquit, Dei invisibilis, et veritatis notitia sit cum fratribus sanctis et carissimis, qui mandatis cœlestibus credunt pariter atque deserviunt. Ita sit, ut dicit. Nam et ista benigna et acceptissima optatio est. Tantum meminerimus hæc et a bonis doctoribus et a deceptoribus dici posse. Itaque si nulla nisi talia diceret, omnibus legendum et amplectendum esse concederem. ibid. n. 13.

[b] Et omnino, quidquid in hujus epistolæ initio scriptum est, donec veniatur ad causam, nolo reprehendere. ibid.

[c] Quare indeficientes ego præceptori meo refero gratias, qui me similiter labentem retinuit, ut essem hodie Christianus. Faust. l. 19. c. 5.

[d] Sic enim mali principium ac naturam theologus noster appellat. Faust. l. 20, c. 3.

[e] —— a doctissimo scilicet, et solo nobis post beatum patrem nostrum Manichæum stupendo, Adimanto. Faust. l. i. c. 2.

[f] Et nobis Paracletus ex novo testamento promissus perinde docet, quid accipere ex eodem debeamus, et quid repudiare. Id. l. 32. c. 6. [g] Ib. c. 7.

[h] Και γαρ συ θειας απηλαυσας χαριτος βαπτιζομενος, και πνευματος μετεσχες, ει και μη θρος τα σημεια ποιειν. Chrys. De Compunct. ad Dem. l. i. T. i. p. 136. D. Ed. Bened.

[i] Spiritus enim secundum rectam rationem habitat in homine, et descendit, et permanet; et competenter hoc et factum est, et fit semper, sicut tu teipsum ante hoc tempus profitebaris esse Paracletum Dei. Arch. c. 50, p. 92, m.

[k] Ὁ θεος γαρ αει τοις επ' αυτον ελπιζουσιν ἑτοιμαζει τας εκ πνευματος αγιου δωρεας επιχορηγουμενος, ὡς και επηγγειλατο, αψευδης ων. H. 66. n. xi.

[l] Nosti autem, quod, auctoris sui Manichæi personam in apostolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum

I answer, first, whether the Manichees always and universally rejected the book of the Acts will be distinctly considered hereafter. Secondly, they were not obliged to reject the Acts for the reason here supposed. They might give the highest character to Mani, under Christ, and yet receive that book. The Montanists, as [a] Augustine observes, spoke of Montanus, as these people did of Mani: yet [b] they readily received the Acts of the apostles. The Manichees could not deny that the Holy Ghost was poured out upon Christ's apostles. It is evident from St. Paul's epistles, which they received. Besides, we know, that [c] they acknowledged the divine illumination of the apostles, and admitted their authority in every thing said by them, when so illuminated. 'This,' says [d] Faustus, 'is the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and for certain 'ours likewise.' Again, says Faustus, 'This [e] we believe not without ground, but upon the 'authority of Christ and his apostles, who first taught this doctrine.' They did not deny that the Holy Ghost was given to the apostles: all that they could be led to say is, that some farther discoveries were made by Mani. But I dispute their saying so much as that. Thirdly, they might have other reasons for rejecting the Acts, different from that assigned by Augustine. According to their notions, they could not approve of the death of Ananias and Sapphira, nor the blindness of Elymas. They could not like any text where Jesus is called a man, as Acts ii. 22. And they disliked all references therein to the books of the Old Testament. Finally, they never told Augustine that they rejected the Acts for the reason mentioned by him. It does not appear that he had any hint of it from them; but it is a conjectural reason of his own invention, after he had left them, as is evident [f] from what precedes the passage above [g] quoted: and therefore he entreats Honoratus candidly to weigh and examine the reason proposed by him, and judge whether it is not right. For he says he had often wondered at their conduct in rejecting that book, without being able to find out what ground they went upon in so doing.

V. I have now considered the most material reasons and arguments for thinking that Mani was an impostor, and pretended to apostolical inspiration. I beg leave to add some farther observations.

1. It is not a pleasing thing, unless there be very cogent reasons, to fix the charge of imposture on a Christian, and a man of great knowledge and understanding, as Mani was. All must be sensible that he is treated roughly enough in the Acts of Archelaus. Yet even there he is sometimes represented speaking honestly, and like a good Christian, and with a due regard to the authority of Jesus Christ. Moreover, we suppose that he suffered a violent death, which was commemorated by his followers in a solemn manner: and there is reason to believe that the occasion of it was innocent, if not honourable. If he attempted to cure the king's son and did not succeed, no reasonable person can think he failed designedly. But there is a great deal of reason to suppose that all that story is fictitious. It is more probable that he died a martyr to some principles, philosophical or religious, or both.

2. The accounts of his pretension to inspiration are not easily reconciled with other accounts, given by the same writers, of his borrowing his peculiar principles from other men; from Scythian, and Terebinthus, and Pythagoras, and Empedocles, and I know not how many more. Eusebius, and others, say his system was patched up out of ancient heresies. Archelaus, or whoever composed the Dispute under his name, particularly desires the by-standers and hearers to

Sanctum, quem Dominus discipulis se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum ad nos venisse. Itaque si illos Actus Apostolorum acciperent, in quibus adventus Sancti Spiritus predicatur, non invenirent, quomodo id immissum esse dicerent. De Util. Cred. c. 2. n. 7.

[a] Nam quidam Manichæi canonicum librum, cujus titulus est, Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Timent enim evidentissimam veritatem, ubi apparet Sanctus Spiritus missus, qui est a Domino Jesu Christo in evangelicâ veritate promissus. Sub ejus quippe Spiritûs nomine, a quo penitus alieni sunt, indocta hominum corda decipiunt, mirâ cœcitate asserentes eamdem Domini promissionem in suo hæresiarchâ Manichæo esse completam. Quod et illi hæretici faciunt, qui vocantur Cataphryges, dicentes, per nescio quos insanos, Montanum scilicet et Priscillam, quos et proprios suos prophetas habent, venisse Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus missurum se esse promisit. Aug. Ep. 237, [al. 253], n. 2.

[b] See Tertullian in this work. V. i. p. 242.

[c] Et nos de Testamento novo sola accipientes ea, quæ in honorem et laudem Filii majestatis vel ab ipso dicta comperimus, vel ab ejus apostolis, sed jam perfectis et fidelibus. Faust. l. 32. c. 7.

[d] —— ut fere Christo placet, et ejus apostolis, et nobis profecto.—— Faust. l. 24. c. 1.

[e] Neque id temere aut præsumtive, sed a Christo discentes et ejus apostolis, qui primi eadem in mundo docuisse probantur. Id. l. 24, c. i. fin.

[f] Hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui Actus Apostolorum inscribitur. Quod eorum consilium cum mecum ipse pertracto, nequeo satis mirari.——— Sed nimirum illud est quod mihi videtur, quod peto placidissimo et serenissimo judicio mecum consideres. Nosti enim quod auctoris sui, &c. De Util. Cred. c. 2, n. 7.

[g] See note [1]. p. 182.

take notice that[a] the doctrine taught by Mani was not his own invention. Cyril says[b] that he collected every thing bad in former heresies; and for that reason he calls him a [c]thief, appropriating to himself what were other men's things, though they were very bad. Augustine expressly affirms that,[d] in the doctrine about two principles and natures, Mani followed more ancient heretics. The ancients therefore were sensible that Mani's doctrine was new. Learned moderns are of the same opinion, and allow that in the main his principles had been taught before by divers heathen philosophers and Christian sects. Mr. Wolff of Hamburgh wrote a learned work, entitled [e]Manichæism before Mani, where this is largely shewn. And Beausobre likewise[f] deserves to be consulted upon this point.

3. Though Mani, at the beginning of his epistles, called himself apostle of Christ, we do not plainly perceive, from any remaining fragments of his works, that he professed to teach in the name of Christ, and by special authority under him, or to deliver dictates of the Holy Ghost.

4. If Augustine had found such expressions in any of Mani's works which he met with, where he pretends to speak by inspiration, it is likely that he would not have insisted so much as he does upon[g] that single appellation of apostle of Christ. Moreover, Augustine having cited a part of The Epistle of the Foundation, where Mani delivers some of his notions about two principles, he adds: 'How[h] will he prove these things to me? how came he to know them him-'self?' If Mani had any where declared that these things had been communicated to him by special revelation, Augustine would have taken notice of it here. Nay, it seems to me that [i]from the following words of Augustine it may be strongly argued, and even concluded, that Mani did not make use of such expressions, to recommend his uncertain disputed doctrines, or to assure the truth of them, and that it was not his manner of teaching.

5. The leading principles of Mani's scheme, wherein he differed from other Christians, are of a philosophical nature. Such principles may be recommended without pretending to inspiration. Felix, in the dispute with Augustine, boasts that 'Mani [k]had taught them the beginning, 'middle, and end; who made the world, why, and out of what; the course of the sun and moon, 'and other things.' Augustine[l] answers that Christ promised to send the Spirit, to teach us all truth, meaning religious truth: not to make us mathematicians and philosophers, but Christians.

6. Mani and his followers were great reasoners. So he is represented in many places[m] of The Acts of Archelaus. Such an one was Faustus: he openly professeth that[n] the doctrine of Mani taught him not to receive every thing recommended, as said by our Saviour, but first to examine and consider whether it be true, sound, right, genuine: whilst the catholics, he says, swallowed every thing, and acted as if they despised the benefit of human reason, and were afraid to examine and distinguish between truth and falsehood. He insinuates elsewhere that[o]

[a] Addidit etiam hoc Archelaüs dicens, Viri fratres, ne quis vestrum incredulus sit his, quæ a me dicta sunt, id est, quod non ipse primus auctor scelerati hujus dogmatis extiterit Manes; sed tantum, quod per ipsum aliquibus terræ partibus manifestatum sit. Arch. n. 55. p. 100.

[b] —— δυσσεβεστατος Μανης, ὁ τα των αἱρεσεων πασων κακα συνειληφως —— τα παντων συλλεξας ὁμου των αἱρετικων. Cat. 16. n. 9. p. 247. D.

[c] Κλεπτης γαρ εστιν αλλοτριων κακων, ἐξιδιοποιεμενος τα κακα. Id. Cat. 6. n. 21. p. 100.

[d] Iste duo principia inter se diversa,——duasque naturas atque substantias,——sequens alios hæreticos, opinatus est. De Hær. c. 46. in.

[e] Manichæismus ante Manichæos, et in Christianismo redivivus. Hamb. 1707. [f] See him T. i. p. 29——41.

[g] Vid. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. cap. vi. vii. viii.

[h] Hæc mihi unde probaturus est? aut hæc ipse unde cognovit? ib. c. 13. n. 17.

[i] Et quoniam quæsivi unde ipse probet, nunc quæro unde ipse cognoverit? Si dicit sibi esse revelatum a Spiritu Sancto, suamque mentem divinitus illustratam, ut ea, quæ dicit, certa et manifesta cognosceret; ipse significat, quid intersit inter cognoscere et credere.——Debuit ergo non nobis polliceri scientiam, neque manifestam cognitionem;——sed dicere potius sibi ista esse monstrata, illos autem, quibus narrantur, credere sibi debere quæ nesciunt. ib. n. 18.

[k] Et quia venit Manichæus, et per suam prædicationem docuit nos initium, medium, et finem: docuit nos de fabricâ mundi, quare facta est, et unde facta est, et qui fecerunt: docuit nos, quare dies, et quare nox: docuit nos de cursu solis et lunæ. Act. cum. Fel. l. 1. c. 9.

[l] Non legitur in Evangelio Dominum dixisse, Mitto vobis Paracletum, qui vos doceat de cursu solis et lunæ. Christianos enim facere volebat, non mathematicos. Aug. ib. c. 10.

[m] Pro nimiâ autem humanitate Marcelli adesse festinavi, ut qualiter observare modum divinæ religionis eum edoceam: ne, sicut muta animalia, quæ intellectu, carent, nec quid agunt advertunt, ita etiam Marcellus,——ap. Arch. n. 13, p. 24. Vid. ib. p. 7, 8, 25, et passim.

[n] Et tamen me quidem adversus capituli hujus necessitudinem Manichæa fides reddidit tutum, quæ principio mihi non cunctis, quæ ex Salvatoris nomine scripta leguntur passim, credere persuasit, sed probare, si sint eadem vera, si sana, si incorrupta.——Tu vero, qui temere credis, qui naturæ beneficium rationem ex hominibus damnas, cui inter verum falsumque judicare religio est, cuique bonum a contrario separare, non minus formidini est, quam infantibus maniæ, &c. Faust. l. 18. c. 3.

[o] Sed tamen hoc enervis fidei confessio est, in Christum sine teste et argumento non credere. Nempe ipsi vos docere soletis, idcirco nihil esse curiosius exquirendum, quia simplex sit et absoluta Christiana credulitas. Id. l. 12. c. 1. in.

the catholics esteemed that a faith not worth naming, which depended upon reasons. The Christian religion, they said, is a plain and simple thing, and curious inquiries are needless and insignificant. I put in the margin[a] another like reflection of his. They were not pretensions to inspiration, but specious and alluring promises of rational discoveries, by which Augustine was deluded, as he[b] particularly says in his letter to his friend Honoratus. His words are strong and remarkable; and therefore I transcribe them largely at the bottom of the page. Augustine almost continually represents this as the characteristic of the sect, and the main pretence by which they seduced[c] men. They[d] ridiculed the frightful authority of the church: they[e] bantered the catholic credulity, and[f] promised men science and demonstration. Upon this[g] point turns Augustine's book to his friend Honoratus, still a Manichee, which also is entitled Of the Usefulness of believing. In another place Augustine complains of them, that they[h] set up reason above authority or scripture.

7. Mani made no pretensions to miraculous powers: this is particularly insisted upon in[i] The Acts of Archelaus. If it should be here said, that his attempt to cure the king of Persia's son was pretending to do a miracle, I might answer, that story is not credibly related. But, setting aside that consideration for the present, I think that what is said in the forementioned Acts, about his doing no miracles, ought to induce us to suppose Mani did not pretend to a miraculous cure. Nor do the Acts, in the relation of that attempt, say so: but that he[k] took upon him to cure the king's son, and killed him: which leads us to think he made use of some external means that proved hurtful. Epiphanius says he[l] had recourse to medicines, but his hopes of cure failed him: Cyril, that[m] he promised to cure the young prince by prayer. Nor was it, I think, unbecoming a pious man, and a teacher of religion, if called in upon occasion of sickness, to make use of prayer. However, it must be owned that [n]Cyril likewise speaks of Mani's killing the king's son; which, as already observed, seems to imply some external applications that were prejudicial; provided there is any foundation at all for this story.

8. I do not recollect that Mani or his followers were ever famous for visions and revelations, as some others have been. It is indeed said, in The Acts of Archelaus, that [o]Mani was admonished in a dream of the king's design to put him to death. But surely every one perceives that to be ridiculous. Does a man, imprisoned by order of his prince, need a revelation to let him know he had best escape if he can? It may also, perhaps, be worth while to observe here, that

[a] At, inquis, beatiores appellat, qui non viderunt et crediderunt. Hoc si ideo dictum putas, ut sine ratione et judicio quidque credamus; esto tu beatior sine sensu, ego mihi contentus ero cum ratione beatus audisse. Id. l. 16. c. 8. fin.

[b] Nôsti enim, Honorate, non aliam ob causam nos in tales homines incidisse, nisi quod se dicebant terribili auctoritate separatâ, merâ et simplici ratione eos qui se audire vellent introducturos in Deum, et errore omni liberaturos. Quid enim me aliud cogebat, annos fere novem, spretâ religione quæ mihi puerulo a parentibus insita erat, homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire, nisi quod nos superstitione teneri, et fidem nobis ante rationem imperari dicerent; se autem nullum premere ad fidem, nisi prius discussâ et enodatâ veritate?—— Tu——quâ, quæso, aliâ re delectatus es, recordare obsecro te, nisi magnâ quadam presumtione ac pollicitatione rationum? De Util. Cred. c. 1. n. 2.

[c] Nonnulli autem hæretici, quia non decipiunt, nisi cum scientiam, quam non exhibent, pollicentur,——De Diversis Quæst. 83. Qu. 68. n. 1. T. 6.

[d] See just before, note [b].

[e] Est igitur mihi propositum, ut probem tibi, si possim, quod Manichæi sacrilege ac temere invehantur in eos, qui, catholicæ fidei auctoritatem sequentes, ante quam illud verum quod purâ mente conspicitur intueri queant, credendo præmuniuntur. De Ut. Cred. n. 2. in. vid. et not. [o] Vos enim nôstis, temere credentibus quam vehementer insultare soleatis. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 13. n. 17.

[f] Quid infelicius istâ superstitione inveniri potest, quæ non modo non exhibet scientiam quam promittit et veritatem, sed ea dicet, quæ vehementer sunt scientiæ veritatique contraria? Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 15. n. 19.

[g] Jam vero —— scripsi librum de utilitate credendi, ad amicum meum, quem, deceptum a Manichæis, adhuc eo errore noveram detineri, et irridere in catholicæ fidei disciplinâ quod juberentur homines credere, non autem, quid esset verum, certissimâ ratione docerentur. Retr. l. 1. c. 14.

[h] Unde igitur exordiar? ab auctoritate, an a ratione? Naturæ quidem ordo ita se habet, ut, cum aliquid discimus, rationem præcedat auctoritas.—— Sed, quoniam cum iis nobis res est, qui omnia contra ordinem et sentiunt, et loquuntur, et gerunt, nihilque aliud maxime dicunt, nisi rationem prius esse reddendam, morem illis geram. De Mor. E. C. c. 2. n. 3.

[i] Et post ista omnia mandata, iste nec signum quidem aliquod, aut prodigium ullum ostendens. Arch. c. 35. p. 61. f. Et hæc quidem non inexplorata proloquor; sed ex eo quod nullum te video facere virtutem, ita de te sentio. &c. ib. c. 36. p. 63.

[k] —— præsentiam suam Manes exhibet apud regem, dicens se esse puerum curaturum.——Verum, ne multa narrando quæ gessit, tædium auditoribus inferam, mortuus est puer in manibus ejus, vel potius extinctus. ib. c. 53. p. 98.

[l] ——τινα ειδη φαρμακευτικης προενεγκας τω νοσηλευομενω παιδι τε βασιλεως. H. 66. n. 4.

[m] αλλ' ὁ Μανης επηγγελλετο δια προσευχης, ὡσανει ευσεβης, κατορθωσειν. Cat. 6. n. 25.

[n] —— τε παιδος τον φονον. Ib. n. 26.

[o] Quod cum rex Persarum cognovisset, dignis eum suppliciis subdere parat. Quo Manes agnito, admonitus in somniis, elapsus de carcere, in fugam versus est, auro plurimo custodibus corruptis. Arch. c. 54. p. 99.

Mani's deliverance is not ascribed to magic, or any such like thing, but to [a] a large sum of money, by which he bribed his keepers. As for the journey to heaven, mentioned by some eastern writers, I suppose that no one can think it worthy of any regard. In a word, the Manichees, as it seems, were rather a sect of reasoners and philosophers, than visionaries and enthusiasts.

It is observable, that Gregory Nazianzen, mentioning altogether the [b] Montanists, Manichees, Novatians and Sabellians, distinguishes the first by their pretence of inspiration, without imputing any such thing to any of the rest. And in like manner in another [c] place, where, beside the forenamed, are also mentioned Valentinus, Marcion, and some others.

Not that the Manichees were silent about the Spirit. No, for certain they, as well as other Christians, claimed an interest in the promise of the Spirit made by Christ: but, whereas Augustine says they [d] pretended that the Spirit came to us by Mani, I am not fully satisfied about the justness of his expression. One might be rather apt to conclude from [e] words of Faustus, and even from those words of Augustine just cited, 'came to us,' that they considered the gift of the Spirit as a blessing common to believers under the gospel dispensation.

If they had gone upon the ground of a particular inspiration in Mani, it might be expected that the traces of that high notion concerning their master should appear more distinctly than they do, in the discourses of the Manichees, with whom Augustine disputed. Fortunatus seems to use strong expressions to the contrary, when he says: 'He [f] knows that he cannot by any means shew his faith to be right, unless he proves it by the authority of the scriptures.'

Upon the whole, I do not chuse to deny that Mani was an impostor; but I do not discern evident proofs of it. I plainly see that he was an arrogant philosopher, and a great schemist: but whether he was an impostor, I cannot certainly say. He was abundantly too fond of philosophical notions, which he endeavoured to bring into religion: for this he is to be blamed. But every bold dogmatizer is not an impostor.

I put down Beausobre's judgment upon this point, when I entered upon the consideration of this question. I must here take notice of several other of his places, where he delivers his opinion concerning this matter. I do it for the sake of my readers, as well as myself, that none, who are desirous of information and judging rightly, may be destitute of any helps that can be obtained for these purposes.

He says, in the preface to his work, that 'Mani [g] took the character of an apostle of Christ, 'and a prophet immediately inspired by the Paraclete, to reveal to the world truths, in which our 'Lord thought not proper to instruct his first disciples. This was his imposture or fanaticism. 'For whatever the ancients may say, there are no evident proofs that he ever endeavoured 'to pass for the Paraclete, or the Spirit.' He elsewhere speaks of Mani's pretending to a divine vocation. However, he likewise expresseth himself after this manner, speaking at the same time both of Mani, and some others called heretics: 'In [i] what then consisted their error? 'These heretics were philosophers, who, having formed certain systems, accommodated revela-'tion to them; which was the servant of their reason, not the mistress. Mani, in particular, 'boasted of having a perfect knowledge of all things, of having banished mysteries, and given a 'true account of every thing; which the Manichees call the knowledge of the beginning, middle, 'and end of all things. St. Augustine confesseth, that what seduced him in his youth was the 'hope of understanding every thing by demonstration, and of knowing God by the sole light of 'reason, without the help of faith.' Again, says the same learned author: 'As [k] for his heresy 'in general, it was, properly speaking, a philosophical system, the grounds of which he found in 'the philosophy of the magi, and which he accommodated, as well as he could, to the revelation 'of Jesus Christ. Herein he did nothing but what had been done before by many Greeks, and both 'Greeks and Latins have been doing almost ever since. In all times have been seen philosophers, 'whose minds were filled with the ideas and notions of Plato and Aristotle; which, under 'slight pretexts, they have mingled with Christian truths, and erected into articles of faith.'

[a] See the preceding note [o].

[b] Μοντανε δε το πονηρον πνευμα, και τη Μανε σκοτος, κ. λ. Greg. Or. 23. p. 414. C.

[c] Μοντανε το πονηρον πνευμα, και γυναικειον· Μανε την ὑλην μετα τε σκοτους· Ναυατε την αλαζονειαν, κ. λ. Or. 25. p. 441. B.

[d] —— dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus discipulis se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum [Manichæum,] ad nos venisse. De Util. Cred. c. 3. n. 7.

[e] —— et nobis Paracletus ex Novo Testamento promissus perinde docet—— de quo ultro Jesus, cum eum promitteret, dicit in Evangelio, Ipse vos inducet in omnem veritatem, et ipse vobis annuntiabit omnia, et commemorabit omnia. Faust. ap. Aug. l. 32. cap. 6.

[f] Et quia nullo genere recte me credere ostendere possum, nisi eamdem fidem scripturarum auctoritate firmaverim. Disp. Fortun. l. 2. n. 20.

[g] T. i. Pr. p. x. xi. [h] T. i. p. 179, 180.

[i] B. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 94. [k] Ib. p. 179.

So Beausobre.[a] I readily assent to him in what he says of the philosophical nature of Mani's system. Whether he pretended to divine inspiration, I cannot say. However, I leave every one to judge as he sees good. But I own I had rather vindicate a Christian from the charge of imposture, than pronounce him guilty, unless the evidence against him be clear and full.

We now proceed to a more distinct examination of the Manichæan principles.

VI. Mani had honourable sentiments of the Deity, as self-existent, eternal, completely happy, and perfect in goodness. So much is evident from the passage of Fortunatus above quoted, and from a passage of Mani himself, to be taken notice of presently.

They owned God to be Almighty: both [b] Fortunatus and [c] Faustus ascribe to God that attribute. Indeed they did not believe this world of ours to be made out of nothing. However, perhaps that was not from a supposition of the want of such power in God, but because they imagined [d] things would have been better than they are, perfectly good, without any mixture of evil, if the matter of which they consisted had been of divine original.

But Mani and his followers did not believe the divine immensity, or [e] that, as to his nature, he was in all places. For part of space, according to them, was occupied by Hyle, the evil principle, matter. But though they limited the divine essence in point of space, they did not limit God in point [f] of power and knowledge. This appears from Augustine, who owns the [g] Manichees taught that God had prepared an eternal prison for the nation of darkness. Therefore God's dominion must be over all.

Upon account of their doctrine of two principles, to be taken notice of hereafter, the Manichees are often charged with believing two gods. So Turbo, in The Acts of Archelaus, expressly says of Mani: 'He [h] worships two gods, self-existent, eternal, opposite to each other, 'one good, the other bad.' And Socrates said, that [i] Mani taught his disciples to worship many Gods.

Faustus particularly considers this point. 'Is [k] there one God; or are there two gods? 'For certain, one. Why then do you say there are two gods? That is no doctrine of ours. 'Why do you suspect it to be so? Because you believe two principles, one good, the other bad. 'It is true, we believe two principles: but one of these we call God, the other Hyle; or some-'times, in common discourse, the devil.' However, he adds afterwards: 'I own that [l] we 'sometimes call the adverse nature god: not that it is so esteemed by us, but by those who 'worship it, even as the apostle speaks of the "god of this world blinding the eyes of them 'that believe not."' See 2 Cor. iv. 4.

They likewise considered God as the creator of the heavens and the earth, and all things that are therein, as [m] Augustine assures us; which is very different from what is said of them by [n] Athanasius and [o] Rufinus. Forasmuch therefore as some writers deny that the Manichees ascribed the creation of the world to the good principle, and some other heretics also are said to

[a] See him also, T. i. p. 426, note 4, and T. 2, p. 253.

[b] —— a Deo omnipotente. Fortun. ap. Aug. Disp. i. n. 17.

[c] —— quia et omnipotentem Deum colam. Faust. l. 20. c. 4.

[d] —— Quomodo autem et condere potuit creaturas, non subsistente materiâ? Si enim de non extantibus, consequetur has visibiles creaturas meliores esse, et omnibus virtutibus plenas. Manes ap. Arch. n. 14. p. 27.

[e] Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, et alteram malam, et eam quidem, quæ bona est, in quibusdam partibus habitare.——Si enim dicimus monarchiam unius naturæ, et omnia Deum replere, et nullum esse extra eum locum, quis erit creaturæ susceptor? ubi gehenna ignis? ubi tenebræ exteriores? ubi fletus? Manes. ap. Arch. n. 14. p. 26.

[f] See Beaus. T. i. p 505, 506.

[g] Ipsi enim dicunt, Deum genti tenebrarum æternum carcerem præparare, quam dicunt esse inimicam Deo. Contr. Adim. c. 7. n. 1.

[h] Οὗτος δυο σεβει θεους αγεννητους, αυτοφυεις, αϊδιους, ἑνα τῳ ἑνι αντικειμενον, και τον μεν αγαθον, τον δε πονηρον εισηγειται. ap. Arch. n. 7. p. 9.

[i] πολλους θεους σεβειν ὁ Μανιχαιος προτρεπεται. Socr. l. i. c. 22.

[k] Unus Deus est, an duo? Plane unus. Quomodo ergo vos duos asseritis? Nunquam in nostris quidem assertionibus duorum deorum auditum est nomen. Sed tu unde hoc suspicaris, cupio scire. Quia bonorum et malorum duo principia traditis. Est quidem quod duo principia confitemur; sed unum ex his Deum vocamus, alterum Hylen, aut, ut communiter et usitate dixerim, dæmonem. Faust. l. 21. in.

[l] Nam nec diffiteor, etiam interdum nos adversam naturam nuncupare deum, sed non hoc secundum nostram fidem, verum juxta præsumtum jam in eam nomen a cultoribus suis, qui eam imprudenter existimant deum, &c. ib. ad fin.

[m] Vos autem fatemini universum istum mundum, qui nomine cœli et terræ significatur, habere auctorem et fabricatorem Deum, et Deum bonum. De Mor. Manich. c. x. n. 16.

[n] Και γαρ κἀκεινοι [Μανιχαιοι] μονον αχρις ονομαῖος αγαθον θεον ονομαζουσι, και εργον μεν αυτου ουτε βλεπομενον ουτε αοραῖον δεικνυειν δυνανται· τον δε αληθινον και οντως οντα θεον, τον ποιητην ουρανου και γης, και παντων των αορατων, αρνουμενοι, παντελως εισι μυθολογοι. Ath. Ep. Enc. ad. Ep. Æg. et Lib. n. 16. T. i. p. 285. E.

[o] Tum deinde quod mundum a malo factum dicit, Deum creatorem negat. Ruf. in Symb. Ap. Hieron. Opp. T. 5. p. 142.

have disowned God as creator, I shall put down a passage or two more from [a] Augustine, and [b] the author De Fide, where they allow that the Manichees spoke of God as the maker of the world. And Titus of Bostra, giving an account of their notion upon this head, says that [c] the universe, according to them, consisted indeed of a mixture of good and bad, but was formed by the good principle, that is, God. For the evil principle knew nothing beforehand of the formation of the world. Besides, I remember that I alleged a passage to this purpose [d] before, when I shewed their agreement with other Christians. And Beausobre [e] might be consulted upon this head.

The Manichees believed a consubstantial Trinity, or three persons of the same substance. I [f] have already taken some notice of this. I observe here a few more particulars as proofs of this, though I do not design to examine their opinion nicely.

Augustine says the [g] Manichees never dared to deny that the Father and the Son are consubstantial.

Secundinus begins his letter to Augustine in this manner: 'I [h] give thanks to the ineffable 'and most sacred Majesty, and to Jesus Christ, his first-begotten, king of all lights. I also 'humbly give thanks to the Holy Spirit.'

Faustus has a remarkable passage where he says: 'We [i] worship one deity of God the 'Father Almighty, and Christ his Son, and the Holy Ghost, under a threefold appellation. But 'the Father we believe to inhabit the supreme and most sublime light, which Paul calls inaccessible. [1 Tim. vi. 16.] The Son we think dwells by his power in the sun, by his wisdom in 'the moon: the Holy Spirit, the third Majesty, has the air for his residence.'

Here therefore I observe that the Manichees are said to worship the sun. So [k] Socrates expressly. Libanius too owned that [l] they worshipped the sun in a secondary sense: and it is very likely that they paid some respect both to the sun and the moon on [m] account of the residence of the Son of God therein, as just mentioned by Faustus.

However, let us likewise see what others say. We find Augustine himself charging them with [n] the worship of the sun and the moon. But in the dispute with Fortunatus, when called upon to declare if he had seen any thing criminal in their worship, he owned that [o] he had observed nothing amiss in the prayers, at which he was present, except that they turned themselves toward the sun. In another place he informs us, that [p] when they prayed they looked toward the sun in the day time, and toward the moon in the night. In another place he speaks of [q] their kneeling to the sun, or toward it. Alexander of Lycopolis says they [r] honour the sun and moon above all things, not as gods, but as the way by which we are to go to God. Titus

[a] Proinde mundum a naturâ boni, hoc est a naturâ Dei factum confitentur quidem, sed de commixtione boni et mali, quæ facta est, quando inter se utraque natura pugnavit. Aug. de Hær. cap. 46.

Iste autem, cujus nomen in eodem libro non comperi, detestatur Deum mundi fabricatorem; cum Manichæi, quamquam librum Geneseos non accipiant, atque blasphement, Deum tamen bonum fabricâsse mundum, etsi ex alienâ naturâ atque materiâ, confiteantur. Contr. adv. Leg. et Proph. l. i. c. i.

[b] Manichæus enim duas dicit esse naturas, unam bonam, et alteram malam; bonam, quæ fecit mundum, malam, de quâ factus est mundus. De Fid. c. 49. in.

[c] Γεγονε τοινυν μιξις και κρασις, τυτον φησι τον τροπον, της τε καταωθεισης δυναμεως τυ αγαθυ, και της καταπιεσης ὑλης· και ἐτως ἐξ αμφοιν εδημιεργηθη το δε παν, ὑπο τυ αγαθυ δηλαδη· ε γαρ αν προενοησεν ἡ κακια κοσμε γενεσεως. Tit. l. i. p. 68. m.

[d] See before, p. 177, note [5].

[e] See B. T. 2. p. 360, 361. [f] See p. 177, &c.

[g] —— Quia et numquam dicere ausi sunt, Patrem et Filium nisi unius esse substantiæ. Aug. Serm. xii. in PS. cap. x. n. xi.

[h] Habeo et ago gratias ineffabili et sacratissimæ Majestati, ejusque primogenito omnium luminum regi Jesu Christo. Habeo gratias, et supplex sancto refero Spiritui. Secund. ad Aug. Ep. in.

[i] Igitur nos Patris quidem Dei omnipotentis, et Christi filii ejus, et Spiritûs Sancti unum idemque sub triplici appellatione colimus numen: sed Patrem quidem ipsum lucem incolere credimus summam ac principalem, quam Paulus alias inaccessibilem vocat: Filium vero in hac secundâ ac visibili luce consistere; qui quoniam sit et ipse geminus, ut eum Apostolus novit, Christum dicens esse Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam; virtutem quidem ejus in sole habitare credimus, sapientiam vero in lunâ: nec non et Spiritûs Sancti, qui est majestâs tertia, aëris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diversorium. Faust. l. 20. c. 2.

[k] ——— και τον ἡλιον προσκυνειν διδασκει. Socr. l. i. c. 22. p. 56. A. [l] See before, p. 144.

[m] —— quod vel tu, vel quilibet alius rogatus, ubinam Deum suum credat habitare, respondere non dubitabit, in lumine: ex quo cultus hic meus omnium pene testimonio confirmatur. Faust. ibid. l. 20. c. 2. f.

[n] Solem etiam et lunam cum eis adorant et orant. Aug. T. 2. Ep. 236. al. 74.

[o] Ego autem in oratione, quâ interfui, nihil turpe fieri vidi: sed solum contra fidem animadverti ——quod contra solem facitis orationem. Adv. Fortun. Disp. i. n. 3.

[p] Orationes faciunt ad solem per diem, quaquaversum circuit; ad lunam per noctem, si apparet; si autem non appareret, ad aquiloniam partem, quâ sol, cum occiderit, ad orientem revertitur, stant orantes. De Hær. c. 46.

[q] Sol iste, cui genu flectitis, &c. De Mor. Manich. cap. 8. n. 13.

[r] Τιμωσι δε μαλιστα ἡλιον και σεληνην, ε χ ὡς θεους, αλλ' ὡς ὁδον δι' ης εστιν προς θεον αφικεσθαι. Alex. L. p. 5. D.

of Bostra ascribes their respect to the sun to their supposition that [a] it was composed of parts of light entirely pure, and unsullied with a mixture of evil. And [b] Augustine seems to speak to the like purpose, or at least that they esteemed it a portion of light which God inhabits. Simplicius says they [c] thought the sun and moon to consist of parts of the good substance, and therefore honoured them.

'Upon the whole, I believe we need not surmise any great harm in the respect they shewed the sun, considering that Faustus assures us they believed one God under a threefold appellation, and considering what Augustine says of the prayers at which he was present. But it seems that when they prayed to God, for some reason or other they turned their faces toward the sun or the moon.

VII. 'The Manichees,' to use Augustine's [d] words, 'held two principles, different and oppo-'site, eternal and coeternal: and two natures and substances, one good, the other evil, following herein other ancient heretics.'

In this [e] notion, as the same learned father says, they triumphed to a great degree, supposing it to afford the best account of the origin of evil.

And Epiphanius says that [f] by this scheme Mani endeavoured to free God from the charge of being the author of evil. To the like purpose speaks [g] Jerom, and [h] Titus of Bostra, and [i] Simplicius.

Indeed this difficult question, of the origin of evil, was the ruin of these men, and of many others. They perplexed and confounded themselves, and they endeavoured to puzzle and confound all other people. Augustine [k] intimates as much.

Theodoret's account is to this purpose: 'Mani [l] taught two eternal beings, God and matter. 'God he called light, matter darkness: and the light good, matter evil. He called them also 'by other names. Light is a good tree, full of good fruits: matter an evil tree, bearing fruits 'agreeable to its root.'

Photius, observing the contents of a work of Agapius, a Manichæan writer, says: 'He [m] 'advanceth a bad principle, self-existent and opposite to God; which he sometimes calls nature, 'sometimes matter, sometimes Satan, and the devil, and the prince and god of this world, and 'the like.'

Their opinion is laid down by [n] Fortunatus at the beginning of his second dispute with Augustine.

Jerom [o] often takes notice of this doctrine of the Manichees.

This doctrine Mani teaches in his letter to Marcellus. He [p] wonders how any Christians can think that God made Satan and other evil things. This notion, and the consequences of it, are much discoursed of in The Dispute of [q] Archelaus.

[a] Επειδη δε ηλιον σεμνυνει, και αμιγη ειναι, ως υπειληφε, τε κακε διοριζεται. Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2, p. 128. in.

[b] Et ideo istum solem———isti sic colunt, ut particulam dicant esse lucis illius in quâ habitat Deus. De Gen. contr. Man. l. i. c. 3. n. 6.

[c] Ποση δε και ἡ περι τουτο αλλοκοτια, το εκ παντων των εν τω ουρανω μονες τες δυο φωστηρας τιμαν, της τε αγαθε μοιρας λεγοντας αυτες. κ. λ. In Epictet. c. 34, p. 167.

[d] Iste duo principia inter se diversa et adversa, eademque æterna et coæterna, hoc est, semper fuisse, composuit: duasque naturas atque substantias, boni scilicet et mali, sequens alios antiquos hæreticos, opinatus est. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

[e] Hic fortasse quis dicat, Unde ipsa peccata, et omnino unde malum? Si ab homine, unde homo? Si ab angelo, unde angelus? Quos ex Deo esse cum dicitur, quamvis recte vereque dicatur, videntur tamen imperitis et minus valentibus acriter res abditas intueri, quasi per quamdam catenam ad Deum mala et peccata connecti. Hac quæstione regnare se putant. De Duab. Anim. c. 8, n. 10.

[f] Μανης, βελομενος κακιας υπεξαιρειν τον Θεον, κ. λ. Epiph. H. 66, n. 16. p. 632. Vid. et n. 15, in.

[g] Inde Manichæus, ut Deum a conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit auctorem. Hier. in Naum. cap. 3, T. 3, p. 1588. in.

[h] Κακιας γαρ αναιτιον αποδειξαι τον Θεον βεληθεις, κ. λ. Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 60, in. ap. Basnag. et Canis. Lect. Ant. T. i.

[i] ———και το θαυμαστον, ὁτι παντα ταυτα ανεπλασαν, δια θεοσεβη δηθεν ευλαβειαν· μη βελομενοι γαρ αιτιον τε κακε τον Θεον ειπειν, αρχην υπεστησαντο ιδιαν τε κακε, κ. λ. Simpl. in. Epict. Enchir. c 34, p. 168.

[k] Qui, dum nimis quærunt, unde sit malum, nihil reperiunt nisi malum. De Ut. Cred. c. 18. n. 36.

[l] Ουτος δυο αγεννητες και αϊδιες εφησεν ειναι. Θεον και ὑλην· και προσηγορευσε τον μεν Θεον φως, την δε ὑλην σκοτος, κ. λ. Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c. 26. p 212. B. C

[m] Αρχην πονηραν αυθυπος ατον ανϊανεστησιν εξ αϊδιε τω Θεω, ἡν ποτε μεν φυσιν, αλλοτε ὑλην, και αλλοτε δε Σαταναν, και Διαβολον, και αρχοντα τε κοσμε, και Θεον τε αιωνος τετε, κ. λ. Ph. cod. 179, p. 404, in.

[n] Disp. 2, sub in.

[o] Ut non juxta Manichæum, et cæteras hæreses (quæ factorem et materiam ponunt), aliquid, unde creaturæ factæ sint, antecesserit creaturas, sed omnia ex nihilo substiterint. Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. P. i. p. 435, in Vid. eund. ad Ctes. Ep. 43. T. 4. P. 2, p. 480, infr. m. et Prol. Dial. adv. Pelag. ib. p. 485, in.

[p] Και πως τον Θεον τε Σατανα, και των κακων αυτε πραγματων λεγειν τολμωσι ποιητην και δημιεργον, θαυμαζειν μοι επερχεται. ap. Arch. c. 5, p. 7, f.

[q] Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, et alteram malam. ib. c. 14, p. 26.

After all this, it may be still proper to put down, in the margin at least, the words of Mani himself, near the beginning of his Epistle of the Foundation, which was so much admired by his followers, and is largely cited by Augustine. 'There[a] were,' says he, 'in the beginning, two 'substances, divided from each other. The kingdom of light is held by God the Father, 'unchangeable, all-powerful, true in his nature, eternal, having in himself wisdom and vital 'powers.—His most splendid kingdom is founded upon light and blessed land, not to be shaken 'or moved by any.' But however, as he goes on, 'On[b] one side of his illustrious and holy terri-'tories was the land of darkness, deep and wide, where dwelt fiery bodies, and all sorts of pesti-'ferous things: beyond which are muddy waters, boisterous winds, dark smoke; and at the 'centre the dreadful prince and universal governor, having with him innumerable princes, of 'which he is the soul and source. And these are the five natures [or elements] of the pestifer-'ous country.'

These five elements, as Augustine observes in plainer words, are[c] darkness, water, wind, fire, smoke. Darkness is the outmost, within that water, within that wind, next fire, and the inmost smoke; all which regions have their several inhabitants. In another place[d] Augustine mentions again these five elements, but in a different order.

There were as many elements in the[e] kingdom of light; air, light, fire, water, wind: which, at the formation of the world, were mixed with the bad elements.

Hence it appears that[f] Mani ascribed to matter, the evil substance, the land of darkness, not only eternal existence, but likewise motion and life, animal passions, and, as one would think, reason or intelligence. If the inhabitants of those regions had not reason originally, they seem to have gained it afterwards.

Upon this point I shall mention a thought[g] of Beausobre, which is to this purpose. 'Titus of 'Bostra observes this absurdity in the Manichæan scheme, that[h] they ascribe an unreasonable 'life only to dæmons: and yet those dæmons are represented shewing great art and skill. But,' says Beausobre, 'Titus did not consider that the Manichees do not ascribe such ability to the 'dæmons till after they had seized on the parts of light which were devoured by them, and 'became incorporated with them.' Whether this be right I cannot say: I shall mention an observation concerning this matter by and by.

'As for the devil,' to take the words of[i] Beausobre, 'Mani did not believe him to be pro-'perly eternal, forasmuch as he gave him a father: which supposition he built upon the words 'of our Saviour in John viii. 44. According to him the father of the devil was matter agitated 'in a violent, irregular, and tumultuous manner.'

That learned writer does not refer to the proper vouchers for proof of this account. I shall therefore add a few references in the margin, taken from The Dispute of Archelaus, where[k] Mani is represented quoting the text of St. John's gospel in this manner, that 'the father of the

[a] Hæ quidem in exordio fuerunt duæ substantiæ a sese divisæ. Et luminis quidem imperium tenebat Deus Pater, in suâ sanctâ stirpe perpetuus, in virtute magnificus, naturâ ipsâ verus, æternitate propriâ semper exsultans, continens apud se sapientiam et sensus vitales.—Ita autem fundata sunt ejusdem splendidissima regna super lucidam et beatam terram, ut a nullo unquam aut moveri aut concuti possint. Ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich, c. 13, n. 16.

[b] Juxta unam vero partem ac latus illustris illius ac sanctæ terræ erat tenebrarum terra, profundâ et immensâ magnitudine, in quâ habitabant ignea corpora, genera scilicet pestifera. Hic infinitæ tenebræ, ex eâdem manantes naturâ inæstimabiles cum propriis fetibus: ultra quas erant aquæ cœnosæ ac turbidæ cum suis inhabitatoribus, quarum interius venti horribiles ac vehementes cum suo principe et genitoribus. Rursus regio ignea et corruptibilis cum suis ducibus et nationibus. Pari modo introrsum gens caliginis ac fumi plena, in quâ morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa se innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipse erat mens et origo. Hæque fuerunt naturæ quinque terræ pestiferæ. ap. Aug. ib. c. 14, n. 19.

[c] Animadvertimus quinque naturas, quasi partes unius naturæ, quam vocat terram pestiferam. Hæ sunt autem, tenebræ, aquæ, venti, ignis, fumus; quas quinque naturas sic ordinat, ut exteriores cæteris sint tenebræ, a quibus numerare incipit. Intra tenebras, aquas constituit, intra aquas ventos, intra ventos ignem, intra ignem fumum. Et habebant istæ quinque naturæ sua quæque genera inhabitatorum. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 28, n. 31.

[d] —— eaque elementa his nominibus nuncupant, fumum, tenebras, ignem, aquam, ventum. Aug. De. Hær. c. 46.

[e] His quinque elementis malis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et substantiâ Dei missa esse, et in illâ pugnâ fuisse permixta: fumo aëra, tenebris lucem, igni malo ignem bonum, aquæ malæ aquam bonam, vento malo ventum bonum. Id ibid.

[f] αρ αν εκατερον των παρα τω Μανεντι νομιζομενων εναντιων, αισια ζωσα τε και αγεννητος ονομαζεται. Tit. l. i. p. 65.

[g] See Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. 2, p. 410. 411.

[h] ὅθεν ψεφευγασι προσομολογειν αυτῃ λογισμον τε και γνωσιν. Tit. l. i. p. 70, sub in.

[i] B. T. i. p. 179, and see him again T. 2. p. 263.

[k] Et alio in loco, patrem diaboli mendacem et homicidam esse confirmat [Salvator Christus], Manes, ap. Arch. c. 13, p. 24. ——Cum loquitur mendacium, de suis propriis loquitur, quoniam mendax est, sicut et pater ejus. ib. n. 29, p. 48. Conf. Beaus. T. 2, p. 263.

'devil is a liar and a murderer:' where likewise he speaks[a] of the devil as having no former or creator but his own malice, whence he sprang.

This notion of the origin of Satan may seem strange: and yet perhaps it is not much stranger than the opinion of those who thought that[b] plants grew up where no seeds had been sown: and that animals in water and on the land, having sexes, sprung up out of the genial virtue of the elements alone, descended from no parents. There is this difference only, that these persons, it is likely, ascribed that genial virtue of the elements to an intelligent and powerful cause, even[c] God.

Here, therefore, I insert the observation deferred before, which is this: since Beausobre allows that, according to the Manichees, the devil, who was not properly eternal, was formed by the violent and irregular motion of eternal matter; and since Augustine expressly says, that the elements in the kingdom of darkness begot their several princes; in like manner, perhaps, the land of darkness, once irrational, gained reason, or cunning and skill, by some violent and tumultuous agitations.[d] Or, possibly, they never ascribed reason to dæmons, though they allowed them to have a great deal of cunning.

I beg leave to observe farther, that[e] Augustine often speaks of mind in matter, according to the Manichean scheme: as does[f] Mani himself in his Epistle of the Foundation. And Augustine thinks he has a great advantage, in his argument with them, when he observes[g] how many good things they placed in the evil nature; such as life, power, memory, intellect, proportion and order.

Their doctrine of two principles the Manichees endeavoured to support by texts of the New Testament. They often argued from[h] those words of our Saviour, Matt. vii. 18. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit; neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit:" and[i] from the seventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans, where the apostle speaks of two laws, or two powers; one the understanding or reason, the other the flesh or the members of the fleshly body, which are in perpetual opposition: and from[k] 1 John v. 19. "The whole world lies in wickedness," or the evil one; and from other texts which need not to be particularly mentioned.

VIII. According to the Manichees the formation of this world was occasional, owing to an attempt of the kingdom of darkness upon the kingdom of light. Augustine expresseth himself briefly in his summary account of Manichæism: 'They[l] own, indeed, that the world was made 'by the good nature, that is, the nature of God, but out of a mixture of good and evil, which 'happened when the two natures fought together.'

[a] Si vero consideretis, quomodo generentur filii hominum, invenietis non esse Dominum hominis creatorem, sed alium, qui et ipse ingenitæ est naturæ, cujus conditor nullus, nec creator, nec factor est, sed solâ malitiâ suâ talem eum protulit. ap. Arch. n. 14, p. 27.

[b] ——quia, nisi talis aliqua vis esset in istis elementis, non plerumque nascerentur ex terrâ quæ ibi seminata non essent: nec animalia tam multa, nullâ marium feminarumque commixtione præcedente, sive in terrâ, sive in aquâ, quæ tamen crescunt, et coëundo alia pariunt, cum illa nullis coëuntibus parentibus orta sint. Ang. de Trin. l. 3. cap. 8, n. 13. Quod si animalia quædam vento et aurâ concipere solere, omnibus notum est.—Lact. Inst. l. 4, c. 12, sub in. Nec tamen commoveat aliquem, quod animalia quædam de terrâ nasci videntur. Hæc enim non terra per se gignit, sed spiritus Dei, sine quo nihil gignitur. l. 2, c. 8, p. 183. Vid. Id. ib. l. i. c. 8, p. 43.

[c] Beausobre has exactly the like thought, though I was not aware of it when I wrote what is above. However I here transcribe his words. Il ne faut pourtant pas s'imaginer, qu'il crût le Démon éternel. Sans doute il le faisoit nâitre du mouvement déreglé de la matiere, comme d'anciens philosophes croyoient que les animaux étoient nés de la corruption de la terre. C' étoit le sentiment des Manichéens, qu'on attribue aussi aux Priscillianistes. Nec natura ejus [Diaboli] opificium Dei sit, sed eum ex chao et tenebris emersisse. Leo Ep. xv. N°. 5, p. 452. Beaus. T. i. p. 388.

[d] Quinque enim elementa, quæ genuerunt principes proprios, genti tribuunt tenebrarum. De Hær. cap. 46. sub in.

[e] Hinc enim et mali substantiam quamdam credebam esse talem, et habere suam molem terram, sive crassam et deformem, sive tenuem et subtilem, sicut est aëris corpus, quam malignam mentem per illam terram repentem imaginantur. Confess. l. 5, c. x. n. 20. Hæc dixi, ut, si fieri potest, tandem dicere desinatis, malum esse terram per immensum profundam et longam; malum esse mentem per terram vagantem; malum esse quinque antra elementorum—malum esse animalia in illis nata elementis. De M. Manich. c. 9. n. 14.

[f] ——in quâ morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa se innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipse erat mens atque origo. ap. Aug. contr. Epist. Manich. c. 15, n. 19.

[g] —— ita errantes, ita delirantes,——ut non videant, et in eo quod dicunt naturam summi mali, ponere se tanta bona, ubi ponunt vitam, potentiam,—memoriam, intellectum, temperiem—mensuras, numeros,—ordinem. De Nat. Boni. cap. 41.

[h] Cui enim oportet credi? magistris vestris istis,—aut Salvatori Christo dicenti, sicut scriptum est in Evangeliorum libro, Non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere——? ap. Arch. n. 13, p. 24. Vid. et. n. 5, p. 7.

[i] See Beausobre T. 2, p. 253.

[k] Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, alteram malam, —sicut ait Joannes: Totus mundus in maligno positus est, non in Deo. ap. Arch. n. 14, p. 26.

[l] Proinde mundum a naturâ boni, hoc est, a naturâ Dei factum, confitentur quidem, sed de commixtione boni et mali, quæ facta est, quando inter se utraque natura pugnavit. De Hær. c. 46.

There is somewhat about this fight in [a] the fragments of Mani's letter Of the Foundation. But there must have been more said of it in that part of the letter which Augustine did not answer, and therefore did not quote. For want of which I shall be obliged to take the account of this matter from other authors.

Theodoret says, 'There [b] being a prodigious tumult and intestine war in the kingdom of 'Hyle, as they contended and fought with each other, they exceeded the bounds of their own 'territories, and came to the confines of light: at the sight of which they were greatly surprised 'and delighted, and did all they could to lay hold of and mix the light with themselves.'

Titus of Bostra says, that '[c] matter having made the inroad beforementioned, the good being 'sent out a power or spirit, to which the Manichees give what name they please, to reduce 'matter to better order, which was in some measure effected; for matter was greatly delighted 'at the sight of that power, and devoured it, and thereby was rendered more tame.'

In The Acts of Archelaus this affair is related after this manner: 'Darkness, [d] exceeding its 'limits, fought with light. When the good Father [that is God] perceived that darkness was come 'into his country, he detached from him a power called the Mother of Life. This power formed 'the first man, and invested him with the five elements, wind, light, water, fire, air. Thus 'equipped he went down to fight with darkness: but [e] the princes of darkness fighting against 'him devoured a part of his armour, which is the soul.' 'The first man,' as it follows in those Acts, 'being overpowered looked up to God, who taking pity on him sent to his [f] relief another 'power called the Living Spirit; who descending reached out his hand to him and rescued him: 'but he left the soul below.—Then the Living Spirit created the world. He created the lights 'out of the souls that remained, and appointed the firmament to revolve. At length he created 'the earth.'

Who is meant by the Living Spirit is not certain; whether the Word, or the Holy Spirit, or some other intelligent being: but it seems to be rather more probable, that [g] hereby is meant some spirit inferior to the divine persons; and that Mani was of the same opinion with divers others in former times, who, judging the creation of this visible world unworthy of God, ascribed that work to some inferior intelligence.

'And,' as Beausobre says, 'if [h] we reduce to simple ideas all which is said concerning the 'first man, his descent, his armour, his combats, a part of his armour taken from him, and de-'voured by the princes of darkness, the meaning may amount to this: that the soul is a celestial 'substance, which God has thought fit to mix with matter for making the world; and that this 'was occasioned by an enterprise of matter, which God foresaw, but did not think fit to hinder.' Or, as he expresseth it in another place: 'They [i] supposed that the first man descended from 'heaven to combat the powers of darkness: and that he was armed with five celestial elements, 'air, wind, water, fire and light. Matter devoured a part of his armour, which is the soul. In 'general God permitted that the celestial substance should be mingled with the terrestrial, or 'bad substance, which occasioned the creation of the world.'

The same learned and judicious author has some other observations [k] relating to this matter, taken from the obscure and figurative style of the eastern people, and the language in which Mani's works were written, which might not be well understood by the Greeks and Romans.

And I shall add here a passage of Fortunatus, who, disputing with Augustine, says: 'Hence' [l]

[a] Unde si tibi videtur, inquit, ausculta prius quæ fuerint ante constitutionem mundi, et quo pacto prœlium sit agitatum, ut possis luminis sejungere naturam ac tenebrarum. ap. Aug. contra Ep. Manich. c. 12, n. 15. Vid. et libr. De Fid. contr. Manich. cap. xi.

[b] ——αιωσι δε πολλοις υστερον διαστασιασαι προς εαυτην την ὑλην, και τους ταυτης καρπους προς ἀλληλους· τω δε πολεμω συσταντος, και των μεν διωκοντων, των δε διωκομενων, μεχρι των ὁρων τω φωτος αυτους αφικεσθαι· ενια το φως θεασαμενος, ησθηναι τε επ' αυτω, και θαυμασαι και βουληθηναι παντοδαι κατ' αυτα στρατευσαι, και ἁρπασαι, και κερασαι τω φωτι το ἰδιον σκοτος. Thdrt. T. iv. p. 212. C.

[c] Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2, p. 68.

[d] ——Γνοντα δε τον αγαθον πατερα το σκοτος εν τη γη αυτω επιβεβηκος, προβαλλειν ἐξ αυτου δυναμιν, λεγομενην μητερα της ζωης, και αυτην προβεβληκεναι τον πρωτον ανθρωπον, κ. λ. ap. Arch. n. 7, p. 10.

[e] οἱ δε τε σκοτους αρχοντες, αντιπολεμουντες αυτω, εφαγον εκ της πανοπλιας αυτου, ὁ εστιν ἡ ψυχη. ib.

[f] ——και επεστειλεν ἑτεραν δυναμιν προβληθεισαν ὑπ' αυτου, λεγομενην ζων πνευμα——εκτοτε αν κατελειψε κατω την ψυχην.——Τοτε ζων πνευμα εκτισε τον κοσμον.——Τοτε παλιν το ζων πνευμα εκτισε τους φωστηρας, ἁ εστι της ψυχης λειψανα, και ουτως εποιησε το στερεωμα κυκλευσαι· και παλιν εκτισε την γην. ib p. 10, 11.

[g] See Beaus. T. 2, p. 359. [h] Ib. T. 2, p. 390.

[i] Ib. p. 555. [k] As before, p. 390, 391, 392.

[l] Hinc ergo apparet antiquitas temporum nostrorum, quam repetimus, et annorum nostrorum, ante mundi constitutionem hoc more missas esse animas contra contrariam naturam, ut eamdem suâ passione subjicientes, victoria Deo redderetur. Nam dixit idem apostolus, &c. Fortun. Disp. 2, n. 22, fin. ap. Aug. T. 8.

'evidently appears our ancient original, that before the formation of the world souls were sent 'against the contrary nature to subdue it by their virtue and patience, that the victory and 'glory might be given to God. For, as the apostle says: (Eph. vi. 12.) "We wrestle not only 'against flesh and blood, but also against principalities and powers, against spiritual wicked-'nesses, and the rulers of darkness."'

To proceed: The [a] first work of the Creator was to separate the parts of the celestial substance, which, though mingled with matter, had preserved their purity, and to make of them the sun and the moon; which is agreeable to the words of Augustine: The [b] Manichees say, that 'those vessels, the sun and moon, were made of the pure substance of God; or of that substance 'of God which had preserved its purity.' He presently afterwards explains what is meant by the substance of God, saying, that 'the moon was made of the good water, the sun of the good fire;' that is, according to the Manichæan sentiment.

But it should be observed, that whereas Augustine here and elsewhere often useth the phrase, "the substance of God," it seems likely, that [c] thereby the Manichees (if they also used the same phrase) did not mean the divine substance, or nature, which they always reckoned incorruptible, inviolable, immutable, but only the substance from God, the celestial substance, the [d] substance of his kingdom or empire. I suppose that every one will perceive as much from what will be hereafter said of their denying the humanity of Christ, and the incarnation of the Word, and all union of the divine nature with the human. And it might be collected from what has been already produced concerning their sentiments of the divine perfections.

In a word, not to be too minute, the [e] Creator formed the sun and moon out of those parts of light which had preserved their original purity. The visible or inferior heavens (for now we do not speak of the supreme heaven), and the rest of the planets, were formed of those parts of light which were but little corrupted by matter. The rest he left in our world, which are no other than those parts of light which had suffered most by the contagion of matter.

The [f] Creator formed not the earth until after he had made the heavens and the stars. This appears from the account before taken out of The Acts of Archelaus.

And that we may the better conceive of all this, we may observe and rectify a wrong account of Augustine. 'Mani,' says [g] he, 'teaches not only that man, but that the whole world was 'formed by the mixture of two coeternal natures, one good, the other bad, in such a manner 'however as to ascribe the formation of the world to the good God.' This, says [h] Beausobre, is not just. Do not the sun and moon, which were made out of the pure celestial substance, belong to the world? It is our earth properly, with its atmosphere, and its heavens, which were composed of two substances: which is the occasion that life and death, good and evil, reign here. The Manichees, certainly, as that learned writer goes on, were not orthodox upon the article of the creation of the world: but setting aside their particular error, they had noble ideas of the manner in which God made the world. The disorders that are in the world, says [i] Fortunatus, sufficiently shew that it was made out of two substances; at the same time things have not come into that form and proportion which constitutes the world, but by the authority and command of one only. So my author.

IX. The Manichæan notion of the creation of man may be seen in [k] Beausobre, taken from Mani himself, Archelaus, Augustine, Titus of Bostra, Theodoret and others.

A succinct account of what he says at large is to this purpose: The [l] dæmons, foreseeing that God would insensibly withdraw the light, or the reasonable soul which he had sent into matter, and leave them to themselves, or punish them for their late attempt, thought of a method to detain it. They had seen the first man, who came to fight them; and they still discerned his

[a] See B. T. 2, p. 361, 362.

[b] Quas itidem naves de substantiâ Dei purâ perhibent fabricatas.—Naves autem illas, id est, duo cœli luminaria, ita distinguunt, ut lunam dicant factam ex bonâ aquâ, solem vero ex igne bono. Aug. De H. c. 46.

[c] Beausobre has spoken largely to this point. See him T. i. p. 227.——234. p. 592, 593, 529, &c. and T. 2, p. 339, &c.

[d] His quinque elementis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et substantiâ Dei missa esse, et in illâ pugnâ fuisse permixta. Aug. de Hær. cap. 46.

[e] See B. ib. p. 364. [f] Ib. p. 367.

[g] Manichæus ex commixtione duarum naturarum coæternarum, boni scilicet et mali, non solum hominem, sed universum mundum, constare dicit, et ad eum omnia pertinentia: ita sane, ut ipsam fabricam mundi, quamvis ex commixtione boni et mali, Deo bono et artifici tribuat. Op. Imp. l. 3, c. 186. [h] As before, p. 367, 368.

[i] Facta consonant: sed, quia inconvenientia sibi sunt, ac per hoc ergo constat non esse unam substantiam, licet ex unius jussione eadem ad compositionem mundi hujus et faciem venerint. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 13.

[k] Hist. de Manich. T. 2, p. 399—418. [l] Ib. p. 410.

form in the sun, or the heavens. Upon this model they formed the human body, thereby to attract souls; who, not perceiving the snare which the devil had laid for them, entered the body, and were touched with the pleasure afforded by the organs of the senses, and especially that of concupiscence. Pleasure seduces and transports them, and they become delighted with their new habitation. Hereby they are led to propagate, and thus they forge their own chains and build their own prisons.

Some passages of Mani's Epistle of the Foundation, concerning the formation of man, may be seen in [a] Augustine.

I think it is past dispute that Mani did ascribe the formation of the human body to matter, or the devil, or the evil principle. I refer for this purpose to some passages in The Acts [b] of Archelaus and [c] Epiphanius; and shall transcribe in the margin some passages of Mani [d] in his letter to Menoch, where he speaks of Satan being the author of bodies, as God is of souls. Augustine's article upon this point in [e] his summary account of Manichæism, as likewise what he says [f] elsewhere, deserves our attention.

Alexander of Lycopolis speaks to this purpose: 'Matter [g] [or Hyle] perceiving in the sun a 'human form, became ambitious to make a man out of his own substance. For this purpose he 'placed in him the utmost of his own powers, together with as much soul as he could obtain. 'By which means man became superior to all animals, who are mortal like him, and partook 'largely of the divine power; for he is an image of the divine power.'

What I have here transcribed from Alexander may be compared with [h] The Acts of Archelaus, and [i] Epiphanius.

And Mani, in a passage of his Letter of the Foundation, preserved [k] in Augustine, speaks of man as being a whole little world, uniting in himself the image of all powers, both celestial and terrestrial. Moreover, the Manichees, as Augustine says, believed that in [l] Adam was a large portion of light, that is, of the heavenly substance.

Some passages of Faustus likewise may confirm the supposition of the Manichees not ascribing the formation of the human body to God. 'It is true,' says [m] he, 'God is not the author of 'that birth which brings us into the world, men and women, males and females.' Again, says [n] Faustus, 'there are two times of our nativity: one, when nature brings us into this world under 'the chains of carnal affections; the other when we are born again, and converted from error to 'truth, of which Christ speaks in the gospel, in his conference with Nicodemus, saying, "Unless 'a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God."' Which doctrine Faustus endeavours to support by long quotations from several of St. Paul's epistles.

As Beausobre says, they [o] pretended it was impossible that a holy and good God should join a pure and celestial soul with a terrestrial, sensitive, animal soul, whose affections resist reason, and carry the man to actions he disapproves. And they argued, that the ordinary way in which

[a] ——dicens, nôsse te cupere cujusmodi sit nativitas Adæ et Evæ, utrum verbo sint iidem prolati, an primogeniti ex corpore. Man. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. 12. n. 14. Vid. et Aug. de Natura Boni. cap. 46.

[b] Vid. Arch. n. 10, p. 19, 20. n. 14, p. 27.

[c] H. 66, n. 30.

[d] Sicut ergo auctor animarum Deus est, ita corporum auctor per concupiscentiam diabolus est, &c. ap. Aug. op. Imp. l. 3, c. 174. vid. et. c. 175, 176.

[e] Adam et Evam ex parentibus principibus fumi asserunt natos, cum pater eorum nomine Saclas sociorum suorum fetus omnium devorâsset, et quidquid inde commixtum divinæ substantiæ ceperat, cum uxore concumbens in carne, prolis tamquam tenacissimo vinculo colligâsset. De H. c. 46.

[f] ———ita sane, ut ipsam fabricam mundi, quamvis ex commixtione boni et mali, Deo bono et artifici tribuat; animalia vero, et cuncta quæ nascuntur e terrâ, et ipsum hominem, opera esse dicat malignæ mentis, quam genti adhibuit tenebrarum. Hinc est, quod animam primam dicit a Deo lucis manâsse, et accepisse illam fabricam corporis, ut eam fræno suo regeret. Non enim hoc de homine, sed de animâ bonâ dicit, quam Dei partem atque naturam universo mundo, et omnibus quæ in eo sunt, opinatur esse permixtam, in homine autem per concupiscentiam decipi. Quam concupiscentiam, quod sæpe inculcandum est, non vitium substantiæ bonæ, sed malam vult esse substantiam. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3, cap. 186.

[g] Και εικονα δε εν τῳ ἡλιῳ ἐπιστᾶσαι τοιαυτην, οἵᾳ ἐστι το τε ανθρωπιν ειδος, και αντιφιλοτιμησασθαι τοι ποιησαι τον ανθρωπον εξ αυτης, κατα την δια πασης αυτης της δυναμεως μιξιν, εχοντα και αυτον τι της ψυχης, πολλῳ μεντοι ελαττουμενον το ειδος, εις το πλειον τι παρα τα αλογα ζωα της δυναμεως της θειας των ανθρωπων μεταδοχην ὑπαρχειν γαρ αυτον θειας δυναμεως εικονα. Alex. p. 5. B. C.

[h] Ap. Arch. n. 7, p. 12. [i] H. 66, n. 30, et 80.

[k] In eâdem enim construebantur et contexebantur omnium imagines, cœlestium ac terrenarum virtutum; ut pleni videlicet orbis, id quod formabatur, similitudinem obtineret. Man. ap. Aug. de Nat. Bon. c. 46.

[l] Malâ non vacuum fuisse dicit Adam, sed ejus minus habuisse, multoque plus lucis. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3, c. 186.

[m] Magis ac magis ostendit, nativitatem hanc, quæ nos mares fecit ac feminas, ——non eam esse in quâ Deus operatur, cum hominem format. Faust. l. 24, sub fin.

[n] Quoniam quidem et nativitatis nostræ tempora duo sunt, unum illud, quo nos irretitos carnalibus vinculis in lucem hanc natura produxit, alterum vero, cum veritas nos ex errore conversos ad se regeneravit initiatos ad fidem. Quod tempus secundæ nativitatis in Evangelio Jesus significans dixit, &c. Faust. l. 24, sub in. [o] T. 2, p. 416.

men come into the world shewed it was not God who formed them at first. This argument of theirs is largely represented in the [a] Acts of Archelaus.

X. Moreover, the Manichees supposed that there were in man two souls. Augustine wrote [b] a book on purpose against this opinion: but it was a necessary consequence of their sentiment about two principles. There are, according [c] to them, two eternal natures, both living and animated: and both enter into the composition of man. I place in the margin [d] a passage of Augustine of some considerable length, taken from his summary account of Manichæism in his book Of Heresies.

This was in ancient times a common opinion of many people, and was held by the Manichees. They [e] supposed that it was evidently taught by St. Paul in all those places where he opposes the flesh and the spirit, the old man, and the new man, the law of the mind and the law of the members. These two men, these two laws, these two principles, are in man: and they are always contrary to each other: the spirit opposeth the desires of the flesh, and the flesh those of the spirit: but contrary desires and wills cannot proceed from one and the same cause purely spiritual. There are therefore two souls in man, two active principles; one the source and cause of vicious passions, deriving its origin from matter, the other the cause of the ideas of just and right, and of inclinations to follow those ideas, deriving its original from God.

XI. Though the Manichees did not receive the Old Testament, nor admit the Mosaic account of the creation, they supposed the world to have had a beginning, as we have seen already; and Adam and Eve to have been the first pair, and the parents of mankind. This appears from the very beginning [f] of the famous Epistle of the Foundation.

The Manichees, as Augustine says, believed that in Adam was a large portion of light; that is, of the celestial substance. Again, we learn from him that [g] 'they said Adam and Eve were 'were made by the princes of darkness; but Adam had in him a great abundance of the particles 'of light, with but few particles of darkness: for that reason he lived holily a good while. At 'length the adverse part in him prevailed, and he knew Eve.' So then conjugal commerce was the first sin of these parents of mankind.

And, in The Acts of Archelaus it is said that [h] the princes, having made Adam after the form of the first man whom they had seen, made Eve likewise, giving her some of their own concupiscence, that she might deceive Adam.

XII. Hence we may be led to conclude that the Manichees must condemn marriage; and indeed those words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3, are often applied to them. Mani himself says that [i] "concupiscence is the root of all evil," quoting in that sense 1 Tim. vi. 10. It may be thought that [k] condemning all manner of concupiscence, however regulated, appears in some words of Faustus, which I put in the margin: where he speaks of the first or natural birth, and of the second or spiritual birth.

This notion is handsomely confuted by [l] Titus of Bostra, in a passage which may be seen translated by [m] Beausobre: but I presume I need not to transcribe it here.

Faustus has particularly considered the charge brought against them, of teaching what the

[a] Si vero consideretis, quomodo generentur filii hominum, invenietis, non esse Dominum hominis creatorem, sed alium. ——Est igitur vobis hominibus commixtio cum uxoribus vestris de hujusmodi occasione descendens. Cum quis vestrûm carnalibus aliisque cibis fuerit satiatus, tunc ei concupiscentiæ boritur incitatio, &c. ap. Arch. c. 14, p. 27.

[b] De duabus Animabus contra Manichæos. Opp. T. 8.

[c] See Beaus. T. 2, p. 420.

[d] Carnalem concupiscentiam, quâ caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, non ex vitiatâ in primo homine naturâ nobis inesse infirmitatem; sed substantiam volunt esse contrariam, sic nobis adhærentem, ut quando liberamur atque purgamur, separetur a nobis, et in suâ naturâ etiam ipsa immortaliter vivat: easque duas animas, vel duas mentes, unam bonam, alteram malam, in uno homine inter se habere conflictum, quando caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem. De Hær. c. 46. sub fin.

[e] See Beaus. T. 2, p. 421.

[f] De eo igitur,——de quo mihi significâsti, dicens, nôsse te cupere, cujusmodi sit nativitas Adæ et Evæ, &c. ap. Aug. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 12, n. 14.

[g] Talis est namque apud vos opinio de Adamo et Evâ. Longa fabula est, sed ex eâ adtingam quod in præsentia satis est. Adam dicitis sic a parentibus suis genitum, abortivis illis principibus tenebrarum, ut maximam partem lucis haberet in animâ, et perexiguam gentis adversæ. Qui cum sancte viveret propter exsuperantem copiam boni, commotam tamen in eo fuisse adversam illam partem, ut ad concubitum declinaretur; ita eum lapsum esse et peccâsse, sed vixisse postea sanctiorem. De Mor. Manich. c. 19, n. 73.

[h] Την δε Ευαν ὁμοιως εκτισαν, δοντες αυτη εκ της επιθυμιας αυτων, προς το εξαπατησαι τον Αδαμ. ap. Arch. n. 10, p. 20.

[i] Tolle denique malignæ hujus stirpis radicem, et statim te ipsum spiritalem contemplaris. Radix enim, ait scriptura, omnium malorum concupiscentia. Ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3, c. 175. Vid. et c. 176, 186, 187.

[k] Modus quoque nascendi duplex est, unus ille furoris et intemperantiæ proprius, quo sumus a generatoribus turpiter et per libidinem sati; alius vero honestatis et sanctimoniæ, quo in Christo Jesu per Spiritum Sanctum sub bonorum doctrinis disciplinati sumus ad fidem, &c. Faust. l. 24, c. 1.

[l] Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2, p. 130, 131.

[m] T. 2, p. 468, 469.

apostle calls "doctrines of devils," 1 Tim. iv. 1. And, if Faustus may be relied upon, their doctrine upon [a] the article of marriage and virginity was much the same with that of the catholics, or orthodox Christians of that time. The churches of the catholics, he says, had in them almost as many professed virgins as married women. If the [b] catholics made virgins, without being liable to the charge of forbidding to marry, the same was true of them: they did not compel, they only exhorted. And he boldly says, that text of St. Paul is no more against them than against the catholics. This defence of Faustus is the fuller, if by their elect, who alone were forbidden to marry, and were required to forbear eating flesh and drinking wine, be understood priests or ecclesiastics, as [c] Faustus intimates.

More may be seen concerning this point in [d] the author, to whom I have already often referred.

Upon the whole, considering what has been observed above concerning the origin of mankind, it may be reckoned more probable, that they rather tolerated marriage as an imperfect state, in regard to human weakness, than approved it. Perhaps we may apply to this case what [e] Augustine says of the Manichæan auditors eating flesh. They were indulged it, but yet it was a fault, he says, and to be forgiven only because they maintained the elect.

And I question whether Faustus be sincere, and may be relied upon in what he says of this matter. My doubts are owing to the very disadvantageous expressions he makes use of in speaking of the natural birth, in the twenty-fourth book of his work: several of which passages I have transcribed, or referred to; and to a passage in his thirtieth book, where he is professedly treating on the point of marriage. For, having said, as before shewn, that they did not compel, but only commended and exhorted to virginity, as the catholics, he adds: 'And [f] indeed it would 'be no less than madness, for private persons to forbid what is allowed by public authority.' It seems therefore that, following their doctrine, they might have been disposed to prohibit marriage, if it had been in their power.

It is said that [g] the Manichees were severely treated by a king of Persia for discouraging marriage.

I may mention another thought relating to this point, when I come to speak of their notion concerning the transmigration of souls.

If the Manichees did not approve of marriage, they must have condemned fornication, and all such like irregularities. This is evident from The Acts of Archelaus, where Mani himself is made to say that [h] adultery, fornication, covetousness, and other things, are fruits of the evil root. Nor is marriage here mentioned among evil things.

Augustine indeed charges them with allowing wicked sensual gratifications rather than marriage. But then, as [i] Beausobre observes, he presently adds: 'I [k] doubt not but you, at 'hearing this, will exclaim against it as injustice and calumny. You will say that you praise and

[a] ——— nec videtis hinc, et virgines vestras dæmoniorum doctrinâ captas notari, et vos esse antistites dæmoniorum, qui certatim semper ad hanc cas incitetis professionem suasionibus vestris, ut pene jam major in ecclesiis omnibus virginum apud vos quam mulierum numerositas habeatur? Faust. l. 30, cap. 4.

[b] Non ergo est interim, quod vos existimetis solis hortamentis virgines facere, et non prohibitione nubendi. Nobis enim quoque hoc insitum est.——Quapropter et nos hortamur quidem volentes ut permaneant, non tamen cogimus invitas ut accedant.———Si igitur hoc modo virgines facere sine crimine est, extra culpam sumus et nos: sin quoquo genere virgines facere crimen est, rei estis et vos. Jam quâ mente aut consilio hoc adversum nos capitulum proferatis, ego non video. ibid.

[c] Neque enim justa hæc nunc vestra sententia est, ut nos quidem, qui solum in plebe sacerdotale hominum genus censeamus a carnibus abstinere debere, dæmoniorum doctrinæ videamur vobis assectatores. ib. c. 1.

[d] See Beaus. T. 2, p. 470, &c.

[e] Auditoribus autem vestris———secundum veniam hæc edenda conceditis.———Neque enim conceditur secundum veniam, nisi peccatum. Hoc vos de omni carnium cibo sentitis, hoc et ipsi———vestros auditores docetis: sed illis quod sit ignoscendum, propter quod vobis necessaria ministrant, ut dixi, conceditis, non dicentes non esse peccatum, sed peccantibus veniam largientes. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 30, c. 5.

[f] Et demens profecto ille, non tantum stultus, notandus est, qui id existimet lege privata prohiberi posse, quod sit publicâ concessum: dico autem hoc ipsum nubere. ib. n. 4.

[g] Rex vero Persarum, cum vidisset tam Catholicos et episcopos, quam Manichæos Manetis sectarios, a nuptiis abstinere; in Manichæos quidem sententiam mortis tulit. At Christianos vero idem edictum manavit.——Quum igitur Christiani ad regem confugissent, jussit ille discrimen, quale inter utrosque esset, sibi exponi. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 3, p. 220.

[h] ——— fructus autem fornicationes, adulteria, homicidia, avaritia, et omnes mali actus malæ istius radicis. ap. Arch. c. 17. p. 30.

[i] T. 2, p. 473.

[k] Non enim concubitum, sed, ut longe ante ab apostolo dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis, quæ talis operis una est defensio. Hic non dubito vos esse clamaturos, invidiamque facturos dicendo, castitatem perfectam vos vehementer commendare atque laudare, non tamen nuptias prohibere; quandoquidem auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus est gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibentur uxores. De Mor. Manich. c. 18, n. 65.

'recommended perfect chastity, but you do not forbid marriage; forasmuch as you do not 'hinder your auditors, the second order among you, from marrying, and having wives.' It is not easy to conceive that[a] they, who severely censured the polygamy of the patriarchs, should approve of worse things in Christians.

XIII. It is a difficult question whether the Manichees believed free-will. It is generally denied; but Beausobre does not concur in that sentence. He has discoursed largely upon this point, and I refer to[b] him. I shall however cite a part of what he says.

'If[c] by free-will be meant a power of doing good, and resisting evil, it is certain that the 'Manichees ascribed it to the soul, which was sent into matter. For, first, when we shewed the 'opinion of these men concerning the creation of the world, we saw that, among the souls 'which God sent to combat matter, there were some that preserved their purity entire; others 'that were but little affected with the contagion of matter; and others that were so corrupted, 'that they were left in this lower stage of the world. The Creator placed them according to 'their merits. Secondly, when Augustine asks Fortunatus why God sent souls into matter, that 'Manichee answers, to[d] tame it, and reduce it to order. They must therefore have had the 'power of so doing. Finally, what suffers me not to doubt that Mani acknowledged the soul's 'liberty in its state of innocence, is a passage in his letter to Menoch; "the[e] first soul that 'came from the God of light received the machine of the body to govern it with a rein."

And, after a long discussion, that learned writer sums up all in these three[f] propositions: '1. The Manichees allowed the soul to be free in its origin, and its state of innocence. For it 'had power to resist evil, and to overcome it. 2. After its fall it had not absolutely lost that 'power, but it had lost the use, because it was ignorant of its nature, and its origin, and 'its true interests; and because concupiscence, which has its seat in the flesh, carries it 'away by an invincible force to do or allow that which it condemns; [or, in other words, the[g] 'soul has not lost its liberty, but ignorance on the one hand, and violence of passion on the 'other, hinder it from making use of its power.] 3. The gospel of Jesus Christ delivers the 'soul from that servitude, and gives it sufficient power to subdue sin, and to obey the law of 'God, provided it make use of the helps therein afforded.'

After all which, Beausobre makes divers observations upon the controversy with the Manichees, as managed by ancient Christian authors, and then concludes in this manner: Finally, 'I[h] allow that those ancient writers in general say the Manichees denied free-will. The reason 'is, that the fathers believed and maintained against the Marcionites and Manichees, that what-'ever state man is in he has the command over his own actions, and has equally power to do 'good and evil. Augustine himself reasoned upon this principle, as well as other catholics his pre-'decessors, so long as he had to do with the Manichees. But when he came to dispute with the 'Pelagians he changed his system. Then he denied that kind of freedom which before he had de-'fended: and, so far as I am able to judge, his sentiment no longer differed from theirs concerning 'the servitude of the will. He ascribed that servitude to the corruption which original sin brought 'into our nature: whereas the Manichees ascribed it to an evil quality, eternally inherent in[i] matter.'

XIV. Socrates said that[k] the Manichees held the doctrine of Fate. Whether, and how far, they did so may be seen in[l] Beausobre; for I do not chuse to stay upon this point.

XV. It is thought by some that[m] the Manichees denied the lawfulness of war.

XVI. Socrates informed us, that[n] the Manichees held the transmigration of souls; which is very true. It is taken notice of in[o] The Acts of Archelaus,[p] in Epiphanius,[q] Theodoret, and other authors.

Agapius, as abridged by Photius, says that[r] 'souls, which have arrived at the perfec-

[a] Nec quod Jacob, filius ejus, inter Rachel et Liam duas germanas sorores, earumque singulas famulas, quatuor uxorum maritus, tamquam hircus erraverit; ut esset quotidie inter quatuor scorta certamen, quænam eum venientem de agro prior ad concubitum raperet. Faust. l. 22, cap. 5.

[b] T. 2, p. 433——448. [c] Ib. p. 438.

[d] ——et in contrariâ naturâ esse animam diximus, ideo ut contrariæ naturæ modum imponeret: modo imposito contrariæ naturæ, sumit eamdem Deus. Fort. Disp. 2, n. 33, vid. et. n. 34.

[e] Operæ, inquit, pretium est advertere, quia prima anima, quæ a Deo luminis manavit, accepit fabricam istam corporis, ut eam fræno suo regeret. Man. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3, c. 186.

[f] Ib. p. 447. [g] Ib. p. 448.

[h] The same.

[i] More observations upon Augustine may be seen in the same author, p. 435—438.

[k] See before, 141. [l] T. 2, p. 424—432.

[m] See Beaus. T. 2, p. 797. and the authors quoted by him.

[n] See p. 141. [o] Arch. c. 9, p. 15.

[p] H. 66. n. 28. [q] H. Fab. l. 1, c. 26, p. 214, A.

[r] Κρατυνει δε και τας μετεμψυχωσεις, τυς μεν εις ακρον αρετης ελθλακοτας εις Θεον αναλυειν· τυς δε εις ακρον κακιας πυρι διδυς και σκοτω· τυς δε μεσως πως πολιτευσαμενες παλιν εις σωματα αγειν. Phot. cod. 179, p. 105.

'tion of virtue, return to God: they that have been very wicked are assigned to fire and dark-'ness; but others of a middle rank, which have behaved but indifferently, and are neither very 'good nor very bad, pass into other bodies.' That is only a summary account: if we had Agapius himself we should see more particulars.

A passage of Augustine may induce us to think it was their opinion, that [a] their elect needed no purification after this life: and likewise that their auditors in general, who were allowed to marry, trade, bear offices, and the like, passed into other bodies for purification, and farther trial.

The passage I have referred to is in Augustine's summary account of the Manichæan sect. There is another like passage [b] in his work against Faustus, which I also put into the margin.

And perhaps this may afford an argument, that marriage, and other things, practised by the auditors, were rather tolerated than approved in the Manichæan scheme: for which reason they who lived in that state would usually need to be purified, and to be put upon another trial in some other body.

XVII. It is easy to conclude, from what has been already said, that the Manichees did not believe the resurrection of the body. As Theodoret says, 'they [c] derided the resurrection of 'bodies. No part of matter, they said, could be worthy of salvation.'

According to them, Christ came to save souls. So their opinion is represented [d] in The Acts of Archelaus. Augustine's account in his book Of Heresies is, 'they [e] say that Christ came 'to save souls, not bodies.' Says Fortunatus, 'We [f] believe that Christ came to deliver the 'soul from death, and bring it back to eternal glory, and restore it to the Father.' Again, says the same Manichee, 'we [g] believe that our Saviour Christ came from heaven to fulfil the will of 'the Father: whose will is, that he should deliver our souls from the enmity by slaying it.'

Their notion about matter led them into this opinion: and they argued from [h] several texts of scripture, particularly from 1 Cor. xv. 50; "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God."

They allowed a resurrection of the soul now; when, [i] being enlightened by the doctrine of the gospel, it purified itself from carnal affections. And they might speak of the resurrection or [k] ascent of the soul, when it should return to God; but they absolutely denied the resurrection of bodies.

Souls, when they have finished their purification here, return to the world of light, whence they came. But, which is sometimes strange, they pass by the way of the moon and the sun; which [l] by the Manichees were considered as ships or vessels of passage, by which souls return, and are conveyed to heaven.

According to them, the increase of the moon is caused by souls, or parts of light, ascending thither from the earth; and its decrease by the departure of souls, which are thence transmitted

[a] Animas auditorum suorum in electos revolvi arbitrantur, aut feliciore compendio in escas electorum suorum, ut jam inde purgatæ in nulla corpora revertantur. Cæteras autem animas et in pecora redire putant, et in omnia quæ radicibus fixa sunt, atque aluntur in terrâ. De H. c. 46.

[b] Quid autem fallitis auditores vestros, qui, cum suis uxoribus, et filiis, et familiis, et domibus, et agris, vobis serviunt, si quisquis ista omnia non dimiserit, non accipit evangelium? sed quia eis non resurrectionem, sed revolutionem ad istam mortalitatem promittitis, ut rursus nascantur, et vitâ electorum vestrorum vivant,——aut si meliores meriti sunt, in melones et cucumeres, vel in alios aliquos cibos veniant, quos vos manducaturi estis, ut vestris ructatibus cito purgentur, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 5. c. x.

[c] Την δε σωματων αναςασιν, ὡς μυθον, εκβαλλουσιν· εδεν γαρ της ὑλης μοριον αξιον ὑπειληφασι σωτηριας. Theod. H. F. l. i. cap. ult. p. 214. A.

[d] Επεμψε τον υἱον αυτου τον ηγαπημενον εις σωτηριαν ψυχης. Ap. Arch. n. 8. p. 12.

[e] ——— eumque Christum novissimis temporibus venisse ad animas, non ad corpora liberanda. Aug. de H. c. 46.

[f] —— ut eamdem de morte liberaret, et perduceret eam ad æternam gloriam, et restitueret patri. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 11.

[g] Quemadmodum et Salvatorem Christum credimus de cœlo venisse, voluntatem Patris complere. Quæ voluntas Patris hæc erat, animas nostras de eâdem inimicitiâ liberare, interfectâ eâdem inimicitiâ. Fortun. Disp. i. n. 17. Vid. et Disp. 2. n. 24.

[h] Vid. Epiph. Hær. 66. s. 86, 87. et Aug. contr. Adim. c. 12. n. 4. et contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 3.

[i] —— qui dicitis nunc esse resurrectionem tantummodo animarum, per prædicationem veritatis; corporum autem, quam prædicaverunt apostoli, futuram negetis. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 4. c. 2.

[k] Vid. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 7. ii. n. 33.

[l] Quidquid vero undique purgatur luminis, per quasdam naves, quas esse lunam et solem volunt, regno Dei, tamquam propriis sedibus reddi. Aug. de Hær. c. 46. sub in.——— quod delirâ imperitiâ Manichæi opinantes, repleri eam dicunt, sicut repletur navis, ex fugitivâ Dei parte.——Hinc ergo impleri lunam dicunt, cum eadem pars Dei magnis laboribus ab inquinamento purgatur, de toto mundo——fugiens, redditur Deo——repleri vero per mensem dimidium, et alio dimidio in solem refundi, velut in aliam navem. Aug. Epist. 55. [al. 119] cap. 4. n. 7.

to the sun. This appears absurd, and might be incredible, if it was not affirmed by [a] Augustine, [b] Archelaus, [c] Titus of Bostra, and [d] others.

XVIII. The Manichees expected a future judgment, as [e] before shewn; and more passages might be alleged: Mani [f] professeth it in The Acts of Archelaus.

But it is doubtful whether they believed the eternity of hell torments.

Mani, in the dispute with Archelaus, says that 'all [g] sorts of souls will be saved, and the 'lost sheep will be brought back to the fold.' A passage of the Epistle of the Foundation, preserved by the author De Fide, seems to speak [h] of some souls as lost, which shall be for ever excluded from the holy land, and the regions of light and happiness. They are such as have been enemies to the light, and have persecuted the church, and the elect therein.

Augustine seems to have supposed it to be their opinion that [i] some souls would finally perish. And, in his arguments with them, he often insists upon it as an undeniable thing, that [k] all the light that was mixed with darkness, or all the good or celestial substance that was sent into matter at the formation of the world, would never be again entirely separated from it; which he considers as a great objection against their scheme.

Simplicius likewise argues with them upon the supposition that [l] some parts of the good substance, or some souls, are for ever lost, and never again separated from the evil substance.

In his summary account, Augustine represents it to be their opinion, that [m] the dæmons shall in the end be buried alive in the hideous mass of darkness, and that some souls will be appointed to keep them fast shut up, and watch them as guards, and cover the kingdom of light from all attempts of the princes of darkness. He speaks to the like purpose [n] elsewhere. Nor is this disagreeable to a passage of Mani's Epistle of the Foundation, as [o] cited by the author De Fide.

All which however, as Beausobre [p] says, means no more than a privation of happiness, or a labour and task, rather than a punishment. Indeed, it is reasonable to think the [q] Manichees should allow but very few, if any souls, to be lost and perish for ever. That could not be

[a] See the preceding note.

[b] Πλοια γαρ, ητοι πορθμεια ειναι λεγει τας δυο φως ηρας· ειτα, εαν γεμισθη ἡ σεληνη, μεταπορθμευει εις απηλιωτην, κ. λ. Ap. Arch. n. 8. p. 13.

[c] Tit. l. i. p. 69. in.

[d] Epiph. H. 66. n. 9. p. 626. B. C. Thdrt. T. 4. p. 213. C.

[e] See p. 178.

[f] Dicat tamen ipse, si est judicium piorum et impiorum. *Manes dixit:* Est judicium. Ap. Arch. n. 32. p. 54.

[g] Et salvabitur omne animarum genus, ac restituetur, quod perierat, proprio suo gregi. Ap. Arch. c. 25. p. 41, 42.

[h] Item in epistolâ Fundamenti sic dicit de illis animabus, quæ mundi amore errare se a priore lucidâ suâ naturâ passæ sunt,——infestâ etiam persecutione suâ sanctam ecclesiam atque electos in eâdem constitutos cœlestium præceptorum observatores afflixerunt, a beatitudine et gloriâ sanctæ terræ arcentur. Et quia a malo se superari passæ sunt, in eâdem malâ stirpe perseverabunt, pacificâ illâ terrâ et regionibus immortalibus sibimet interdictis. De Fide cap. 5. ap. Aug. T. 8.

[i] Ipsi enim dicunt, Deum genti tenebrarum æternum carcerem præparare, quam dicunt esse inimicam Deo. Et parum est; sed etiam sua membra simul cum ipsâ gente puniturum esse non dubitant dicere. Contr. Adim. c. vii. n. 1. Dicunt enim etiam nonnullas animas, quas volunt esse de substantiâ Dei, et ejusdem omnino naturæ, quæ non sponte peccaverunt, sed a gente tenebrarum, quam mali naturam dicunt, ad quam debellandam non ultro, sed Patris imperio descenderunt, superatæ et oppressæ sint, affigi in æternum globo horribili tenebrarum. De Nat. Boni. c. 42.

[k] Quarum inter se pugnam et commixtionem, et boni a malo purgationem, et boni quod purgari non poterit in æternum damnationem, secundum sua dogmata asseverantes, &c. Aug. de Hær. c. 46. sub in. Deum denique bonum et verum dicunt cum tenebrarum gente pugnâsse, et partem suam tenebrarum principibus miscuisse, eamque toto mundo inquinatam et ligatam per cibos Electorum suorum, ac per solem et lunam purgari asseverant. Et quod purgari de ipsâ parte Dei non poterit, in fine sæculi æterno ac pœnali vinculo colligari.—— Aug. Ep. 236. [al. 74.] Natura vero Dei captiva ducta est, iniqua facta est, nec potest tota purgari, cogitur in fine damnari. Contr. Secund. c. 20. sub fin. Nunc vero infelices audent adhuc dicere, nec totam posse purgari, et ipsam partem, quæ purgari non potuerit, proficere ad vinculum,—ut affigatur in æternum carcere tenebrarum. De Agon. Christian. cap. iv. Opp. T. 6.

[l] Αυται ην ουδε επιστρεφουσι, ετι φασιν, εις το αγαθον, αλλα μενουσι τω κακω συγκεκολλημεναι. In Epict. c. 34. p. 165.—δια το τινας, ως προτερον εμνησθην, ψυχας μενειν κατ' αυτας εν τω κακω τω λοιπω τον απειρον αιωνα. Ib. p. 166.

[m] Sed a nobis sejunctam atque seclusam substantiam istam mali, et finito isto sæculo post conflagrationem mundi in globo quodam, tamquam in carcere sempiterno, esse victuram. Cui globo affirmant accessurum semper et adhæsurum quasi coopertorium atque tectorium ex animabus, naturâ quidem bonis, sed tamen quæ non potuerint a naturæ malæ contagione mundari. De Hær. c. 46. in fin.

[n] Dicat quod vult, includat in globo, tamquam in carcere, gentem tenebrarum, et forinsecus affigat naturam lucis,—— ecce pejor est pœna lucis quam tenebrarum, pejor est pœna divinæ naturæ quam gentis adversæ. Illa quippe, etsi in tenebris intus est, ad naturam ejus pertinet in tenebris habitare. Animæ autem quæ hoc sunt quod Deus,——a vitâ ac libertate sanctæ lucis alienabuntur, et configentur in prædicto horribili globo. De Nat. Bon. c. 42. sub fin——suamque naturam bonam malo coërcendo superandoque miscuisse, quam turpissime pollutam———labore magno vix mundet ac liberet, non totam tamen: sed quod ejus non potuerit ab illâ inquinatione purgari, tegmen ac vinculum futurum hostis victi et inclusi. De Civ. Dei l. xi. c. 22.

[o] Non igitur poterunt recipi in regna pacifica, sed configentur in prædicto horribili globo, cui etiam necesse est custodiam adhiberi. Ap. libr. de Fide, c. 5. Conf. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 21. c. 16. et de Nat. Boni. cap. 42.

[p] Ainsi la peine de ces ames n'est proprement qu'une privation de félicité, et un travail plutôt, qu' un supplice. Beaus. T. 2. p. 574.

[q] C' est un fait constant. Les Manichéens n'ont point cru la perte éternelle d'aucune ame. Ib. p. 572. in.

reckoned honourable to the Deity, considering how souls were sent into matter. The doctrine of transmigration may have been contrived for this purpose. The Manichees were very generous in this respect; they allowed souls no less than five [a] bodies for trial.

XIX. The Manichees believed that after a certain period this [b] visible world would be consumed by fire. But, as [c] Turbo says in The Acts of Archelaus, he had not been informed how long it would be before that happened. However, Ebed-Jesu, quoted by [d] Beausobre, says, that [e] according to the Manichees the world would come to an end when it had subsisted nine thousand years.

XX. The Manichees were Christians, as was particularly [f] shewn above. But they rejected the Old Testament, and pretended they [g] could there see no prophecies about Christ, neither in Moses, nor in the other prophets. They therefore wanted that argument of faith in Jesus. As [h] Faustus says, 'being Gentiles by nature, and not Jews, they came directly to Christ, excited 'by the fame of his virtues and wisdom.' He farther says, that 'they [i] were induced to believe 'in Jesus for the sake of the voice of God, not speaking by a prophet or interpreter, but saying 'himself, when he sent his Son from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, hear him."' 'We [k] 'also believe his own word, who said: "I came forth from the Father, and came into the world:" 'and much more to the like purpose.' 'Moreover [l] he appeals to his works: "If ye believe 'not me, believe the works:" (John x. 38.) He does not say, believe the prophets.' For such reasons then they believed in Jesus Christ, and received him as the Son of God, and their Lord and Saviour.

XXI. The Manichees believed Jesus Christ to be God, but not man. They believed him to be God truly, man in appearance only.

Turbo, once disciple of Mani, in The Acts of Archelaus, represents his master's opinion upon that head in this manner: 'The [m] Son of God came and took the form of a man. He 'appeared to men as a man, though he was not a man, and they took him for a man born.

In the same work Mani is brought in saying, that '[n] Jesus appeared indeed in the form of a 'man, but yet was not a man.'

Ancient catholic authors often take notice of this opinion of theirs, and represent it after this manner.

Augustine in his summary account of their principles says, 'they [o] deny the real flesh of 'Christ, and affirm that he had only the appearance of flesh: and that neither his death nor his 'resurrection was real.' In another place, that 'they [p] believed not a real, but only a seeming 'imaginary death of Christ, and no nativity at all, not so much as in appearance.'

In another place Augustine says, 'they [q] do not deny our Lord Jesus Christ to be God, but 'they pretend that he appeared to men without taking the human nature.'

Theodoret's account is, 'they [r] say that Christ took neither soul nor body, but appeared as

[a] Ερω δε ὑμιν και τουτο, πως μεταγγιζεται ἡ ψυχη εις πεντε σωματα. Ap. Arch. n. 9. in. Vid. et Epiph. H. 66. c. 28. in.

[b] Vid. supr. not. [m]

[c] —— αχρις αν το πυρ καταναλωση τον κοσμον ὁλον, εν ποσοις ποτε ετεσιν, ὡν ουκ εμαθον την ποσοτητα. Ap. Arch. c. xi. p. 22.

[d] T. 2. p. 580.

[e] Manichæi, resurrectionem abnegantes, contra Christianos jejunium luctumque in die dominico faciunt, aientes, in ipso die fore ut hoc seculum subeat interitum dissolutionemque omnem post circulum novem millium annorum. Ap. Assem. Bib. Or. Gr. T. 3. P. 2. p. 361.

[f] See p. 176.

[g] Alioquin nihil eos de Christo prophetâsse, abunde jam parentum libris ostensum est. Faust. l. 12. Conf. l. 13. in. Quia omnem, ut dixi, Möyseos scripturam scrutatus, nullas ibi de Christo prophetias inveni. Id. l. 16. c. 3.

[h] Quomodo Christum colitis, prophetas repudiantes, quorum ex presagiis accipitur fuisse venturum?——Porro autem nos naturâ Gentiles sumus——non ante effecti Judæi, ut merito Hebræorum sequeremur fidem, euntes ad Christianismum; sed solâ exciti famâ, et virtutum opinione, atque sapientiâ liberatoris nostri Christi Jesu. Id. l. 13.

[i] —— quis fidelior vobis esse testis debet, quam Deus ipse de Filio suo, qui non per vatem, nec per interpretem, sed ultro cœlitus eruptâ voce, cum eum mitteret ad terram, dixit: Hic est Filius meus delectissimus: credite illi. Id. l. 12.

[k] Nec non et ipse de se: A Patre meo processi, et veni in hunc mundum; atque multa alia hujusmodi. Ib.

[l] Ad hæc et opera ipsa sua sibi in testimonium vocat: Si mihi non creditis, dicens, operibus credite. Non dixit, si mihi non creditis, prophetis credite. ibid.

[m] Και ελθων ὁ υἱος μετεσχηματισεν ἑαυτον εις ανθρωπε ειδος, και εφαινετο τοις ανθρωποις ὡς ανθρωπος, μη ων ανθρωπος· και οἱ ανθρωποι ὑπελαμβανον αυτον γεγεννησθαι. Ap. Arch. c. 8. p. 12.

[n] Sicut vos Jesus ostendit, qui apparuit quidem in hominis specie, nec tamen fuit homo. Ap. Arch. n. 47. p. 85.

[o] Nec fuisse in carne verâ, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse, ubi non solum mortem, verum etiam resurrectionem similiter mentiretur. De H. c. 46.

[p] Cur ipsi mortem non veram, sed imaginariam Christi affirmant; nativitatem autem non saltem talem, sed prorsus nullam delegerunt? Contr. Faust. l. 29. c. 3.

[q] —— cum ipsi dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Deum esse non negent, et sine assumtione humani corporis eum hominibus apparuisse confingant. Aug. Serm. 12. [al. de diversis 16.] cap. 8.

[r] Τον δε κυριον ουτε ψυχην ανειληφεναι φασιν, ουτε σωμα, αλλα φαινηναι ὡς ανθρωπον, και ουδεν ανθρωπινον εχοντα· και

'a man, though he had nothing human; and that his cross, passion, and death, were in appear-'ance only.'

Athanasius says the [a] Manichees deny that the Word was made flesh. Again, they [b] do not believe our Lord's incarnation and humanity.

Ambrose says they [c] did not believe that Christ came in the flesh.

Jerom speaks of [d] their allowing the salvation of the soul only, and saying that both the birth and the resurrection of Christ were in appearance only: and therefore we cannot form an argument for the resurrection of our bodies from his resurrection, because he rose in appearance only.

So say the catholics. Let us now observe the Manichees themselves, that we may judge whether they have been misrepresented.

It is plain that, according to them, Jesus was pure deity. The catholics argued that Christ had been foretold in the books of Moses, particularly in Deut. xviii. 18; "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee: him shall ye hear." How does Faustus answer that argument? It is in this manner: 'That [e] this does not belong to Christ, any one 'may see: for Christ is not a prophet, nor a prophet like unto Moses. Moses was a man, Christ 'is God. He was a sinner, Christ holy. He was born in the ordinary way; Christ, according 'to you was born of a virgin, according to me not at all.——How then can he be a prophet like 'unto Moses?'

Faustus often denies Christ's [f] nativity: and again and again insists upon the impropriety that [g] God, and the God of the Christians too, should be born.

They pretended that it was dishonourable for Christ to be born of a woman. This argument is taken notice of in The Acts of [h] Archelaus.

It is easy to suppose that the catholic Christians put these people in mind of those texts of the New Testament, where [i] Jesus is said to be the son of David, of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and the like: to which, however, they gave answers, such as they are.

The Manichees argued from the first chapter of St. John's gospel. ver. 5; "And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." The light is the Word, or the divine nature: the darkness, according to them, is the flesh, or matter, the evil substance. The light shined in the darkness, but the darkness could not touch, seize, lay hold of the light: nor indeed would the light touch the darkness, or suffer itself to be touched by it. This thought is in a fragment of one of Mani's [k] letters.

And this leads us to think that this notion was chiefly owing to their doctrine of two principles. Believing matter, of which the body is formed, to be evil in itself, they could not allow a divine person to be united to the human nature; and [l] therefore they pretended that our Lord had only the appearance of flesh without the reality.

τον σαυρον δε, και το παθος, και τον θανατον, φαντασια γενεσθαι. Tht. Ht. Fab. T. 4. p. 213, 214.

[a] ——— αρνηνται το, ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο. Ath. Or. i. contr. Arian. p. 457. D.

[b] Οὑτω δε Μανιχαιος απιστησας τη σαρκωσει και ενανθρωπησει τυ κυριυ. Contr. Apoll. l. i. p. 939. D.

[c] ——— Cum Manichæus adoraverit, quem in carne venisse non credidit. Ambr. de Fid. l. 5. c. 14. T. 2. p. 583. E.

[d] Hæreticos vero, in quorum parte sunt Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus, Manes, Nomen insaniæ, penitus et carnis et corporis resurrectionem negare, et salutem tantum tribuere animæ; frustraque nos dicere ad exemplum Domini resurrecturos, quum ipse quoque Dominus in phantasmate resurrexerit; et non solum resurrectio ejus, sed et ipsa nativitas τω δοκειν, id est, putative, visa magis sit quam fuerit. Hier. ad Pamm. Ep. 38. [al. 61] T. 4. p. 320. m.

[e] —— Sed hoc quidem ad Christum minime spectare, nec Judæum latet, nec nobis sic credere conducibile est: quia non propheta Christus, nec Moysi similis propheta: siquidem ille fuerit homo, hic Deus; ille peccator, hic sanctus; ille ex coitu natus, hic secundum te ex virgine, secundum me vero nec ex virgine. Faust. l. 16. c. 4.

[f] Accipis evangelium? Et maxime. Proinde ergo et natum accipis Christum? Non ita est. Neque enim sequitur, ut, si evangelium accipio, idcirco et natum accipiam Christum. Faust. l. 2. in.

[g] Accipis ergo generationem? Equidem conatus diu sum hoc ipsum, qualecumque est, persuadere mihi, quia sit natus Deus. ——Quamvis nec sic quidem dignum erit ex utero natum credere Deum, et Deum Christianorum. Id. l. 3. in. et fin. Sed non, inquit, accipere evangelium hoc solum est, si quod præcepit facias: sed ut etiam credas omnibus quæ in eodem scripta sunt, quorum primum est illud, quia sit natus Deus. Id. l. 5. c. 2.

[h] Ergo non putas, eum ex Mariâ virgine esse? 'Manes dixit:' Absit, ut Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum per naturalia pudenda mulieris descendisse confitear. ap. Arch. c. 47. p. 85. Vid. et cap. 5. p. 8.

[i] Apostolum accipis? Et maxime. Cur ergo non credis Filium Dei, ex semine David, natum secundum carnem?—— Faust. l. xi. in

[k] Μια τε φωτος εστιν απλη και αληθης ἡ φυσις, και μια αυτε ἡ ενεργεια· το φως γαρ εν τη σκοτια φαινει, και ἡ σκοτια αυτο εκ ελαβεν· ε γαρ εσιας ἡψατο σαρκος, αλλ' ὁμοιωματι και σχηματι σαρκος εσκιασθη, ἱνα μη κρατηθη, δια της σαρκος, και ωαθη, και φθαρθη, της σκοτιας φθειρυσης αυτε την ενεργειαν της ζωτεινην. Manet. Ep. Zeben. ap. Fabric. B. Gr. T. v. p. 284.

[l] See Beaus. T. i. p. 378.

They said that [a] Christ came directly from heaven. They argued this from all those texts where [b] our Lord speaks of his coming from the Father, being sent by the Father, and the like.

They argued likewise that our Lord was not born of a woman, because [c] when some weak people, as they call them, told him his mother and his brethren stood without, he answered, "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?" Matth. xii. 47, 48. This text was often insisted on by them; and their argument is handsomely answered by [d] Jerom. Indeed, any men, not under the bias of some prejudice, might perceive that our Lord does not here disown any earthly relations; but, preserving a due affection for them, he declares that he considered every truly good man and woman as his mother, his brother, and sister; that is, all such were dear to him. And he teaches us not to suffer ourselves to be diverted from any important service by the unseasonable importunities of earthly friends and relatives. Augustine observes they [e] might as well argue that the disciples had no earthly fathers, because Christ says to them: "Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven." Matt. xxiii. 9.

As they were greatly pressed by the catholic argument from the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, they endeavoured to evade it many ways. Sometimes they disputed [f] the genuineness of those genealogies, and [g] they insisted upon the differences and seeming contrarieties in them, as recorded by those two evangelists. They likewise argued that [h] they were contrary to all those declarations of Christ, where he disowned all earthly kindred, and said he came from heaven, and was not of this world.

They argued from Christ's escape from the Jews, when they would have stoned him: see John viii. 59. This argument is in Mani himself: 'By [i] that escape,' he says, 'Christ shewed 'his essence, and that he was the Son of the true light: he went away from them without being 'seen. The immaterial form was not visible, nor tangible, though there was the appearance of 'flesh. For what is material can have no communion with an immaterial substance, though this 'appear in the form of flesh.' It is likely that [k] here is a reference to those words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi. 14: "What communion hath light with darkness?"

They argued from our Lord's transfiguration. Mani himself in a fragment says; 'The [l] Son 'of the eternal light manifested his nature on the mount.'

In another fragment [m] Mani banters the Galileans, as he calls them, for believing two natures in Christ, not considering that the nature of light cannot be mixed with matter: 'For it is 'simple and uncompounded, and cannot be joined to matter. The supreme light, being among 'material things, shewed a body, whilst still it was one nature only.'

These, and such like arguments, had great influence upon Augustine's mind for a long time, as [n] he humbly owns.

[a] Mihi enim pium videtur dicere, quod nihil eguerit filius Dei, in eo quod adventus ejus procuratur ad terras, neque opus habuerit columbâ, neque baptismate, neque matre, neque fratribus, fortasse neque patre, qui ei secundum te fuit Josephus; sed totus ille ipse descendens, &c. Manes ap. Arch. c. 50. p. 91.

[b] Ipse enim testimonium dat, quia de sinibus Patris descendit. Et, 'qui me recipit, recipit eum qui me misit.' Et, 'non veni facere voluntatem meam, sed ejus qui misit me.' Et, 'non sum missus nisi ad oves perditas Israël.' Sunt et alia innumera testimonia hujuscemodi, quæ indicant eum venisse, non natum esse. ap. Arch. c. 47. p. 85.

[c] Manes dixit: Similis tui quidam cum ei aliquando dixisset, 'Maria mater tua,' et fratres tui foris 'stant,' non libenter accipiens, eum qui dixerat, increpavit, dicens: Quæ est mater mea, aut qui sunt fratres mei? et ostendit eos, qui facerent voluntatem suam, et matres sibi esse et fratres. ap. Arch. ib. p. 85.

[d] Non ergo juxta Marcionem et Manichæum matrem negavit, ut natus de phantasmate putaretur; sed apostolos cognationi prætulit, ut et nos in comparatione dilectionis carni spiritum præferamus. In Matt. T. 4. p. 52. f.

[e] Cujus rei exemplum præbuit prior ipse dicendo: Quæ mihi mater, aut qui fratres? Unde volunt quidam perniciosissimi hæretici asserere, non eum habuisse matrem. Nec vident esse consequens, si hæc verba attendant, ut nec discipuli ejus patres habuerint: quia sicut ipse dixit, quæ mihi mater est; sic illos docuit, cum ait: Nolite vobis dicere patrem in terris. Enarr. in Ps. ix. n. 31. T. 4.

[f] Vid. Faust. l. 2. et 7. [g] Vid. eund. l. 3.

[h] Quare non credis in genealogiam Jesu? Multæ quidem sunt causæ. Sed palmaris illa, quia nec ipse ore suo usquam se fatetur patrem habere, aut genus in terris; sed contra, quia non sit de hoc mundo, quia a Patre Deo processerit, quia descenderit de cœlo, quia non sibi sint mater et fratres, nisi qui fecerint voluntatem Patris sui qui in cœlis est. Faust. l. 7.

[i] Ιεδαιων βελομενων ποτε λιθασαι τον Χριστον,——εδειξε σαφως την αὐτε εσιαν ὁ τε ανωτατε φωτος υἱος, και μεσος αυτων διελθων ηχ ὡρατο· ἡ γαρ αὔλος μορφη συσχηματισαμενη το ειδος της σαρκος, ὁρατη μεν ην, ἐψηλαφειτο δε εδαμως, δια το μηδεμιαν εχειν κοινωνιαν την ὕλην προς το αὔλον, ει και σαρκος ωρατο μορφη. Man Ep. ad. Cudar. ap. Fabr. ib. p. 285.

[k] See Beaus. T. 2. p. 530.

[l] Ὁ δε τε αἰδιε φωτος υἱος την ἰδιαν εσιαν εν τω ὀρει εφανερωσεν. ap. Fabr. B. Gr. T. 5. p. 285.

[m] Των Γαλιλαιων δυο φυσεις ανομαζοντων εχειν τον Χριστον, πλατυν κατασχεομεν γελωτα——το δε ανωτατον φως τοις ἑαυτε συνεσιαμενον εδειξεν ἑαυτω εν τοις ὑλικοις σωματι σωμα, μια ων αὐτος φυσις το παν. ap. Fabr. ib.

[n] Ipsum quoque salvatorem nostrum unigenitum tuum, tamquam de massâ lucidissimæ molis tuæ porrectum ad nostram salutem, ita putabam.——Talem itaque naturam ejus nasci non posse de Mariâ virgine arbitrabar, nisi carni concerneretur. Concerni enim et non inquinari non videbam, quod

Farther, we find Faustus arguing from [a] our Saviour's escape at Nazareth, when the people would have cast him down from the brow of the hill; or, as he says, when they did so, and yet he escaped.

And to prove that Jesus was man in appearance only, they [b] referred to those words in Philip ii. 8. "And was found in fashion as a man."

Whereas it was objected to them that [c] if Jesus had not been born, and had not an human body, he could not have been seen or heard by men: they answered that angels had been seen, and had conversed with men, though they had not human bodies.

XXII. As the Manichees did not believe that Christ was born, or had a true body, so neither did they believe that he was really crucified, or that he died. They did not deny [d] that he was apprehended by the Jews, and so far as in them lay, fastened to the cross, and that he seemed to die: but they did not allow that he really died.

So Faustus says without any hesitation or ambiguity: 'We [e] own that he suffered in appear-'ance, but he did not really die.' Again: 'It [f] is our opinion that Jesus did not die.' He likewise says: 'As [g] from the beginning, having taken the likeness of man, he appeared to have all 'the infirmities of the human state; so, at the conclusion of his transaction here, it was not 'improper that he should seem to die.'

Mani himself in his fragment says: 'A [h] simple nature does not die, nor is an appearance of flesh crucified.' And [i] more to the like purpose.

Augustine [k] passeth a just censure upon their notion of a seeming death, and an imaginary, deceitful resurrection.

Nevertheless they often speak [l] of Christ's being made subject to death, buried, and raised from the dead by the power of the Father. They believed that [m] for our salvation Christ hung upon the cross. And therefore Faustus pretends to be excessively angry with Moses for that saying: "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:" Deut. xxi 23. They likewise speak [n] of our Lord's shewing the marks of his wounds for curing the unbelief of Thomas.

As the Manichees did not believe Christ to have been born, nor to have a real body, they denied his baptism, and some other facts related in the gospels. For proof of this, and likewise for farther shewing their opinion concerning our Lord's crucifixion, I shall here produce part of a passage of Faustus, which must be alleged hereafter upon another account more at large.

'We [o] reject divers other things which have been since added to the history of Christ; as 'that he was born of a woman, circumcised like a Jew, that he sacrificed like a heathen, that he 'debased himself so unworthily as to be baptised, and was then carried into the wilderness, and

mihi tale figurabam. Metuebam itaque credere in carne natum, ne credere cogerer ex carne inquinatum. Confess. l. 5. c. x. n. 20.

[a] Legitur id quoque, quod de supercilio montis jactatus aliquando a Judæis, illæsus abierit, &c. Faust. l. 26. c. 2.

[b] Sed totus ille ipse descendens semetipsum in quocumque voluit transformavit in hominem, eo pacto quo Paulus dicit, quia habitu repertus est ut homo. ap. Arch. n. 50, p. 91.

[c] Nam illud quidem, quod sæpe affirmare soletis, necessario eum esse natum, quia alias hominibus videri aut loqui non posset, ridiculum est; cum multoties, ut jam probatum a nostris est, angeli et visi hominibus et locuti esse monstrentur. Faust. l. 29, c. i. f.

[d] See Beaus. T. i. p. 228, 229.

[e] Denique nos specie tenus passum confitemur, nec vere mortuum. Faust. l. 29, c. i.

[f] Alioquin nobis nec Jesus mortuus est, nec est immortalis Elias. Id. l. 26, c. 2, f.

[g] Ut enim ab initio, sumtâ hominis similitudine, omnes humanæ conditionis simulavit affectus, sic ab re non erat, si in fine quoque consignandæ œconomiæ gratiâ, fuisset visus et mori. Id. l. 26, c. i. f.

[h] Ἁπλῆ φυσις ουκ αποθνησκει, και σκια σαρκος ουκ σταυροται. Manes ap. Fabr. T. 5, p. 284.

[i] Πως ουν επαθε μητε της κακιας κρατουμενης, μητε της ενεργειας αυτη σκοτισθεισης; Id. ibid.

[k] Sed illud est, quod magiæ simile dicimini asserere, quod passionem mortemque ejus specie tenus factam, et fallaciter dicitis adumbratam, ut mori videretur, qui non moriebatur. Ex quo fit, ut ejus quoque resurrectionem umbraticam, imaginariam, fallacemque dicatis: neque enim ejus, qui non vere mortuus est, vera resurrectio esse potest. Ita fit, ut et cicatrices discipulis dubitantibus falsas ostenderit, &c. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 29, c. 2.

[l] Hoc ergo sentimus de nobis, quod et de Christo, qui, cum in formâ Dei esset constitutus, factus est subditus usque ad mortem, ut similitudinem animarum nostrarum ostenderet. Et quemadmodum in se mortis similitudinem ostendit, et se a Patre esse de medio mortuorum resuscitatum; eo modo sentimus et de animis nostris futurum, quod per ipsum poterimus ab hac morte liberari. Fortun. Disp. i. n. 7.

[m] Quapropter et nos Moysen,——plus tamen hinc exsecramur, quod Christum filium Dei, qui nostræ salutis causâ pependit in ligno diro devotionis, convicio lacessivit.—— Ait enim maledictum esse omnem qui pendet in ligno. Faust. l. 14, c. i. in.

[n] —— cum Christus Thomam apostolum dubitantem de se aspernatus non sit, sed quo animi ejus vulneribus mederetur, corporis sui cicatrices ostendit. Faust. l. 16, c. 8.

[o] Dico autem hoc, ipsum natum ex feminâ turpiter, circumcisum judaïce, sacrificâsse gentiliter, baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deserta, et ab eo tentatum quam miserrime. His igitur exceptis, et ——credimus cætera, præcipue crucis ejus mysticam fixionem, quâ nostræ animæ passionis monstrantur vulnera. Faust. l. 32, c. 7.

'miserably tempted of the devil. Excepting these things, and the quotations of the Old Testa-'ment, which have been clandestinely inserted, we believe all the rest, and especially his mystic 'crucifixion, by which he discovers to us the wounds of our soul.'

These things need no answer. It would be waste of time to stay to confute what any one may presently perceive to be weak and absurd. I shall however add a word or two by way of explication.

In what is said of Christ's sacrificing, perhaps he refers to our Lord's keeping the passover, and to the offering made by Mary for her purification: see Luke ii. 24.

As they paid no regard to the institutions of Moses, and denied our lord to be born, or to have real flesh, it is no wonder that they excepted against the things just mentioned, and to his circumcision.

In the Acts of Archelaus, Mani is represented [a] excepting against the account of Christ's baptism, because that ordinance signified remission of sins, whereas Jesus was free from sin. But there is no just ground for that exception in the history of our Lord's baptism, as recorded by the evangelists.

As for their denying Christ's temptation, undoubtedly that is a consequence of their supposition that Christ was God and not man.

As for the mystic, figurative crucifixion, it is likely that the passages above transcribed may be of use to enable the reader to form some notion of their meaning. I likewise refer [b] to Beausobre.

Faustus does elsewhere speak of [c] a passible Jesus. And [d] Secundinus has somewhat to the like purpose: but the meaning is not obvious. I apprehend that if we had Agapius, or more of Mani's works, we might understand this, and some other things, better than we do.

Before I quit this article, I chuse to put down some observations of Beausobre which may afford useful illustrations.

'The grace of the Saviour,' says [e] he briefly, 'consists in enabling the soul to understand its 'nature, its origin, its duties, its hopes, and in giving it necessary assistances for breaking the 'chains of carnal passions.' In other places more largely: 'The [f] grace of Jesus Christ has 'several branches: but the principal is the giving the soul the knowledge of its nature and origin, 'which it had in a manner lost since its union with matter. Another branch is discovering to 'the soul the snares of the devil, the means of escaping them, and of returning to its heavenly 'country. This is what Fortunatus says to Augustine: "As [g] we sin unwillingly, and are com-'pelled by the substance which is adverse and contrary to us, we endeavour to gain the know-'ledge of things. By this knowledge the soul, recovering its first ideas, comes to understand its 'original, and its present misery. Then correcting its past faults, and practising good works, it 'obtains reconciliation with God, under the conduct of our Saviour, who teaches both what 'good things we should do, and what evil things we should avoid." 'And, as Fortunatus after-'wards adds: "It [h] is clear therefore, that repentance is given the soul since the coming of 'the Saviour, and since this knowledge of things; by which, being washed, as in a divine foun-'tain and purified from the vices and defilements of the world, which it had contracted in the 'body, it may be restored to the kingdom of God whence it came."'

XXIII. And now, since the Manichees denied that Christ really suffered, we are led to observe still more distinctly whether they thought his death to have the nature of a sacrifice, or what ends and uses his seeming death answered. Beausobre, who has written their history with

[a] Manes dixit: Ergo baptisma propter remissionem peccatorum datur? Archelaüs dixit: Etiam. Manes dixit: Ergo peccavit Christus, quia baptizatus est? Archelaüs dixit: Absit ap. Arch. c. 50, p. 94.

[b] See him T. 2, p. 546.

[c] Necnon et Spiritûs Sancti —— aëris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diversorium; cujus ex viribus ac spirituali profusione, terram quoque concipientem, gignere patibilem Jesum, qui est vita ac salus hominum, omni suspensus ex ligno. Faust. l. 20, c. 2.

[d] —— noli esse erroris lancea, quâ latus percutitur Salvatoris. Vides enim illum et in omni mundo et in omni animâ crucifixum, quæ anima nunquam habuit succensendi naturam. Secundin. ad Aug. n. 3.

[e] Beaus. T. i. p. 569, in.

[f] T. 2. p. 548, 549. See also p. 546, 547.

[g] Nam quia inviti peccamus, et cogimur a contrariâ et inimicâ nobis substantiâ, idcirco sequimur scientiam rerum. Quâ scientiâ admonita anima, et memoriæ pristinæ reddita, recognoscit ex quo originem trahat, in quo malo versetur, quibus bonis iterum emendans quod nolens peccavit, possit per emendationem delictorum suorum, bonorum operum gratiâ, meritum sibi reconciliationis apud Deum collocare, auctore Salvatore nostro, qui nos docet et bona exercere, et mala fugere. Fortunat. Disp. 2, n. 20.

[h] Unde patet recte esse pœnitentiam datam post adventum salvatoris, et post hanc scientiam rerum, quâ possit anima, acsi divino fonte lota, de sordibus et vitiis tam mundi totius, quam corporum in quibus eadem anima versatur, regno Dei, unde progressa est, repræsentari. ib. n. 21.

great care, and nicely examined their opinions, speaks to this point more than once; and his words are very remarkable.

'The Manichees,' says[a] he, 'had no temples, for they had no idols.——Nor had they any 'altars, because they had no sacrifice, no not that which the ancient church called the sacrifice 'of commemoration. For they did not believe that Jesus Christ really suffered, nor consequently 'that his death was a true sacrifice. The eucharist with them was only a ceremony of thanksgiving in memory of the mystic crucifixion of our Saviour. That crucifixion, according to them, 'had only moral views.'

Again: 'The[b] Manichees, as they ascribed little to faith, ascribed a great deal to good works, 'which they considered as an essential and absolutely necessary condition of salvation. They 'had not the same notion of the death of Christ that we have. According to us, it is an offering made to God for the expiation of the sins of men: according to them, it is only an act of 'sublime virtue, the end of[c] which is, on the one hand, to teach men not to fear death, and to 'crucify the flesh; and on the other hand to assure them of the immortality, of which Christ has 'given them a pattern in his resurrection.'

And, after quoting the passages of Fortunatus transcribed above,[d] the same learned author says: 'It[e] hence appears that the Manichees ascribed the salvation of the soul to the doctrine 'of the Saviour. They could not ascribe it in any manner to the virtue of his blood, or of his 'sacrifice; forasmuch as they did not believe that he had blood, or that he made himself a sacrifice. All the efficacy of the ministry of Christ consisted in the power of his doctrine supported 'by his miracles.' He then adds, 'he cannot certainly say how they explained those texts of 'scripture which speak of our being redeemed by the blood of Christ: but perhaps they thereby 'meant his doctrine, an explication which he has met with in so ancient and venerable a writer 'as[f] Clement of Alexandria.'

SECT. V.

THEIR WORSHIP.

I. *Its simplicity.* II. *Their public worship; prayers, reading the scriptures, with discourses.* III. *Their baptism, and eucharist.* IV. *They observed the Lord's-day:* V. *And Easter, and Pentecost, and the anniversary of Mani's martyrdom.* VI. *Their discipline.*

I. It is now proper to take some notice of their worship.

Here a fine passage of Faustus offers itself. He is shewing the difference between his sect and heathens: 'They[g] think that God is to be worshipped with altars, victims, chapels, images, 'incense. I, if I might be worthy, would esteem myself a reasonable temple of God. Christ, 'his son, I receive as a living image of the living God. His altar is my mind, cultivated with 'care, and endowed with knowledge and just sentiments. The honours and sacrifices which I 'present to the Deity, are prayers, and those pure and simple.'

So Faustus. And Beausobre supposeth that[h] their worship was generally simple and plain,

[a] T. 2, p. 703, 704. [b] Ibid. p. 794, m.

[c] See more to the same purpose, ib. p. 546.

[d] See notes [g] and [h] p. 204.

[e] Beaus. T. 2, p. 549.

[f] 'Et sanguis filii ejus mundat nos.' Doctrina quippe Domini, quæ valde fortis est, sanguis ejus appellata est. Clem. Adumbr. in Ep. i. Joan. p. 1009. ed. Pott. Αγοραζει δε ήμας κυριος τιμιω αἱματι, δεσποτων παλαι των πικρων απαλλαττων ἁμαρτιων, δι' ἁς τα πνευματικα της πονηριας εκυριευσεν ήμων. Id. in Ecl. p. 994, n. 20.

[g] Item Pagani aris, delubris, simulacris, victimis, atque incenso, Deum colendum putant. Ego ab his in hoc quoque multum diversus incedo, qui ipsum me, si modo sim dignus, rationabile Dei templum puto. Vivum vivæ majestatis simulacrum Christum Filium ejus accipio: aram, mentem bonis artibus et disciplinis imbutam. Honores quoque divinos ac sacrificia in solis orationibus, et ipsis puris ac simplicibus, pono. Faust. l. 20, c. 3.

[h] A l'égard de la pompe, je ne suis point surpris qu'il n'y en eût pas dans la fête d' une secte séparée de l'église dès le iii. siècle, lorsque le culte étoit encore assez simple, et qui étoit persécutée par-tout. T. 2, p. 711, in. See him also, p. 700—705.

like that of a sect that arose and separated from the catholics in the third century, and was always persecuted.

II. They had public worship where [a] prayers were performed, at which all were present, auditors as well as elect: for Augustine, who never entered into the higher order, was present at them.

Prayer was a religious exercise, in which they were often engaged, either publicly or privately, both by night and by day. This may be argued from what Augustine [b] said of the different points of the heavens, to which they turned themselves in praying, whether in the day time or night season: not now to mention any other proofs of this.

They read the scriptures in their public assemblies. I suppose this may be inferred from a passage of Augustine, where [c] he speaks of their admiring and reading the epistles of the apostles: and from another place, where [d] he speaks of their reading, commending and respecting the epistles of the apostle Paul; of which they gave wrong interpretations, and thereby deceived many.

Mani's epistle of the Foundation [e] was read in their assemblies, [f] as divers pieces, beside canonical scripture, were often read among other antient Christians.

It is likely that they also had discourses, explaining the principles of religion, and exhorting to the practice of virtue. For whilst Augustine was among them, he observed that [g] they earnestly warned men against sensuality, ambition, and such other faults.

III. They observed the Christian appointments of baptism and the eucharist. Felix, in his dispute with Augustine, mentions [h] both these ordinances, as usual among them.

They practised infant baptism. This appears both from [i] Faustus and [k] Mani himself. They both speak of it as common among Christians; and they shew their approbation of it.

They baptized into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as we learn from [l] Athanasius.

Jerom [m] speaks of the Manichæan baptism.

I only add, Augustine says that [n] the Manichees, in that respect differing from the Pelagians, say infants have need of a Saviour on account of the corruption which the sin of the first man transmits unto them.

They had the eucharist frequently, as [o] Augustine knew very well, though he never was present at it.

They communicated in both kinds. As much may be inferred from the infamous story of their eucharist, formerly taken notice of. But, as the elect might not drink, it [p] is doubtful what liquor they made use of; whether pure water, or water with raisins, or somewhat else, steeped in it. Beausobre is inclined to think that [q] they made use of pure water; therein following the example of some other sects more ancient than themselves. So it may be; I do not deny it. But I almost wonder that Beausobre did not here recollect what Augustine writes of the diet of the elect, which he himself also has given a distinct account of [r] elsewhere. For, if Augustine may be relied upon, and has been guilty of no misrepresentation, the elect, though

[a] Nósti autem me non Electum vestrum, sed Auditorem fuisse. Itaque, quamvis et orationi vestræ interfuerim, et interrogastis. &c Disp. contr. Fortun. i. n. 3

[b] See before, p 189.

[c] Et tamen epistolas apostolorum, quibus hæc omnia contestantur, tenetis, legitis, prædicatis. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 12. c 24

[d] Certe et ipsi Manichæi legunt apostolum Paulum, et laudant et honorant, et ejus epistolas male interpretando multos decipiunt. Id. de Genesi l. i c. 2. n. 3.

Ipsa enim nobis illo tempore miseris quando lecta est, illuminati dicebamur a vobis. Contr. Ep. Fund. c. v. n. 6.

See Vol. i. of this work, p. 291. 202—305.

[e] Neque hoc eorum doctrinæ tribuo: fateor enim et illos sedulo monere, ut ista caveantur De Ut. Cred. c i. n. 3.

[f] Si adversarius nullus contra Deum est, ut quid baptizati sumus? ut quid eucharistia? ut quid Christianitas, si contra Deum nihil est? Act. cum Fel. c. 19. ap. Aug. T. 8

[g] Unde etiam omnis religio, et maxime Christiana, ad sacramentum rudes infantes appellat? Faust. l. 24, c. 1.

[h] Qui his verbis mihi interrogandi sunt: Si omne malum actuale est, antequam malum quispiam agat, quare accipit purificationem aquæ, cum nullum malum egerit per se? Aut si nec dum egit, et purificandus est, licet [al. liquet,] eos naturaliter malæ stirpis pullulationem ostendere. Manet. Ep. ap. Aug. op. Imp. l. 3, c. 187.

[i] Οὕτω Μανιχαῖοι, καὶ Φρυγες, καὶ οἱ τῦ Σαμοσατεως μαθηται, τα ονοματα λεγοντες, θεὸν ἧττον εἰσιν αἱρετικοι. Or. 2, contr. Ar. n 43, p. 510, E.

[k] Diaconus eras, —— et a Manichæis baptizatos recipiebas. Hier. contr. Lucifer. T. 4, P. 2, p. 305, m.

[l] —— quod non vult Manichæus; ut tamen propter vitium, quod in eos per peccatum primi hominis pertransiit, fateatur et parvulis necessarium salvatorem, quod non vult Pelagius. Contr. duas Ep. Pelag. c. 4. n. 3, T. 10.

[m] Nam et eucharistiam audivi a vobis sæpe quod accipiatis. Tempus autem cum me lateret, quid accipiatis, unde nósse potui? Contr. Fort. Disp. i. n. 3.

[n] B. T. 2, p. 721. [o] ib. p. 723.

Ib. 774, 775.

[p] —— bibat autem mulsum, carœnum passum, et nonnullorum pomorum expressos succos, vini speciem satis imi-

forbidden the use of wine, did sometimes drink beer, cyder, and a sort of boiled wine, or liquor resembling wine.

In the time of pope Leo, called the great, the people of this sect at Rome, the better to conceal themselves and avoid the severity of the laws, communicated with the catholics. They[a] received the bread, but they avoided the cup as much as possible; because, as I suppose, they scrupled to taste wine.

IV. The Manichees observed the Lord's day, but fasted upon it, auditors as well as elect. This is taken notice of by [b] Augustine, [c] Ambrose, [d] Leo, just quoted. Ebedjesu, cited by Asseman, gives this reason of that practice: 'They [e] expected the coming of Christ on that day.' Which leads Beausobre to say, they [f] then meditated upon the last coming of Christ, at the end of this inferior world which we inhabit. Supposing that the conflagration and dissolution of our earth would happen on a Lord's-day, and not knowing which, they ever passed that day in fasting and prayer, that the Lord, when he came, might find them in the exercise of humiliation and repentance.

V. The Manichees, or however those of Africa, kept Easter, as we learn from [g] Augustine; who only blames them that they did not keep it with sufficient solemnity.

Beausobre supposes that [h] there is no good reason to doubt of their keeping the feast of Pentecost.

In the month [i] of March, and therefore usually about the time of Easter, they celebrated the anniversary of the martyrdom of Mani, which was called Bema, or the master's chair.

VI. Their ecclesiastical constitution we [k] saw formerly, in the passage of Augustine concerning their elect and auditors.

It is likely they had also some ecclesiastical discipline, and that censures of their church were pronounced upon bad livers. This is supposed in a story told by Augustine of an indecency committed by some of the elect, whilst he was of that sect. He says, that [l] he and others were offended, and expected that the men should have been excommunicated, or at least sharply reproved; but, as it seems, little notice was taken of the matter. The excuse they made was, that their assemblies were then prohibited by the laws, and therefore some inconvenience might happen, if their principal men were disobliged. He argues with them, as [m] if an elect would be degraded for eating the smallest bit of flesh.

tantes.—De Mor. Manich. c. 13, n. 29. Hordei quidam succo vinum imitantur, quod movendo fit optimum. Sane, quod minime prætereundum est, hoc genus potûs citissime inebriat. Nec tamen unquam succum hordei fel principum esse dixistis. id. cap. 16, n 46.—— et carœnum, quod bibitis, nihil aliud quam coctum vinum esse videamus. ib. n. 47. Conf. c. 13, n. 30.

[a] Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audent interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tutius lateant. Ore indigno corpus Christi accipiunt, sanguinem autem redemtionis nostræ haurire omnino declinant. Leo. Serm. 4. de Quadragesima.

[b] Die autem Dominico jejunare scandalum est magnum, maxime posteaquam innotuit detestabilis —— hæresis Manichæorum, qui suis auditoribus ad jejunandum istum tamquam constituerunt legitimam diem. Augustin. Ep. ad Casulan. 36, [al. 86], n. 27. Vid. ib. n. 29. Die quoque Dominico cum illis jejunant, 'auditores scilicet.' Ep. 236, [al. 74,] n. 2.

[c] Dominicâ autem jejunare non possumus, quia Manichæos etiam ob istius diei jejunium damnamus. Ambr. Ep. Ep. 23, T. 2, p. 883, n. xi.

[d] Vid. Leo. Serm. iv. de Quadrag. et passim.

[e] Manichæi, resurrectionem abnegantes, contra Christianos jejunium luctumque in die dominico faciunt, aientes, in isto die fore ut hoc seculum subeat interitum dissolutionemque omnem post circulum novem millium annorum. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 4. p. 361.

[f] B. T. 2, p. 709.

[g] Cum sæpe a vobis quærerem, illo tempore quo vos audiebam, quæ causa esset, quod Pascha Domini plerumque nullâ, interdum a paucis tepidissimâ festivitate frequentaretur, —— cum vestrum Bema, id est, diem quo Manichæus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructo tribunali, et pretiosis linteis adornatô, —— magnis honoribus prosequamini? Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 8. n. 9.

[h] See T. 2, p. 711, n. xi.

[i] Illo enim mense (Martio) Bema vestrum cum maguâ festivitate celebratis. Contr. Faust. l. 18, c. 5. Vid. not. [g]

[k] See before, p. 155, 156.

[l] —— vidimus ergo in quadrivio Carthaginis,——non unum, sed plures quam tres electos simul, post transeuntes nescio quas feminas tam petulanti gestu adhinnire.——Nos autem graviter commoti, graviter etiam questi sumus. Quis tandem hoc vindicandum, non dicam separatione ab ecclesia, sed pro magnitudine flagitii vehementi saltem objurgatione arbitratus est? Et hæc erat omnis excusatio impunitatis illorum, quôd eo tempore quo conventicula eorum lege prohiberentur, ne quid læsi proderent, metuebatur. De Mor. Manich. c. 16. n. 68, 69.

[m] Quæ ergo ratio est, vel potius amentia, de numero electorum hominem pellere, qui forte carnem valetudinis causâ, nullâ cupiditate gustaverit ——? Ita fit ut in Electis vestris esse non possit, qui proditus fuerit, non concupiscendo, sed medendo, partem aliquam cœnâsse gallinæ. De Mor. Manich. cap. 16, n. 51.

SECT. VI.

THE MANICHÆAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *A summary account of their scheme.* II. *They rejected the Old Testament.* III. *Their notion of John Baptist.* IV. *What books of the New Testament they received.* 1. *They received the New Testament in general, or the gospels, and the epistles of St. Paul.* 2. *What they said of St. Matthew's gospel.* 3. *Whether they received the Acts of the apostles?* 4. *They received St. Paul's epistles:* 5. *Particularly that to the Hebrews.* 6. *Of their receiving an epistle to the Laodiceans.* 7. *Whether they received the catholic epistles?* 8. *And the Revelation?* 9. *Probably, they received all the canonical scriptures of the New Testament.* V. *Proofs of their respect for the scriptures of the New Testament.* VI. *Of their pretence that the book of the New Testament had been corrupted and interpolated.* 1. *Passages of ancient catholic authors concerning that matter.* 2. *Passages of Faustus concerning the same.* VII. *Remarks upon the passages of Faustus.* VIII. *The Manichees vindicated from the charges of forging and interpolating scripture.* 1. *They did not forge a letter ascribed to Christ.* 2. *That they did not interpolate the books of the New Testament.* IX. *Of the apocryphal books used by them.* 1. *Augustine's definition of such books.* 2. *Proofs of their using apocryphal scriptures, and what.* 3. *An account of Leucius, a great writer of apocryphal books.* 1. *His works.* 2. *His opinions.* 3. *His time.* 4. *Remarks upon the works of Leucius, and the apocryphal books used by the Manichees.*

We are now come to the principal point, and perhaps as difficult as any, to shew what books of scripture the Manichees received, and what regard they had for them.

I. Augustine's general account is to this effect: 'They[a] say that the God who delivered the 'law by Moses, and spake in the Hebrew prophets, is not the true God, but one of the princes 'of darkness. The scriptures of the New Testament they receive, but say they are interpolated, 'taking what they like, and rejecting the rest, and preferring to them some apocryphal scriptures 'as containing the whole truth.'

Here are therefore four things to be observed by us,—their rejecting the Old Testament; what books of the New Testament they received; then in what manner they received them, or what regard they had for them; and lastly, what apocryphal books they made use of.

II. Concerning the Old Testament.

That the Manichees universally, and all along, rejected the books of the Old Testament, or the Jewish scriptures, is evident from the testimonies of almost all writers, who have taken any notice of this people.

It is intimated by[b] Serapion.

The design of the[c] third book of Titus of Bostra was to vindicate the Old Testament against their objections.

In The Acts of Archelaus it is represented as one article of Mani's doctrine that[d] the Jewish prophets were deceived by the princes of darkness: that[e] the princes of darkness spake with Moses, and the Jewish priests and prophets. Mani[f] himself is there made to speak to the same purpose, and to say that there are some things true and right inserted in the Jewish scriptures,

[a] Deum, qui legem per Moÿsen dedit, et in Hebræis prophetis locutus est, non esse verum Deum, sed unum ex principibus tenebrarum. Ipsiusque Testamenti Novi scripturas, tamquam infalsatus, ita legunt, ut quod volunt ipsi accipiant, quod nolunt rejiciant; eisque, tamquam totum verum habentes, nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt. Aug de Hær. c. 46

[b] —— μητε τον νομον τιμωντες. Serap. ap. Canis. Ant. Lect. T. i. p. 47, f. Conf. p. 54, sub fin.

[c] ὁ τριτος ὑπερ τε νομε και των προφητων ποιειται λογον, ὡς παρα τε θεε πασης της παλαιας διαθηκης ὀφεισης Tit. p. 59. ap. Canis.

[d] Περι δε των παρ' ἡμιν προφητων ἐτως λεγει· πνευμα εἰναι ασεβειας, ἠτοι ανομιας τε σκοτες. κ. λ. Ap. Arch. c. 10, p. 18.

[e] Τον δε λαλησαντα μετα Μωσεως, και των Ιεδαιων, και των ἱερεων, τον αρχοντα λεγει εἰναι τε σκοτες. Ib. cap. xi. p. 20.

[f] Sed et ea, quæ in prophetis et in lege scripta sunt, ipsi [Satanæ,] adscribenda sunt. Ipse est enim, qui in prophetis tunc locutus est — et scribere pauca quædam vera, ut per hæc etiam cætera, quæ sunt falsa, crederentur. Unde bonum nobis est ex omnibus quæ usque ad Joannem scripta sunt, nihil omnino suscipere. Ap. Arch. c. 13, p. 25. Vid. et p. 26.

that the wrong might be received, but that nothing before John the Baptist ought to be admitted as of authority.

Faustus, we may be sure, does [a] not speak with greater reverence of the God of the Jews, than other Manichees.

He says moreover, that [b] the moral precepts of the law of Moses were not revealed by him; for they are as old as the world, and are of perpetual obligation. They [c] were taught Enoch, Seth, and the other ancient patriarchs by angels, for the good government of the world. These laws Moses inserted in his two tables.

Epiphanius in his Synopsis briefly says, they [d] blaspheme the Old Testament, and the God that speaks therein. And in his long argument with them he often takes notice of [e] their disadvantageous notion of the Old Testament.

Hilary [f] speaks of their enmity to the law and the prophets.

Cyril of Jerusalem [g] takes notice of the same thing.

In Jerom, [h] Mani is frequently joined with Marcion, and others, who rejected the Old Testament.

Augustine had frequent occasion to speak of this matter, and sometimes says they [i] presumed to affirm that 'the law given by Moses was not from God, but from one of the princes of dark-'ness.' And he informs us that [k] this was one of those arguments in which they triumphed; and that they had too much success in deceiving weak people by the objections they brought against the Old Testament. Archelaus too intimates that Mani argued upon this point with much confidence, and in a specious manner, when he says he [l] thought the devil helped him. Indeed it is thought by some that [m] the ancient Christians were not able to defend the Old Testament so well as we have done in late times.

It would be tedious to mention all the Manichæan objections; I shall however take notice of some of them.

They pretended to take offence at the representations [n] given of God in the Old Testament, as if he had bodily parts and human passions; as if he was ignorant of some things, and envious, and cruel, and passionate.

Their objections against the first three chapters of the book of Genesis may be seen in [o] Faustus, and in a work of [p] Augustine, purposely written in defence of the beginning of that book.

Faustus argues, that [q] they were not Jews, but Gentiles: that they came directly to Christ,

[a] Placet ad ingluviem Judæorum dæmonis, (neque enim Dei,) nunc tauros, nunc arietes, cultris sternere? Faust. l. 18, c. 2.

[b] —— diffamatæ in gentibus, id est, ex quo mundi hujus creatura existit. Id. l. 22, c. 2.

[c] Hæc autem erant antiquitus in nationibus, ut est in promtu probare, olim promulgata per Enoch, et Seth, et cæteros eorum similes justos, quibus eadem illustres tradiderint angeli temperandæ in hominibus gratiâ feritatis. Id. l. 19. c. 3.

[d] Παλαιαν διαθηκην βλασφημουντες, και τον εν αυτη λαλησαντα θεον. Epiph. T. i. p. 605.

[e] Id. Hær. 66, c. 43, p. 656. c. 70, p. 691, et passim.

[f] Manichæus enim abrupti in improbandâ lege et prophetis furoris. Hil. de Trin. l. 6, n. 10, p. 884.

[g] Cat. 6, c. 27, p. 104.

[h] Et contrario hæretici, Marcion et Manichæus, et omnes qui veterem legem rabido ore dilaniant. Hieron. in Ecc. T. 2, p. 778, in. Non quo legem juxta Manichæum et Marcionem destruamus. Id. ad Aug. Ep. 74, [al. 89.] p. 624. m. Audiant Marcion et Manichæus, et cæteri hæretici, qui vetus laniant instrumentum. Id. in Matt. c. x. T. 4, P. i. p. 33, m. Audi Marcion, audi Manichæe; bonæ margaritæ sunt lex et prophetæ, et notitia veteris testamenti. Id. in. Matt. c. 13, p. 59, f. Aliud est damnare legem, quod Manichæus facit, aliud legi præferre evangelium, quæ apostolica doctrina est. Id. in Dial. i. adv. Pelag. T. 4, p. 503, in.

[i] Patriarchas prophetasque blasphemant. Legem per famulum Dei Moÿsen datam, non a vero Deo dicunt, sed a principe tenebrarum. Aug. Ep. 236. al. 74.

[k] Nam bene nôsti, quod reprehendentes Manichæi catholicam fidem, et maxime vetus testamentum discerpentes et dilaniantes, commovent imperitos. Id de Util. Cred. c. 2, n. 4, T. 8.

[l] Deinde cœpit dicere plurima ex Lege, multa etiam de Evangelio, et Apostolo Paulo, quæ sibi videntur esse contraria; quæ etiam cum fiduciâ dicens, nihil pertimescit. Credo, quod habeat adjutorem draconem illum, qui nobis semper inimicus est. Arch. cap. 40, p. 69.

[m] See Beaus. T. i. p. 283, &c.

[n] —— nunc ignarum futuri,——nunc ut improvidum—— nunc ut invidum et timentem, ne, si gustaret homo suus de ligno vitæ, in æternum viveret; nunc alias et appetentem sanguinis atque adipis ex omni genere sacrificiorum——nunc irascentem in alienos, nunc in suos, nunc perimentem millia hominum ob levia quidem aut nulla commissa; nunc etiam comminantem, venturum se fore cum gladio, et parciturum nemini, non justo, non peccatori. Faust. l. 22, c. 4.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Aug. de Genesi contra Manichæos. libr. iii. Tom. i.

[q] Porro autem nos naturâ Gentiles sumus,——sub aliâ nati lege,——non ante effecti Judæi, ut merito Hebraïcorum sequeremur fidem, euntes ad Christianismum.——Ita nihil, ut dixi, ecclesiæ Christianæ Hebræorum testimonia conferunt, quæ magis constat ex Gentibus quam ex Judæis. Sane si sunt aliqua, ut fama est, Sibyllæ de Christo præsagia, aut Hermetis, quem dicunt Trismegistum, aut Orphei, aliorumque in Gentilitate vatum; hæc nos aliquanto ad fidem juvare potuerunt, qui ex Gentibus efficimur Christiani, &c. Faust. l. 13, c. i.

and not by the way of Judaism. If therefore there had been, as possibly there were, Gentile prophets, they would be more profitable to them than the Jewish.

They said that,[a] whilst they were Gentiles and before they believed, the scriptures of the Old Testament were useless, because they could then be of no authority with them; and when the gospel was embraced, they were altogether needless.

They said they[b] were satisfied with the New Testament, which the Jews rejected, and that very much, out of too great a regard for the Old.

They found fault with[c] the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians by the order of Moses.

The appointment of sacrifices, such as those in the law of Moses, they pretended was unworthy of God, and therefore was not from him, but from some evil beings. This way of arguing is ascribed to Mani[d] in The Acts of Archelaus, and is also made use of by[e] Faustus.

It is easy to think they[f] did not fail to expose the ordinance of circumcision, as much as they were able.

They pretended that[g] the law and the gospel were contrary to each other, and therefore they were not both from one and the same being. In the Old Testament men are encouraged by the hopes of riches, and other temporal blessings. But Jesus Christ blesseth the poor, and declareth that no man can be his disciple who forsaketh not all that he hath. This argument is put into the mouth of[h] Mani in The Acts of Archelaus: and it is with the utmost disdain that[i] Faustus speaks of the blessings promised in the Old Testament; such as riches, plenty, long life, a numerous progeny, a land flowing with milk and honey. He is fully satisfied with the spiritual blessings of the gospel. Nor would he accept of such good things as the law promiseth, if offered him. Again, says Faustus: 'Our[k] church is poor indeed, but she is married to Christ, who is 'rich; and she is contented with the estate of her husband: nor will she hold any strange cor-'respondence, or receive either presents or letters from another.'

The Manichees[l] took great liberties in reviling the patriarchs and the kings of Israel for the practice of polygamy: and they unmercifully aggravated the faults, which some good men of the Old Testament were surprised into, and misrepresented some other things. Faustus is very copious in his declamations upon these points.[m]

And Augustine tells us that[n] when he was young they would come to him, and ask, 'if he 'thought they were righteous men who had more than one wife at a time!'

[a] Hebræorum vero testimonia nobis, etiam si sint vera, ante fidem inutilia sunt, post fidem supervacua: quia ante fidem eis credere non poteramus, nec vero ex superfluo credimus. Faust. l. 13, c. i.

[b] Quare non accipis Testamentum vetus? Quia et omne vas plenum superfusa non recipit, sed effundit,——Proinde et Judæi ex præoccupatione Moÿseos Testamento veteri satiati, respuerunt novum. Id. l. 15, cap. i. in.

[c] Ibi vero Moses argentum et aurum ab Ægyptiis sumens, cum populus fugisset ex Ægypto. Jesus autem nihil proximi desiderandum præcepit. Ap. Arch. c. 40. p. 69.

[d] Ipse [Satanas] est enim, qui in prophetis tunc locutus est, plurimas eis de Deo ignorantias suggerens, et tentationes, et concupiscentias. Sed et devoratorem eum sanguinis et carnis ostendunt. Quæ omnia ad eum pertinent Satanam, et ad prophetas ejus. Ap. Arch. c. 13, p. 25.

[e] Placet ad ingluviem Judæorum dæmonis——nunc tauros, nunc arietes, nunc etiam hircos, ut non et homines dicam, cultris sternere; ac propter quod idola sumus exosi, id nunc exercere crudelius sub prophetis ac lege? Faust. l. 18, c. 2. Vid. supr. not.[n]

[f] Nam peritomen ego, ut pudendam, despui, ac, si non fallor, et tu Id. l. 6, c. i. Placet circumcidi, id est, pudendis insignire pudenda, et Deum credere sacramentis talibus delectari? Id. l. 18, c. 2.

[g] Legem Moÿsi, ut breviter dicam, dicebat hic non esse Dei boni, sed maligni principis, nec habere eam quidquam cognationis ad novam legem Christi; sed esse contrariam et inimicam, alteram alteri obsistentem. Arch. c. 40, p. 69.

[h] Dicebat ergo, quod ibi dixerit Deus, Ego divitem et pauperem facio. Hic vero Jesus beatos dicebat pauperes. Addebat etiam, quod nemo possit ejus esse discipulus, nisi renunciaret omnibus quæ haberet. Id. ib.

[i] Cur non accipis Testamentum vetus? Quia et ab ipso hoc, et ex novo didicimus, aliena non concupiscere——Divitias promittit, et ventris saturitatem, et filios et nepotes, vitamque longam, et Chananitidis regnum.—— Judæis bona sua habere, libens volensque permisi, solo scilicet evangelio, et regni cœlorum splendidâ hæreditate contentus. Faust. l. x, c. 1. Secundâ vero causa est, quod tam etiam misera ejus, et corporalis, ac longe ab animæ commodis hæreditas est, ut post beatam illam novi Testamenti pollicitationem, quæ cœlorum mihi regnum, et vitam perpetuam repromittit, etiam si gratis eam mihi testator suus ingereret, fastidirem. Id.l. 4, c. i.

[k] Et quia ecclesia nostra, sponsa Christi, pauperior quidem ei nupta, sed diviti, contenta sit bonis mariti sui, humiliumr amatorum de dignatur opes. Sordent ei Testamenti veteris et ejus auctoris munera; famæque suæ custos diligentissima, nisi sponsi sui non accipit literas. Faust. l. 15, c. i.

[l] ——soceros dormire cum nuribus, tamquam Judas; patres cum filiabus, tamquam Loth; prophetas cum fornicatricibus, tamquam Osee; maritos uxorum suarum noctes amatoribus vendere, tamquam Abraham; duabus germanis sororibus unum misceri maritum, tamquam Jacob; rectores populi, et quos maxime entheos credas, millenis et centenis volutari cum scortis, tamquam David et Salomon. Faust. l. 32, c. 4. Vid. et l. 22, c. 3, 5. l. 12, c. 1.

[m] ——ac per hoc et Judæorum patres, Abraham scilicet et Isaac et Jacob——quamquam fuerunt ipsi flagitiosissimi; ut fere Moses indicat eorum pronepos, sive quis alius historiæ ejus conditor est, quæ dicitur Geneseos, qui eorum vitas nobis odio omni fastidioque dignissimas scripsit. Faust. l. 33, c. 1.

[n] ——cum a me quærerent,——et utrum justi existimandi essent, qui haberent uxores multas simul. Confess. l. 3. c. 7, n. 12.

Jerom informs us that [a] they alleged those words of our Lord in John x. 8. "All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers." And in fact the Manichæan bishop and author, so often quoted already, fails not to insist upon [b] this text, and to apply it particularly to Moses.

Jerom represents the Manichees arguing that [c] it was allowed the law of Moses was abolished, and therefore we ought to receive the New Testament only.

The catholic Christians maintained the authority of the Old Testament, and put the Manichees in mind of divers things contained in the New; as those words of our Lord himself, Matth. v. 17: "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil."

This is in The [d] Acts of Archelaus, where Mani by way of answer says: 'Christ never spake 'those words, for it is not true that he fulfilled the law, but that he destroyed it.'

Faustus in his work likewise proposes this catholic objection, to which he gives a variety of answers, weak and trifling.

They are such as these: 'This [e] is related by Matthew only, and as spoken by Christ in his 'sermon on the mount: when he was not present, but only the first four disciples, who attended 'on him before Matthew was called. Of those disciples who were present at that sermon none 'have written a gospel but John, who says nothing of this matter. It may therefore be questioned 'whether Jesus ever spoke these words.' He also says that Matthew himself did not write this, which will be considered another time.

Then he adds, that [f] all in general are agreed that Christ came not to fulfil the law, but to destroy it.

After which [g] he comes again to the Manichæan principle, of examining and judging what is right, what not, in the scriptures, and rejecting what does not appear agreeable to truth. And he pretends that [h] if the catholics will maintain the genuineness of this text, they ought to obey all the laws of Moses, and be no longer Christians, but Jews.

Finally, he says, let [i] us consider what law is here spoken of, for there are several laws. There is the law of Moses, the law of nature, and of truth. Which last, he says, is spoken of by the apostle, Rom. viii. 2, calling it "the law of the spirit of life." And [k] there are other prophets, beside those of the Jews: and that [l] our Saviour does not here speak of their law, appears from the things he discourseth of; which are not the peculiar ordinances of the Mosaic law, but those precepts which are of eternal obligation.

The catholics put them in mind likewise of John v. 46: "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me."

To which Faustus makes divers answers: as [m] that, upon searching the writings of Moses, he

[a] —— detrahens prophetis ejus, quasi auctoritate testimonii evangelici, in quo salvator ait: Omnes, qui venerunt ante me, fures fuerunt et latrones. Hier. in Is. T. 3, p. 171.

[b] Quippe cum et ipsum dicentem audirem, fures fuisse et latrones omnes, qui venerunt ante se. Quâ sententiâ primum omnium video feriri Moÿsen. Faust. l. 16, c. 2.

[c] Manichæus nobis consurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam, et solos novi Testamenti legendos libros. Adv. Pelag. l. 2, T. 4. p. 510, m.

[d] Ego, audiens, dicebam eis sermonem evangelicum, quomodo dixit Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Non veni solvere legem, sed adimplere. Ille vero ait, nequâquam eum hunc dixisse sermonem: Cum enim ipsam inveniamus eum resolvisse legem, necesse est nos hoc potius intelligere quod fecit. Arch. c. 40, p. 69.

[e] Cur Legem non accipitis et Prophetas, cum Christus eos non se venisse solvere dixerit, sed adimplere? quis hoc testatur dixisse Jesum? Matthæus. Ubi dixisse? In monte. Quibus præsentibus? Petro, Andreâ, Jacobo, et Joanne, quatuor his tantum: cæteros enim necdum elegerat, nec ipsum Matthæum. Ex his ergo quatuor unus, id est, Joannes, Evangelium scripsit? Ita. Alicubi hoc ipse commemorat? Nusquam. Quomodo ergo, quod Joannes non testatur, qui fuit in monte, Matthæus hoc scripsit, qui longo intervallo, postquam Jesus de monte descendit, secutus est eum? Ac per hoc de hoc ipso primo ambigitur, utrum Jesus tale aliquid dixerit, quia testis idoneus tacet, loquitur autem minus idoneus; ut interim permiserimus nobis injuriam fecisse Matthæum, donec et ipsum probemus hæc non scripsisse.——— Faust. l. 17, c. 1.

[f] Uterque enim nostrûm sub hac notione Christianus est, quia Christum in destructionem legis et prophetarum venisse putavimus. l. 18, c. 1.

[g] Et tamen me quidem jam adversus capituli hujus necessitudinem Manichæa fides reddidit tutum,———Ib. c. 3, in.

[h] Nempe cogeris aut vanæ superstitioni succumbere, aut capitulum profiteri falsum, aut te Christi negare discipulum. l. 18, c. 3.

[i] Ecce jam consentio dictum.——Sunt autem legum genera tria: unum quidem Hebræorum, quod peccati et mortis Paulus appellat; aliud vero Gentium, quod naturale vocat. Tertium vero genus legis est veritas, quod perinde significans apostolus dicit, Lex enim spiritûs vitæ in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis. Id. l. 19, c. 1, 2.

[k] Item Prophetæ, alii sunt Judæorum, alii Gentium, alii veritatis. Ib. c. 2.

[l] Lege ergo tripartitâ, et tripartitis Prophetis, de quonam eorum Jesus dixerit, non satis liquet. Est tamen conjicere ex consequentibus, &c. ib. c. 3.

[m] Quare Moÿsen non accipitis, cum Christus dicat: Moÿses de me scripsit; et si crederetis Moÿsi, crederetis mihi—? Nam ego quidem scripturas ejus perscrutatus,—nullas ibidem de Christo prophetias inveni.—Unde in ingenti positus æstu, ratione cogebar in alterum e duobus; ut aut falsum pronuntiarem capitulum hoc, aut mendacem Jesum. Sed id quidem alienum pietatis erat, Deum existimare mentitum. Rectius ergo visum est, scriptoribus adscribere falsitatem, quam veritatis auctori mendacium, &c. Id. l. 16, c. i. ii.

could not find any prophecies concerning Christ. Therefore our Lord never spoke in this manner, for all his words are true. And he himself elsewhere declares, "All who were before him were thieves and robbers," particularly striking at Moses. Moreover, upon divers occasions, when he might have referred the Jews to Moses and the prophets, he only directs them to consider his miracles, and the testimony given to him from heaven by God the Father.

For all which reasons he pretends he may conclude that this paragraph is not genuine, but has been inserted by the corrupters of scripture, who have here said what is not true.

This may suffice for shewing the opinion and the arguments of the Manichees concerning the Old Testament.

III. I shall only add a word or two for shewing what they thought of John the Baptist.

Didymus of Alexandria intimates that[a] they did not admit his authority, reckoning him one of the Old Testament. And Photius says of Agapius, the Manichee, that[b] he reviled not only Moses and the prophets, but the forerunner likewise. But, in The Acts of Archelaus, Mani is said[c] to have spoken of John the Baptist as a preacher of the kingdom of heaven. Beausobre therefore concludes that[d] the Manichees received John's testimony to the divine mission of our Saviour. And indeed Didymus himself intimates, in the place before referred to, that[e] they were willing to argue from some things said by John the Baptist. Perhaps they were not all of the same opinion about him. Nor is it any great wonder that men should differ upon the question, whether John the Baptist belonged to the Old Testament or to the New.

IV. In the next place we are to consider what books of the New Testament were received by the Manichees. I shall observe the testimonies of divers authors.

1. Serapion, having said he would not insist upon matters in the Old Testament, adds: 'Since[f] they respect the gospels, my proofs shall be taken from them.' What books of the New Testament he quoted in his work against the Manichees was shewn[g] formerly.

Titus of Bostra expressly says, 'they[h] receive the gospel.' Several of his passages will be more particularly cited hereafter, when we come to observe what they said of the interpolation of the scriptures. But when Titus here says, 'they received the gospel,' he means, I think, the New Testament in general, because the gospel is there opposed to the law and the prophets.

Epiphanius says they[i] pretended that the two testaments were contrary to each other. He likewise says that 'when[k] they reject the Old Testament, many things may be alleged from the gospels and from the apostles to confute them.' They acknowledged the New Testament therefore, both the gospels, and the epistles of the apostles, as of authority.

St. Jerom's account, in the place above referred to, is, they[l] say the law is abolished, and that the books of the New Testament only are to be attended to by us.

Faustus often says that[m] he receives the gospel; meaning thereby the doctrine taught by Jesus Christ.

He says that[n] he, as well as the catholics, own Jesus to be the author of the New Testament or covenant.

He mentions[o] the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, without hinting that there were any other authentic historians of Jesus Christ.

[a] ου γαρ δεχονται τον βαπτιστην Ιωαννην, τυγχανοντα ἑνα της παλαιας γραφης. Didym. contr. Manich. p. 214.

[b] Την δε παλαιαν γραφην κωμωδει, Μωσεα και αυτον, και τους προφητας, και τον προδρομον. ——— Phot. cod. 179, p. 404.

[c] Aiebat autem, Joannem regnum cœlorum prædicare; nam et per abscissionem capitis ejus hoc esse indicatum, quod, omnibus prioribus et superioribus ejus abscissis, posteriora sola servanda sint. Arch. cap. 40, p. 70. Vid. ib. c. 13, p. 25, 26.

[d] Beaus. T. i. p. 289.

[e] Ει δε κακεινο προφεροντο, το λεχθεν ὑπο του βαπτιστου Ιωαννου ——ακριβωσαν, ὁτι ου δυνανται προφερειν αφ' ὡν μη παραδεχονται. Did. ib. p. 213, 214.

[f] Επειδη γαρ τα ευαγγελια μεμελετηται αυτοις, εκ των ευαγγελιων προηνεχθη ὁ ελεγχος. Serap. ap. Canis. T. i. p. 54, infr. m.

[g] See p. 146.

[h] Το ευαγγελιον παραδεχομενοι τον νομον ου παραδεχονται. Tit. l. 3, p. 140, f.

[i] Φασκει γαρ τας δυο διαθηκας εναντιας προς αλληλας. Hær. 66, c. 42, in.

[k] Και ποσα εστιν ειπειν δια των ευαγγελιων, και των αποστολων, εις ελεγχον της του Μανεντος μανιας —— του σωτηρος ὁμολογουντος την παλαιαν διαθηκην, ου μονον, αλλα και αυτοι αποστολοι. κ. λ. Id. H. 66, c. 43, m.

[l] ——— Manichæus nobis consurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam, et solos Novi Testamenti legendos libros. Adv. Pelag. l. 2. T. 4, p. 510.

[m] Accipis Evangelium? Et maxime. Faust. l. 2, c. 1. Accipis Evangelium? Tu me interrogas, utrum accipiam, in quo idipsum apparet, quia quæ jubet observo.———Nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod Evangelium nuncupatur. Est enim nihil aliud, quam prædicatio et mandatum Christi. Id. l. 5, c. 1.

[n] quod Novum Testamentum Jesum condidisse utrique fatemur. Id. l. 18, c. 1.

[o] Sed offensus duorum Evangelistarum maxime dissensione, qui genealogiam ejus scribunt, Lucæ et Matthæi, hæsi incertus quemnam potissimum sequerer.———Infinitâ ergo eorum prætermissâ lite,———ad Joannem Marcumque me contuli; nec impariter a duobus ad duos, et ab Evangelistis ad ejusdem nominis professores. Faust. l. 3, c. 1.

He seems to allow that John wrote the gospel under his name. For,[a] mentioning Peter and Andrew, James and John, as the first and most early disciples of Jesus, he says: 'of all these four 'John only wrote a gospel.'

In The Acts of Archelaus it is expressly said that 'Mani[b] argued from the gospel, and the 'apostle Paul;' that is, from the gospels, and from the epistles of that apostle.

Photius, in his extracts from Agapius, says that 'he[c] quoted many passages of the divine 'gospel, and the epistles of the divine Paul.'

Augustine speaks of[d] their using the four gospels, and the epistles of Paul; and frequently of their[e] approving or[f] admitting the authority of the gospel and the apostle.

2. With regard to St. Matthew's gospel, Faustus has disputed its genuineness. He is answering the catholic argument for the authority of the Old Testament, taken from the words of our Lord in Matt. v. 17: and, among other things, he says that[g] Matthew did not write this: and that he is not the author of the gospel under his name may be concluded from what is said Matt. ix. 9. "And as Jesus passed forth from thence he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom; and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him." Faustus argues, that if Matthew were the writer he would have said: 'Jesus saw me, and called 'me, and I arose and followed him.' But certainly this argument is unworthy of a man of learning and consideration. The weakness of it is evident from many texts of the gospels not disputed by the Manichees. In John iii. 16, our Lord himself says: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish." John the evangelist speaks of himself in the third person several times: see John xix. 26. xx. 2. xxi. 7. 20. It is a common thing for Josephus, the Jewish historian, to[h] speak of himself after the like manner. And does not every one perceive that Matthew out of modesty might decline to speak of himself in the first person upon that occasion? Augustine has fully answered[i] this objection: and I have transcribed a part of what he says in the margin, for the satisfaction of inquisitive readers.

Not to add, what is also well observed by Augustine elsewhere, that[k] it is a vain imagination to think by such trifling objections to overthrow the authority of a gospel so fully established as that of St. Matthew.

3. Augustine often intimates that the Manichees rejected the Acts of the apostles. He sometimes speaks as if their aversion to that book was very great, and they could scarce endure the mention of it. I have already cited several of his passages relating to this matter. To them[l] the reader is referred, and I entreat him to cast an eye upon them, though I add here[m] one or two more.

[a] Quibus præsentibus? Petro, Andreâ, Jacobo, et Joanne. ——Ex his quatuor unus, id est, Joannes, Evangelium scripsit? Ita. Faust. l. 17, c. i.

[b] Deinde cœpit dicere plurima ex Lege, multa etiam de Evangelio, et Apostolo Paulo, quæ sibi videntur esse contraria. Arch. c. 40, p. 69.

[c] —— αποσπαρασσων δε ῥητα τινα τῃ θειᾳ ευαγγελιῳ, και επιστολων τῃ θειῳ Παυλῳ, πειραται ξρεῖλιν αυτα, και ωρις την οικειαν δυσσεβειαν ἑλκειν. Ph. Cod. 179, p. 405.

[d] —— Aut si talis oratio impudens est, sicuti est, cur in Pauli Epistolis, cur in quatuor Evangelii libris ea valere aliquid putant——? De Util. Cred. cap. 3, n. 7.

[e] Nam quæro ab eis, utrum bonum sit delectari lectione Apostoli,——et utrum bonum sit Evangelium disserere? Respondebunt ad singula: Bonum est. Conf. l. 8, c. x. p. 24.

[f] Videamus, quemadmodum ipse Dominus in Evangelio nobis præceperit esse vivendum; quomodo etiam Paulus Apostolus. Has enim scripturas illi condemnare non audent. De M. E. C. c. 7, n. 13, in.

[g] —— ut interim permiserimus nobis injuriam fecisse Matthæum, donec et ipsum probemus hæc non scripsisse, sed alium nescio quem, sub nomine ejus: quod decet et ipsa lectionis ejusdem Matthæi obliqua narratio. Quid enim dicit? Et cum transiret Jesus, vidit hominem sedentem ad telonium, nomine Matthæum, et vocavit eum. At ille confestim surgens, secutus est eum. Et quis ergo de se ipso scribens, dicat, Vidit hominem, et vocavit eum, et secutus est eum: ac non potius dicat, Vidit me, et vocavit me, et secutus sum: nisi quia constat hæc Matthæum non scripsisse, sed alium nescio quem sub ejus nomine? &c. Id. l. 17, c. 1.

[h] Vid. Joseph. de B. J. l. 2, c. 20, n. 4, 5, et passim.

[i] Sed non usque adeo imperitum putaverim, ut nec legerit, nec audierit, solere scriptores rerum gestarum, cum in suam personam venerint, ita se contexere tamquam de alio narrant, quod de se narrant. Contr. Faust. l. 17, c. 4.

[k] —— qui etiam de Evangelico [al. Evangelio,] tantæ auctoritatis culmine omnibus noto, mentiri sic audet, ut non Matthæum, ne apostolici nominis pondere comprimatur, sed nescio quem alium sub Matthæi nomine, velit putari scripsisse de Christo, quod non vult credere, et quod calumniosâ versutiâ refutare conatur. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 23, c. 6.

[l] See before, p. 182, 183.

[m] Quâ potestate Petrus apostolus usus est in eo libro quem isti non accipiunt, quoniam manifeste continet Paracleti adventum, id est, conslatoris Sancti Spiritûs.——Contr. Adim, c. 17, n. 5. Quod non solum in Actibus Apostolorum canonicis, quos isti non accipiunt, ne de adventu veri Paracleti, quem promisit Dominus, convineantur, evidenter apparet. Contr. Faust. l. 19, c. 31. Deinde Paracletum sicut promissum legimus in iis libris, quorum non omnia vultis accipere; ita et missum legimus in eo libro, quem nominare etiam formidatis. In Actibus quippe Apostolorum——apertissime legitur missus die Pentecostes Spiritus Sanctus. ib. l. 32, c. 15.

In one place he may be understood to say that[a] some of the Manichees reject this book. Perhaps others may interpret the place differently. But I have accidentally observed that[b] the composer of the general index in the Benedictine edition of Augustine's works did not understand him to say 'certain people called Manichees,' but 'some of the Manichees.'

And indeed I question whether the Manichees did all, and always, reject the book of the Acts as they did the scriptures of the Old Testament.

For, first, I do not see any reason they had to reject the Acts any more than the gospels, or other books of the New Testament. Augustine himself says that[c] in other books of the New Testament there are like things to those in the Acts: and that as they pretended other books of the New Testament were interpolated, they might have said the same of this likewise. That indeed, as he observes, would have been a groundless and impudent assertion: but if that had been what they chose to say of this book, it would have been no more unreasonable than their saying it of the rest; for there were not here more things contrary to their opinions, than in the other books which they did receive.

Secondly, I have observed that several Greek writers of the fourth century, or thereabouts, in their disputes with the Manichees, cite this book as if it was received by them.

The Acts are quoted in The Dispute of[d] Archelaus.

Serapion having alleged the history in 2 Kings xiii, 21, adds: 'But[e] if they pay no regard 'to these things, and despise the law, let them however hearken to what is said of sick people 'being healed by the very shadow of Peter's body, and let that fill them with confusion:' where he plainly refers to Acts v. 15.

Titus of Bostra argues with them out of the Acts. The Manichees pretended that the dispensation of the law was cruel and unmerciful. They excepted against Elisha's cursing the children, which presently afterwards were devoured by two bears: and against Elijah's calling for fire from heaven to consume the captains with their men, sent to him from the king of Israel. Whereupon Titus answers: 'If[f] they condemn these actions as evil, what will they say of Paul, 'when observing that Barjesus, who was with the proconsul Sergius Paulus, strove to turn him 'from the truth, he deprived him of eyesight, and said: "O full of all subtilty?"' and what follows: Acts xiii. 10. He likewise adds: 'And[g] what will they say of Peter, who, when Ananias 'and Sapphira brought a part only of the price of what they had sold, and he had convicted them 'of lying, struck Ananias dead, and afterwards delivered Sapphira to the same grave?' Upon these instances Titus proceeds to argue a great deal, without any suspicion of their contesting the credit and authority of the book whence they are taken.

Epiphanius,[h] in his argument with the Manichees, quotes the Acts of the apostles several times.

Didymus of Alexandria likewise, in his short tract against them, expressly quotes[i] the same book for a part of the history of St. Stephen.

All this seems sufficient to render it probable that the Manichees did not always, and every where, reject the Acts of the apostles: if they had so done, Archelaus, or Serapion, or Titus, or Epiphanius, or Didymus, must have known it, and would have taken some notice of it.

We have therefore Augustine's single testimony alone against them upon this head; which can affect only the Manichees of his time in Africa, if it be valid so far.

I do not recollect that Faustus has any thing which can afford us much light. He has

[a] Nam quidam Manichæi canonicum librum, cujus titulus est Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Aug. ad Ceret. Ep. 237, [al. 253], n. 7. Vid. supra. 183, not. [a]

[b] See the general Index in the word Manichæi ——— ex eis quidam Actus Apostolorum repudiant. 2. Tom. Ep. 237.

[c] Hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui Actus Apostolorum inscribitur. Quod eorum consilium cum mecum ipse pertracto, nequeo satis mirari. ———Tanta enim liber iste habet, quæ similia sunt his quæ accipiunt, ut magnæ stultitiæ mihi videatur, non et hunc accipere, et, si quid ibi eos offendit, falsum atque immissum dicere. Aut si talis oratio impudens est, sicuti est, cur in Pauli Epistolis, cur in quatuor Evangelii libris, ea valere aliquid putant, in quibus haud scio an multo plura sint proportione, quam in illo libro esse potuerunt, quæ a corruptoribus interjecta credi volunt? De Ut. Cred. c. 3, n. 7.

[d] Vid. Arch. c. 34. p. 59, c. 36, p. 63.

[e] ——— Ει δε Μανιχαιοι προς αυτον μεμηνοτες, και το λογιον διαβαλλεσι. μητε τον νομον τιμωντες, καν εκ τη παραλληλη δυσωπεισθωσαν, καν ἡ σκια Πετρη την γνωμην εκεινων αισχυνετω. κ. λ. Serap. p. 47, f.

[f] Και επειδη τοιαυτας αιτιας και τοιαυτας επιθυμιας εν ταξει πονηριας και κακιας τιθεν ται, τι ερουσι περι Παυλη; ὁτις ποτε τον λεγομενον βαριησουν, τον μαγον, ——— επετιμησε, στερησιν των οφθαλμων εισαγαγατο. Tit. contr. Manich. l. 3, p. 155.

[g] Τι δε ερουσι περι τη Πετρη ——— τον μεν Ανανιαν νεκρον εδειξε, την δε Σαπφειραν τω αυτω μνηματιω παραδεδωκεν; Id. ib.

[h] Vid. H. 66, c. 61, p. 674. B.c. 62, p. 675. B. et C.

[i] ——— ὡσπερ και εν ταις Πραξεσιν των αποστολων Στεφανος, κ. λ. Didym. contr. Manich. p. 208.

quoted [a] the tenth of the Acts: but it is not in such a manner as to decide the question. He may be supposed likewise to refer to [b] the fifteenth chapter.

Upon the whole, I somewhat doubt whether the Manichees were so much offended at this book as Augustine insinuates.

If the reader thinks it may be of any use for finding out the Manichæan sentiment concerning the book of the Acts, he may observe the testimony of the Paulicians to the New Testament, which will be taken notice of hereafter. They are commonly reckoned a branch of this sect; and it is said that some of them did not receive the Acts.

Beausobre, considering this matter, says: 'Nevertheless, [c] Augustine has well observed 'that [d] the Manichees might have received the book of the Acts, and yet avoid the difficulties 'they would then have been urged with, by only making the like exceptions, which they did to 'evade the testimony of the gospels. Which,' as that learned author adds, 'has made me think 'that the true reason why the Manichees excluded the history of the apostles from their canon, 'was, that it had not in the eastern churches, from the beginning, the same authority with the 'gospels and epistles.' After which he refers to a well known passage of St. Chrysostom.

But I am rather of opinion that this book was not always rejected by the Manichees: and I rely upon the reasons just assigned, without adding any thing farther.

Nor can I allow that the Acts of the apostles was not of authority from the beginning in the eastern churches: for it was received by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and other Christians in the east, as has been already shewn in this work.

4. I next observe what epistles of apostles they admitted.

Augustine speaks of it as an undoubted and well known thing, that the [e] Manichees read, admired, and commended St. Paul's epistles.

In another place he speaks [f] of their having, reading, and commending, or commenting upon, the epistles of the apostles.

He also speaks [g] of their receiving the gospel, and the canonical epistles: meaning by this last expression, as I apprehend, the epistles commonly received by other Christians as a part of their canon; not those sometimes called catholic, as [h] Beausobre thought. The first sense is agreeable to Augustine's use of the word in other [i] places.

I suppose there is no doubt but they received thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul.

Photius, speaking of Agapius, in the [k] passage above cited, says, he quotes passages of the divine gospel, and of the epistles of the divine Paul.

Faustus [l] readily says, 'he receives the apostle;' thereby meaning Paul, or the epistles of that apostle. And in his yet remaining work he quotes expressly, and by name, many of them: as well as frequently without naming them: as [m] the epistle to the Romans, the [n] first and [o] second to the Corinthians, to [p] the Galatians, [q] the Ephesians, to [r] the Colossians, to [s] Titus.

5. Let us now consider whether the Manichees received the epistle to the Hebrews. There is some reason to think they did: for there are references to it in [t] The Acts of Archelaus. Serapion in his book [u] Against the Manichees, quotes this epistle, as does [x] Titus of Bostra, and [y] Didymus of Alexandria. Epiphanius, in his argument with these people, quotes this

[a] —— quemadmodum et illud, quod de Petro soletis adferre, tamquam idem viderit aliquando de cœlo demissum vas, in quo essent omnia genera animalium, et serpentes. Faust. l. 31, c. 3.

[b] De mandato vero abstinendi a cibis communibus, visum vobis est et vehementer creditum, morticina quidem et immolata esse sane immunda. l. 32, c. 3.

[c] B. T. i. p. 293. [d] De Util. Cred. cap. 3.

[e] Certe et ipsi Manichæi legunt apostolum Paulum, et laudant et honorant; et ejus epistolas male interpretando multos decipiunt. De Gen. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 2, n. 3.

[f] Et tamen epistolas apostolorum, quibus hæc omnia continentur, tenetis, legitis, prædicatis. Contr. Faust. l. 12, c. 24.

[g] —— ut quidquid est in evangelio vel epistolis canonicis, quo adjuvari hæresim suam putent, id esse a Christo et Apostolis dictum teneant atque suadeant. Contr. Faust. l. 22, c. 15. [h] T. i. p. 292.

[i] Qui etiam in scripturis canonicis Testamenti Novi, hoc est in veris evangelicis et apostolicis literis, non accipiunt omnia, —— ad Ceret. Ep. 237, [al. 253,] et passim.

[k] See p. 213, note [c].

[l] Apostolum accipis? Et maxime. Faust. l. xi. c. 1.

[m] Aut si vobis secundum quod ad Romanos scribit, credere cordi est. l. xi. c. 1.

[n] 'Quapropter idem rursum' Apostolus ad Corinthios dicit. —— l. 24, c. 1, fin.

[o] Scribensque ad Corinthios. l. xi. c. 1. et passim.

[p] Quippe Paulus inde Galatas arguit. l. 8, c. 1. Et ad Galatas de semetipso. l. 24, c. 1.

[q] Dicit ad Ephesios. Id. l. 24, c. 1.

[r] Necnon et ad ipsos Colossenses idipsum denuo dicit. ibid.

[s] De Gentium [lege] vero si quis ambigit, audiat Paulum, qui scribens ad Titum de Cretensibus, dicit. Id. l. 19, c. 2.

[t] Arch. c. 5, p. 7, c. 43, p. 77.

[u] Serap. p. 40, m. and see before, p. 146.

[x] Tit. l. 3 p. 142, 153. See before, p. 147.

[y] Did. p. 209.

epistle [a] several times. Augustine, in his book against Adimantus, quotes it [b] together with the epistle to the Romans. He also quotes it [c] in his answer to Faustus.

6. Timothy of Constantinople says the [d] Manichees received an epistle to the Laodiceans: but possibly he means the Paulicians. However, I think this [e] testimony can be of but little value here.

7. As for the Catholic Epistles, we cannot say any thing very particularly about them.

However Epiphanius, in his confutation of them, has quoted, beside most other books of the New Testament, the [f] first and [g] second epistles of Peter. Augustine, in his books against Faustus, again and again [h] quotes the first epistle of Peter, as received by them. In another work against the Manichees he openly quotes [i] the second epistle of Peter. And in his answer to Faustus he cites [k] the first epistle of John, which is also quoted by Mani himself [l] in the Acts of Archelaus.

8. Augustine, in his work against Faustus, quotes [m] words of the Revelation with others of the first epistle to the Corinthians, as if they received the former as well as the latter, which may lead us to think that the Manichees, those in Africa at least, did not reject the book of the Revelation.

9. In a word, Augustine, Epiphanius, and other ancient catholic authors, who wrote against the Manichees, do so quote all the books of the New Testament, that one is induced to think they received all the evangelical scriptures which other Christians did; for if they had not those authors would have taken notice of it. They inform us distinctly, that the Manichees did not receive the Old Testament. If they had rejected any books of the New Testament, generally received, they would have mentioned it. Augustine indeed says, they did not receive the book of the Acts: but as he does not speak of their entirely disliking any of the rest, it may be hence inferred, that in other respects their canon of the New Testament was much the same with that of the catholics.

Augustine once [n] speaks of their not only rejecting some passages of the New Testament, but also of their chusing what books they pleased; but the only instance he produceth is that of the Acts: which confirms what has been just now said, that the Manichees did not reject any book of the New Testament, received by other Christians, except the book of the Acts, if indeed they rejected that. Augustine, who so often speaks of their not liking the Acts of the apostles, must some time have joined with it other books, if there had been any other disowned by them.

V. We have therefore now seen what books of the New Testament were generally received by the Manichees. Under the next particular we shall observe what they said of the scriptures of the new Testament being interpolated; where, it is likely, we shall more distinctly perceive what regard they had for them. Nevertheless I would add here some things for shewing the credit and authority which these scriptures had with them.

And it seems evident that they ascribed a good degree of authority to the books of the New Testament before mentioned. This appears from passages of Serapion, and others above cited, and from the constant method of arguing with them by Serapion, Titus, Epiphanius, and all authors in general who wrote against them. To add here only one instance from Serapion, who

[a] Epiph. H. 66, c. 63, in fin. c. 74, p. 695. B. c. 79, p. 701, D.

[b] Interpretatus Apostolus sabbatum ad Hebræos, cum dicit, 'remanet igitur sabbatismus populo Dei.'——Apostolicam itaque interpretationem spiritaliter teneo. Contr. Adim. cap. 16, n. 3.

[c] Contr. Faust l. 6, c. 9.

[d] ἡ πεντεκαιδεκατη προς Λαοδικεις επιστολη. Tim. ap. Meurs. Var. Div. p. 117.

[e] Le témoignage du Prêtre Timothée, ou de ceux qui ont interpolé son ouvrage, n'est d' aucun poids. Beaus. T. i. p. 366. Le Décret de Gélase, et la Formule de Timothée, ont été fort interpolés. Id. p. 396, 367, not. [z]

[f] Hær 66, c. 73, p. 693, D.

[g] Ib. c. 64, p. 678, B. et C.

[h] Contr. F. l. 22, c. 14, et 20.

[i] Quia vero et ipsi mali angeli non a Deo mali sunt conditi, sed peccando facti sunt mali, sic Petrus in epistolâ suâ dicit: Si enim Deus angelis peccantibus non pepercit,——[2 Pet. ii. 4.] De Nat. Boni. cap. 33.

[k] Quod etiam Joannes dicit; Filii Dei sumus; et non apparuit, quid erimus. [1 John iii. 2.] Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 18.

[l] Ap. Arch. c. 14, p. 26. Vid. loc. citat. supra, p. 15.

[m] Non solum enim in vetere Testamento scriptum est, 'Quem enim diligit Deus, corripit'———sed etiam in novo, 'Ego, quem amo, arguo et castigo.' Apoc. iii. 19. Contr. F. l. 22, c. 14.

[n] Qui non accipiunt omnia, sed quod volunt, et libros eligunt quos accipiant, aliis improbatis. Sed in singulis quibusque libris loca distinguunt, quæ putant suis erroribus convenire. Cætera in eis pro falsis habent. Nam quidam Manichæi canonicum librum, cujus titulus est Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Aug. Ep. 237, [al. 253,] T. 2.

supposeth that he fully confutes and overthrows a sentiment of theirs by arguing from the New Testament in this manner: 'The [a] gospel says, publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of 'heaven before you. And Paul says, that Raab the harlot perished not with them that 'believed not.'

Augustine, at the beginning of one of his books against these men, says: 'I [b] will observe 'this method, to quote no texts but such as they cannot except against; that is, out of the New 'Testament only; and out of that too none of those texts which they, when hardly pressed, are 'wont to call interpolations: but I shall allege such things only as they both approve and com-'mend.'

Every one, I presume, has observed in the history which has been given of their opinions, that they endeavoured to justify their doctrine of two principles, their notion of the person of Christ, and all their peculiar sentiments, by texts of the New Testament. Particularly, when they reject the Old Testament, one of their strongest arguments is taken from its contrariety to the New. Therefore this last was received, and was of authority with them. The [c] design of the book written by Adimantus, the old disciple of Mani, as Augustine informs us, was to overthrow the Old Testament, by shewing it to be contrary to the evangelical and apostolical scriptures.

Mani, in his letter to Marcellus, [d] complains 'that men, even Christians, did not believe 'the gospels.' And in that same short letter he has words of the gospels of Matthew and John, of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and of the epistle to the Hebrews. And in the [e] dispute with Archelaus he quoted and argued from many passages of the gospels and Paul's epistles. And there are large and numerous quotations of the books of the New Testament in his letter to [f] Menoch, if it be genuine.

Fortunatus, the Manichæan presbyter, in his dispute with Augustine, quotes Philip. ii. 5, in this manner: 'We [g] think,' as the apostle directs: and says, 'he [h] knows very well, that he 'cannot prove his faith to be right, unless he shews it to be agreeable to the scriptures.'

Secundinus, in his letter to Augustine, though of no great length, quotes the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the epistles to the Romans, the Ephesians, and first to Timothy. And in a short compass he owns [i] a great number of facts recorded in the gospels; as Peter's thrice denying his Lord; the final apostacy of Judas; the unbelief of Thomas after our Lord's resurrection; Christ's crucifixion; the Jews' preferring Barabbas to Jesus at the instigation of the scribes and pharisees; that Jesus was crowned with thorns, and had vinegar given him to drink; that his side was pierced, and that he was crucified between two thieves, by one of whom he was reviled. He refers also to Hymeneus and Alexander, and other things spoken of by Paul, 1 Tim. i.

Indeed a large part of the New Testament may be found quoted by Faustus, and other Manichees with whom Augustine was concerned, and according to our copies.

Notwithstanding what is said of their charging the catholic Christians with having interpolated the gospels, which will be considered hereafter, Faustus readily says, 'They [k] believe 'Christ's mystic crucifixion, his saving or wholesome precepts, his parables, and his divine dis-'courses, as related in the gospels.'

And in Faustus alone we find these following, and many other things; our [l] Lord's gather-

[a] Ὅταν εν λεγῃ το ευαγγελιον——ὁταν λεγῃ Παυλος.—Serap. p. 46, infr. m.

[b] Et ea de scripturis assumam testimonia, quibus eos necesse est credere, de Novo scilicet Testamento. De quo tamen nihil proferam eorum quæ solent immissa esse dicere, cum magnis angustiis coarctantur; sed ea dicam, quæ et approbare et laudare coguntur. De M. Ec. Cath. c. i. n. 2.

[c] Eodem tempore venerunt in manus meas quædam disputationes Adimanti,——quas conscripsit contra Legem et prophetas, velut contraria eis Evangelica et Apostolica scripta demonstrare conatus. Aug. Retr. l. i. c. 22, in.

[d] Ap. Arch. cap. v. p. 6, 7, 8.

[e] Ib. c. 13, p. 24, 25, et passim.

[f] Ap. Augustin. Op. Imperf. l. 3. c. 177, 180, 185, 186.

[g] Hoc sentimus, quod nos instruit beatus Paulus, qui dixit: Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 7.

[h] Et quia nullo genere recte me credere ostendere possum, nisi eamdem fidem Scripturarum auctoritate firmaverim. Id. in Disp. ii. n. 20.

[i] —— ut et Petrum coëgerit sub unâ nocte tertio Dominum negare, et eidem resurgenti Thomam non permiserit credere———et tanto pastori Iscariotem rapuerit; et ut ad ultimum crucis supplicium veniretur, in perniciem ipsius Scribas Pharisæosque accenderit, ut Barabbam dimitti clamarent, et Jesum crucifigi.——Et tamen ne ipso quidem crucis opprobrio potuit satiari. Quin imo insaniens hinc coëgit spinis coronari, illinc aceto potari: hinc militum lanceâ percuti, illinc sinistri latronis ore blasphemari. &c. Secundin. ad Aug. cap. 4.

[k] His igitur exceptis, ——— credimus cætera, præcipue crucis ejus mysticam fixionem,—tum præcepta salutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque sermonem deificum. Faust. l. 32, c. 7.

[l] Quis hoc testatur dixisse Jesum? Matthæus. Ubi dix-

ing disciples gradually, and not completing at once the number of his apostles; [a] his conference with Nicodemus; the [b] imprisonment of John the Baptist, his [c] message to Jesus, and the answer sent back to him; Peter's [d] confession, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God; that [e] unclean spirits crying out owned Jesus to be the son of God; many [f] miracles of our Lord, his curing a man blind from his birth, raising the dead, the woman healed upon touching Christ's garment; the [g] history of the centurion, whose servant Christ healed; the [h] escape of Barabbas at the petition of the Jews; and the penitent thief, and Christ's acceptance of him; Thomas's [i] unbelief, and Christ's shewing him the marks of his wounds; and many other things.

Augustine having quoted the histories of the dæmoniacs at the tombs, and of the barren figtree, which withered at Christ's word, particularly observes, that [k] these were things which they had never pretended to be interpolations.

Faustus, quoting the gospel, calls it [l] scripture.

I shall here [m] in the margin put down a number of passages, shewing the respect which the Manichees had for the apostles of Jesus, though I have before taken notice of some of them. That [n] the apostle Paul should contradict himself, or teach different doctrine at one time, or in one epistle, from what he had taught in another, is a thought which Faustus rejects with indignation.

VI. What comes to be considered by us in the next place, is, their pretence that the scriptures of the New Testament were corrupted, having been interpolated by the catholics: and therefore, as Augustine said in his summary account, 'they took what they liked, and rejected the rest.' What has been already said may be of some use to help us in understanding this notion of theirs. Nevertheless divers passages of ancient authors should be observed by us, that we may the more distinctly perceive how far they carried this principle.

1. Some might complain if I did not largely transcribe so ancient a writer in this controversy as Titus of Bostra, who, I think, has used the strongest expressions of any of their adversaries in speaking of this matter. They are such as these:

'Mani, and his followers,' he says, 'for [o] supporting their doctrines, quote some texts of [p] scripture, and wrest them from their right meaning.'

The [q] Old Testament, even the law and the prophets, he ascribes to what he calls the evil principle. 'The gospels, and other parts of the New Testament,' he says, 'are from the 'good principle; but they are not uncorrupt: for many things of Hyle, or the bad principle, 'are mixed with them. For which reason we are to make a distinction, and are to follow, and 'make use of those parts only which belong to what he calls the good principle.' He adds,

isse? In monte. Quibus præsentibus? Petro, Andreâ, Jacobo, et Joanne, quatuor his tantum. Cæteros enim necdum elegerat, nec ipsum Matthæum. Id. l. 17, cap. 1.

[a] l. 24, c. i.

[b] Nam et in ipso Matthæo, post inclusum Joannem in carcerem, tunc legitur Jesum cœpisse prædicare evangelium regni Dei l. 2, c. i.

[c] l. 5, c. i. [d] l. 5, c. 3.

[e] ——— quia nec spiritibus immundis, cum iidem Jesum esse filium Dei exserte indissimulanterque confiterentur, profuit.——l. 16, c. 1.

[f] Nam et cœcum a nativitate lumen videre natura non sinit, quod tamen Jesus potenter operatus videtur erga hujus generis cœcos ——? manum aridam sanâsse, vocem ac verbum privatis his per naturam redonâsse; mortuis et in tabem jam resolutis corporibus compage redditâ, vitalem redintegrâsse spiritum; quem non ad stuporem adducat ——? Quæ tamen omnia nos communiter facta ab eodem credimus Christiani. l. 26, c. 2. [g] l. 33, c. 2.

[h] An Barabbas, latro ille insignis, qui non solum in ligno suspensus minime est, sed etiam Judæorum rogatu emissus e carcere, magis fuit benedictus, quam ille qui cum Christo de cruce adscendit in cœlum? l. 14, c. i.

[i] l. 16, c. 8.

[k] Sed quoniam privilegio quodam vos tuemini, ut de scripturis opprimi nequeatis, dicendo eas esse falsatas; quamquam ea quæ commemoravi de arbore, et de grege porcorum, nunquam a corruptoribus immissa esse dixistis. De Mor. Manich. c. 17, n. 55.

[l] —— ut scriptura testatur. Nam pannum, inquit, novum nemo assuit vestimento veteri, &c. l. 8, c. i.

[m] Ut fere Christo placet, et ejus Apostolis, et nobis profecto. Faust. l. 24, cap. 1.

Neque id temere aut præsumtive, sed a Christo discentes, et ejus apostolis. ibid. in fin.

Sed quærendum potius est, quid ipse de se, quidve apostoli sui de eodem prædicârint. Id. l. 19, c. 1.

Ecce quid Apostolus dixit, ecce quid Evangelista. Fel. Act. l. 2, c. 2, ap. Aug. T. 8.

[n] Non equidem crediderim apostolum Dei contraria sibi scribere potuisse, et modo hanc, modo illam de Domino nostro habuisse sententiam.——Alioquin, absit apostolum Dei, quod ædificavit, unquam destruere. Faust. l. xi. c. i.

[o] ρ'ησεις τινας των αγιων γραφων επιαζομενος προς την αυτε ψευδολογιαν. Tit. l. 3. p. 135, f.

[p] Των δε γραφων τας μεν παλαιοτερας ανατιθησι τη προς αυτε λεγομενη κακια, νομον τε και προφητας· τα δε ευαγγελια, και τα λοιπα της καινης διαθηκης μαθηματα, παρα μεν τε αγαθε, ως οιεται, δεδοσθαι, φησιν· εδε ταυτα μην ο της βλασφημιας ευρετης διισχυριζεται δι' ολε καθαρευειν, τε, ως φησιν, εναντιε θεε· ενυπαρχειν δε και τετοις ωσπερ κατα τινα μιξιν, πολλα της ὑπ' αυτε καλεμενης ὑλης· και χρηναι ταυτα, περιελοντα μονα καθ' εαυτα, καταλιπειν α τη τε αγαθε μεριδι. ib. p. 136.

'that [a] Mani pretends to correct the holy scriptures, and, acting here the assumed character of 'the Paraclete, he takes away a large part of the New Testament, and leaves in it a few things 'only, so spoiling all its harmony.'

Titus says farther: 'Because [b] they honour the name of Christ, they pretend to honour also 'the gospels. But if they did really honour the gospels they would neither take away from 'them, nor add to them.——Whereas they have added to the gospels what they pleased, and 'have taken away from them what they thought fit: still calling it the gospel, however, when it 'is not; for they have not the body [or substance] of the gospel.'

Presently afterwards he says that 'they [c] had treated the scriptures worse than the heathens: 'for they only rejected them, whereas these men, pretending to receive the gospels, have abused, 'perverted and adulterated them.'

More to the like purpose may be seen in [d] Titus. But I suppose I have transcribed enough to satisfy every one concerning the nature of the charge which he brings against this people.

And there is reason to think that he aggravates and exaggerates beyond the truth. Therefore Mill [e] says judiciously, 'they did not alter the gospels; they only said of those passages, 'which they did not like, that they were additions, made long ago by some corrupters of the 'scriptures.' And Beausobre [f] has shewn largely, that Titus has in part misrepresented the case.

Jerom intimates either [g] that the Manichees curtailed the copies of the New Testament, or did not receive and admit the authority of every thing found in the copies generally used by the catholics.

What Photius says of Agapius was observed [h] formerly. He does not expressly charge Agapius with pretending that the books of the New Testament were interpolated.

Augustine often speaks of this matter. Divers of his passages must be produced.

The general account which he gives in his Retractations of what he wrote against Faustus, is this: 'I [i] wrote a large work against Faustus, blaspheming the law and the prophets, and 'their God, and the incarnation of Christ, and saying that the scriptures of the New Testament, 'by which he is confuted, are interpolated.'

He frequently speaks to this purpose: 'When [k] any text is alleged against them from the 'gospels which they cannot answer, they say it is interpolated.' Again, 'When [l] they are 'greatly pressed with the authority of the scriptures, they cry out: "That passage was inserted 'in the gospel by the corrupters of scripture."' 'When [m] the words of scripture are clearly 'against them, so that they can find no way to pervert them, they betake themselves to their 'common answer, and say the passage is an interpolation.'

In an epistle to Ceretius, having represented their opinion concerning the Old Testament, he adds: 'And [n] in the canonical scriptures of the New Testament, that is, the genuine evan-

[a] Οὑτω των ἁγιων γραφων την διορθωσιν, ὡς οιεται, καθ' ἑαυτον μεταχειριζομενος, και δια τουτο μαλιστα τολμων παρακλητος ειναι δοκειν, τα μεν πλειονα περιγραφει, βραχεα δε καταλιπων, και της καινης διαθηκης πεσουσα των συγγενων λογων την συμφωνιαν· ib. p. 136.

[b] Αλλ' επειδη τετιμηται το ονομα Ιησυ, προσποιουνται· εδει γαρ αυτους, ειγε τα ευαγγελια ετιμων, μη περιτεμνειν τα ευαγγελια, μη μερη των ευαγγελιων εξυφελειν, μη ἑτερα προσθηναι—— προσγεγραφηκασι γαν ὁσα βεβληνται, και εξυφειλαντο ὁσα κεκρικασι· και λοιπον ονοματι—— καλουσι το ευαγγελιον, μη τετηρηκοτες το σωμα. Tit. l. 3, p. 139.

[c] ——οἱ δε ειληφεναι δοκουντες, ενεβατευσαν, ενεχορευσαν, ενεκαπηλευσαν τοις γραμμασι· ib. p. 139.

[d] Id. ib. p. 140, 141.

[e] Non quidem palam rejectis istis capitulis, sed dissimulatis, seu ita apud animum repudiatis; ut nihilominus, cum ab eis premerentur, haud necesse haberent, cum Marcionitis, reformare codices suos, sive ex ipsis tollere quæ sibi minus probata fuerint; sed sufficeret dixisse, loca illa jam olim a corruptoribus S. textûs fuisse inserta.——Mill. Proleg. n. 726. Gemina istis, ipsiusque textûs depravationem objicit Manichæis Titus. Dicit eos circumcidisse Evangelia.——Verum criminatio hæc quousque valeat, et quomodo interpretanda sit, ex supra dictis liquet —— non mutilantes quidem Scripturas, textumve ipsum quovis modo mutantes. Id n. 761.

[f] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 302.—309.

[g] Marcion et Manichæus hunc locum, in quo dicit apostolus, Quæ quidem sunt allegorica, et cætera quæ sequuntur, [Gal. iv. 24.] de codice suo tollere noluerunt, putantes adversum nos relinqui. Hier. in Gal. T. 4, p. 281, f.

[h] See before, p. 213.

[i] Contra Faustum Manichæum, blasphemantem Legem et Prophetas, et eorum Deum, et incarnationem Christi; scripturas autem Novi Testamenti, quibus convincitur, falsatas esse dicentem, scripsi grande opus. Retr. l. 2. c. 7.

[k] Quod si dicunt, hoc capitulum falsum esse, et a corruptoribus scripturarum esse additum; (nam hoc solent, quando non inveniunt quid respondeant, dicere:) Contr. Adim. cap. 3, n. 2.

[l] An forte dicturi sunt, sicut solent dicere, cum scripturarum eos urget auctoritas, hoc capitulum a corruptoribus scripturarum insertum esse Evangelio? Contr. Adim. c. 15, n. 1, m.

[m] Hoc est quod paulo ante dixi, quia, ubi sic manifestâ veritate isti præfocantur, ut, obsessi dilucidis verbis sanctarum scripturarum, exitum in eis fallaciæ suæ reperire non possint, id testimonium, quod prolatum est, falsum esse respondent. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 2.

[n] Qui etiam in scripturis canonicis testamenti novi, hoc est, in veris Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis, non accipiunt omnia,

'gelical and apostolical writings, they do not receive all, but what they like.——In every book 'they mark the places, taking such as they think favourable to their errors, and setting aside the 'rest as interpolations.'

He somewhere calls this [a] a certain privilege of theirs, by which they endeavoured to defend themselves against arguments brought from a text of scripture.

In another place he says: 'This [b] is their principle—Whatever is found in the gospels, or in 'the epistles, by which they imagine their error may be supported, that they allow and maintain 'to have been said by Christ and his apostles: whatever appears contrary to them in the same 'books they make no scruple to say, without shame, has been inserted by some corrupters of 'scripture. By which diabolical privilege of theirs they think themselves secure against every 'thing that can be alleged from scripture.'

Hence we learn that, according to them, the apostolical epistles, as well as the gospels, had been corrupted.

He elsewhere says that 'they [c] receive and approve some things in the books of the New 'Testament: and that when asked, why they rejected and found fault with other things in the 'same books, they answered, because those passages had been inserted by corrupters of the 'scripture.'

Augustine intimates that [d] this principle was taught by Mani himself, 'to accept whatever 'favoured him in the New Testament, and reject what did not.'

It is found in The Acts of Archelaus. That [e] bishop argued in favour of the Old Testament from those words of Christ, Matt. v. 17: "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil." To which Mani answers, that 'Christ never spoke those words. For since in fact he destroyed the law, 'we ought to conclude his discourses agreed therewith.'

The same thing is implied in some charges [f] of Archelaus against Mani.

And Faustus speaks of it [g] as the common Manichæan doctrine, and [h] taught them by their master.

2. There is a long paragraph of Faustus upon this point, which I shall transcribe largely. I need not insert it all here, because there are in it many tautologies: but I shall endeavour to represent the whole of his argument in his own words.

Says this Manichæan bishop: 'If [i] you receive the gospel, you ought to receive all things 'written therein. And do you, who receive also the Old Testament, believe every thing written 'therein? Excepting the prophecies concerning the king of the Jews, who was to come, whom 'you take to be Jesus, and some moral precepts, you no more value it than Paul does, who 'considers it as dung. Why then may not I do the like with the New Testament—take what is 'right and conducive to my salvation, and reject those things which have been fraudulently 'foisted in by your ancestors, and disfigure it, and spoil its beauty and excellence?

sed quod volunt——Sed et in singulis quibusque libris loca distinguunt, quæ putant suis erroribus convenire, cætera in eis pro falsis habent. Ad. Ceret. Ep. 237, al. 253.

[a] Sed quoniam privilegio quodam vos tuemini, ut de scripturis opprimi nequeatis, dicendo eas esse falsatas. De M. Manich. c. 17, n. 55.

[b] An forte, quæ de Novo Testamento protulimus, ipsa quoque audent dicere falsa esse atque perversa, privilegio suo diabolico, ut, quidquid est in Evangelio vel Epistolis canonicis, quo adjuvari hæresim suam putent, id esse a Christo et apostolis dictum teneant atque suadeant, quidquid autem ex iisdem codicibus adversus eos sonuerit, immissum ab infalsatoribus, ore impudenti ac sacrilego non dubitent dicere? Cui furori eorum, auctoritatem omnium librorum exstinguere atque abolere conanti, jam supra——non pauca respondi. Contr. Faust. l. 22, c. 15.

[c] Vos scripturas Novi Testamenti, tamquam falsatas corruptasque, pulsatis.——Vos autem omnia, quæ in libris Novi Testamenti non accipitis, omnino reprehenditis, nec a Christo, nec ab apostolis ejus, dicta vel conscripta asseveratis.——Cum itaque a vobis quæritur, quare non omnia in libris Novi Testamenti accipitis, sed in eis libris, in quibus approbatis aliqua, multa respuitis, reprehenditis, accusatis, a corruptoribus inserta esse contenditis. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 8.

[d] Nam sicut te Manichæus impiam docuit perversitatem, ut ex evangelio quod hæresim tuam non impedit accipias, quod autem impedit, non accipias. Contr. Faust. l. 18, c. 7.

[e] Ego audiens dicebam eis sermonem evangelicum, quomodo dixit Dominus noster Jesus Christus, 'Non veni solvere legem, sed implere.' Ille vero ait, nequâquam eum hoc dixisse sermonem. Cum enim ipsam inveniamus eum resolvisse legem, necesse est nos hoc potius intelligere quod fecit. Arch. c. 40, p. 69.

[f] ——et in nostris libris, sicut etiam adversus me disputans fecit, assertionem suam proferre, quædam in his accusans, quædam permutans, solo Christi nomine adjecto. Arch. cap. 54, p. 99.

[g] Et tamen me quidem jam adversus capituli hujus necessitudinem Manichæa fides reddidit tutum, quæ principio mihi non cuncta quæ ex salvatoris nomine scripta leguntur, passim credere persuasit. Faust. l. 18, c. 3.

[h] Quare indeficientes ego præceptori meo refero gratias, qui me similiter labentem retinuit, &c. Id. l. 19, c. 5, in.

[i] Si accipis evangelium, credere omnia debes, quæ in eodem scripta sunt. Quid enim tu, quia vetus accipis testamentum, idcircone credis omnia passim, quæ in eodem scripta sunt? Nempe solas indidem excerpentes prophetias, quæ regem Judæis venturum significabant, quia ipsum putatis esse Jesum; et pauca quædam disciplinæ civilis præcepta communia, ut est, non occides, non mœchaberis, cætera prætermittitis, et arbi-

'And [a] how much more allowable is it for us to take this method, since it is certain that the 'New Testament was not written by Christ himself, nor by his apostles, but a long while after 'their time by some unknown persons; who, lest they should not be credited when they wrote 'of affairs they were little acquainted with, affixed to their works the names of apostles, or of 'such as were supposed to have been their companions, and saying they were written by them? 'Whereby, in my opinion, they have greatly injured the disciples of Christ, making them the 'authors of books in which there are many errors and contradictions. For is not this to abuse 'the disciples of Jesus, who certainly agreed, and were all of one mind? We, perceiving this, 'have taken the only reasonable method; which is to examine every thing according to the 'rules of sound reason and judgment, accepting those things which are useful for establishing 'our faith, and are honourable to the Lord Jesus Christ and Almighty God his Father, and re-'jecting all other things which are not for his honour nor our benefit.

'Whether [b] the prophets prophesied of Jesus will be considered hereafter. In the mean time 'I say, if Jesus, foretold in the Old Testament, teaches that some things in it are to be received, 'and many others rejected, in like manner the Comforter, promised in the New Testament, 'teaches us what of it we ought to receive and what to reject. Of whom Jesus, when he promised 'him, says in the gospel: "He shall lead you into all truth, and teach you all things, and bring 'all things to your remembrance:" John xvi. 13. Why therefore may not we do the same with 'the New Testament, through the Comforter, that you do with the Old by Jesus?——especially, 'since, as before said, it was not written by Christ, nor by his apostles.

'To [c] conclude, therefore, as you in the Old take only the prophecies and moral precepts; 'and have rejected circumcision, and sacrifices, and the sabbath, and its rest, and unleavened 'bread; what absurdity is there, if we also receive in the New those things only which we find 'to the honour of the Son, and said by himself or his apostles, but perfect and fully instructed; 'and reject other things said by them [that is, the apostles] in their ignorance, or falsely and 'impudently ascribed to them, and since handed about as theirs? I mean that Jesus was born of 'a woman, circumcised like a Jew; that he sacrificed like a heathen, was meanly baptized, led 'about in the wilderness, and miserably tempted by the devil. Excepting these, and the quota-'tions of the Old Testament, fraudulently inserted by those writers, we receive all the rest; 'especially his mystical crucifixion, in which are manifested the wounds of our own souls; as 'also his salutary precepts, and his parables, and all his divine discourses, teaching the difference 'of two natures, of which there can be no doubt but they are his.'

tramini, esse non minus atque eadem quæ Paulus putavit stercora. Quid ergo peregrinum hoc, aut quid mirum est, si ego de testamento novo purissima quæque legens et meæ saluti convenientia, prætermitto quæ a vestris majoribus inducta fallaciter, et majestatem ipsius et gratiam decolorant? Faust. l. 32, cap. i.

[a] ——præsertim quod nec ab ipso scriptum constat, nec ab ejus apostolis, sed longo post tempore a quibusdam incerti nominis viris, qui, ne sibi non haberetur fides, scribentibus quæ nescirent, partim apostolorum, partim eorum qui apostolos secuti viderentur, nomina scriptorum suorum frontibus indiderunt, asseverantes secundum eos se scripsisse quæ scripserunt. Quo magis mihi videntur injuriâ gravi affecisse discipulos Christi: quia quæ dissona iidem et repugnantia sibi scriberent, ea referrent ad ipsos, et secundum eos hæc scribere se profitentur evangelia, quæ tantis sint referta erroribus, tantis contrarietatibus narrationum simul ac sententiarum, ut nec sibi prorsus, nec inter se ipsa conveniant. Quid ergo aliud est, quam calumniari bonos, et Christi discipulorum concordem cœtum in crimen devocare discordiæ? Quæ quia nos legentes animadvertimus, cordis obtutu sanissimo æquissimum judicavimus utilibus acceptis ex iisdem, id est, iis quæ et fidem nostram ædificent, et Christi Domini atque ejus Patris omnipotentis Dei propagent gloriam, cætera repudiare, quæ nec ipsorum majestati, nec fidei nostræ conveniant. ib. c. 2.

[b] ——Sed an prophetæ Jesum præsagiverint, postea videbimus. Interim ad hæc me respondere oportet, quia si Jesus, per testamentum vetus annuntiatus, nunc dijudicat et carminat, docetque pauca ejus accipienda esse, repudianda vero quam plurima; et nobis Paracletus ex Novo Testamento promissus perinde docet, quid accipere ex eodem debeamus, et quid repudiare: de quo ultro Jesus, cum eum promitteret, dicit in Evangelio: Ipse vos inducet in omnem veritatem, et ipse vobis annuntiabit omnia, et commemorabit vos. Quapropter liceat tantum et nobis in Testamento Novo per Paracletum, quantum vobis in vetere licere ostenditis per Jesum:——præsertim quod nec a Christo scriptum constat, ut diximus, nec ab ejus apostolis. ib. c. 6.

[c] Quapropter ut vos ex Vetere Testamento solas admittitis prophetias, et illa quæ superius diximus civilia atque ad disciplinam vitæ communis pertinentia præcepta; supersedistis vero peritomen, et sacrificia, et sabbatum et observationem ejus, et azyma; quid ab re est, si et nos de Testamento Novo sola accipientes ea, quæ in honorem et laudem filii majestatis vel ab ipso dicta comperimus, vel ab ejus apostolis, sed jam perfectis ac fidelibus, dissimulavimus cætera, quæ aut simpliciter tunc et ignoranter a rudibus dicta, aut oblique et maligne ab inimicis objecta, aut impudenter a scriptoribus affirmata, et posteris tradita? dico autem hoc, ipsum natum ex feminâ turpiter, circumcisum judaïce, sacrificâsse gentiliter, baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deserta, et ab eo tentatum quam miserrime. His igitur exceptis, et si quid ei ab scriptoribus ex Testamento Vetere falsâ sub testificatione injectum est, credimus cætera; præcipue crucis ejus mysticam fixionem, quâ nostræ animæ passionis monstrantur vulnera; tum præcepta salutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque sermonem deificum, qui maxime duarum præferens naturarum discretionem, ipsius esse non venit in dubium. ib. c. 7.

I put in the margin [a] another passage of Faustus, without translating it exactly, where he pretends that 'there are many differences and contrarieties in the gospels; and that the 'ancestors of the catholics had inserted many things, mingling their own words with the oracles 'of the Lord, which did not agree with the doctrine taught by him; and that the gospels were 'not written by Christ, nor his apostles, but a long while after them by some unknown men, 'half-Jews, who were not well informed, but put down any uncertain traditions which they met 'with; and then affixed to their own erroneous accounts the names of Christ's apostles or their 'companions.' From all which he concludes, that 'men ought never to hear or read the 'gospels without caution, trying all things by their own reason and judgment, and admitting 'nothing but what, after strict examination, is found to be right.'

Such is the substance of a paragraph in the thirty-third and last book of the work of Faustus, so far at least as it is given us by Augustine.

I refer likewise [b] in the margin to a place or two more, where he speaks somewhat distinctly of this matter.

VII. It is fit we should now make some remarks upon these passages.

1. It appears hence, that Augustine's account upon this head is just and right. The Manichees, or however those of Africa, took what they liked in the New Testament, and rejected what did not suit them. So Faustus evidently.

2. As for what Faustus says of the catholics not receiving every thing in the Old Testament, Augustine well answers, that [c] they received every thing therein as of divine original and appointment; and allowed all things to be right for the time; those which they did not now *follow*, as well as the laws of true and real righteousness, by which they were still obliged. I have transcribed several passages of Augustine at the bottom of the page, supposing that they will not be disagreeable to the reader.

3. The Manichees, or however Faustus and his friends, denied that the gospels were written by the apostles and evangelists whose names they bear. Mr. Nye [d] gives a different account of the sentiments of our Manichæan author. But it is manifest that Faustus speaks of the books of the New Testament commonly received by catholic Christians, or at least of the gospels. Beausobre [e] is sensible of it, and speaking of this subject says, 'they denied the gospels to have 'been written by the sacred authors whose names they bear; and denied it with surprising rash-'ness and assurance.'

4. Hence we perceive what in the gospels the Manichees received, and what not. They received our Lord's discourses and parables; the history of his preaching, miracles, crucifixion, and every thing else, excepting some few things most evidently contrary to their notions; as our Lord's nativity, circumcision, and the quotations from the Old Testament. Some might be apt to think they must have set aside a very large part of the New Testament, as interpolated: but from this passage of Faustus himself, and from many things already alleged, it may be perceived [f] that would be a wrong conclusion.

[a] Nec immerito nos ad hujusmodi scripturas tam inconsonantes et varias, nunquam sane sine judicio ac ratione aures afferimus: sed, contemplantes omnia, et cum aliis alia conferentes, perpendimus utrum eorum quidque a Christo dici potuerit, necne. Multa enim a majoribus vestris eloquiis Domini nostri inserta verba sunt, quæ nomine signata ipsius cum ejus fide non congruant; præsertim, quia, ut jam sæpe probatum a nobis est, nec ab ipso hæc sunt, nec ab ejus apostolis scripta; sed, multo post eorum assumtionem, a nescio quibus, et ipsis inter se non concordantibus, semi-judæis, per famas opinionesque comperta sunt; qui tamen omnia eadem in apostolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum qui secuti apostolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia sua secundum eos se scripsisse mentiti sunt. Id. l. 33, c. 3.

[b] Vid. Faust. l. 18, c. 3, l. 19, c. 5.

[c] Nos Veteris Testamenti scripturas omnes, ut dignum est, veras divinasque laudamus.—— Nos ea quæ nunc de libris Testamenti Veteris non observamus, congruenter tamen illo tempore atque illi populo fuisse præcepta——ostendimus et docemus. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 8, in.

Quæcumque scripta sunt in illis libris Veteris Testamenti, omnia verissime atque utilissime pro æternâ vitâ scripta esse laudamus, accipimus, approbamus: Sed quæ in his mandata corporali operatione non observamus, et rectissime tunc mandata intelligimus, et umbras futurorum esse didicimus, et nunc impleri cognoscimus. Id. ib. c. 14.

Hoc enim aliquâ verisimili ratione diceretur, si esset aliquid in Veteris Testamenti libris, quod nos diceremus non recte dictum, non divinitus jussum, non veraciter scriptum. Nihil horum dicimus; sed accipimus omnia, sive quæ observamus, ut recte vivamus; sive quæ non observamus, ut tamen et ipsa tunc in prophetiâ jussa et observata nunc jam compleri videamus. Id. ib. cap. 15.

[d] See Steph. Nye's Defence of the Canon of the New Testament. p. 94——100.

[e] Nos hérétiques ayant supposé que les Evangiles n' avoient été écrits ni par des Apôtres, ni par des disciples des Apôtres, mais par des inconnus à demi-juifs, &c. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 299. See also p. 296.

[f] His autem exceptis, et testimoniis ex Veteri Testamento, quæ illis inserta sunt literis, cætera vos, secundum id quod Faustus loquitur, fatemini accipere. Aug. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 19.

5. We see the ground and occasion of the liberty they took in censuring the New Testament, particularly the gospels. They had certain philosophical principles of which they were too fond; and therefore they would rather say any thing than give them up. They would not give up their particular notions. Nor did they dare to deny the authority of Christ or his apostles. The only refuge left them therefore was to say that the books of the New Testament were not written by apostles, or that they were interpolated. Perhaps it might have been sufficient to say this last: possibly that is all that was said by some of the sect. But Faustus is pleased to say both, rather than presume to contradict Christ or his apostles, or insinuate that their doctrine was in any thing wrong. Augustine has a[a] remark to the same purpose handsomely expressed.

6. The Manichæan scheme, as here represented by Faustus, is inconsistent and overthrows itself. The gospels in some things are good authority, in others not. The gospels, he says, were not written by Christ, nor his apostles, nor apostolical men: but by some unknown people a good while after their times. Nor were those writers well acquainted with the affairs of which they have written. And yet they are, it seems, good witnesses to Christ's miracles, parables, divine discourses, and mystical crucifixion. Faustus too claims an interest in the promise of the Spirit, made by Christ; though he knows nothing of that promise but from the gospels. Augustine has well shewn the inconsistency of this scheme. 'If[b] the books of the New Testament are genuine 'and right,' says he, 'your doctrine is overthrown: and if they are not so, but spurious and fallacious, your principle is in like manner overthrown. For you have no other authority to go upon.

Some may think their principle led them to pay little regard to scripture. And they may be apprehensive that there was nothing in the New Testament they relied upon as certainly genuine and said by Christ, or written by his apostles. But if that be the consequence of their principle, they did not see it. We must rather say, therefore, that they were absurd and inconsistent. For that the scriptures of the New Testament, were in esteem and authority with them, must be apparent to all who have read the preceding part of this history. And it is as evident that they were well satisfied of the genuineness of some parts of the New Testament, though they affirmed other things to be interpolations. Otherwise those books could have been of no use. Moreover we just now observed Faustus to say of our Lord's divine discourses and parables: 'There can 'be no doubt but they are his.' They received therefore many things in the New Testament, yea the main part of it, as unquestionably genuine. These are words of Secundinus to Augustine: 'And[c] is that saying blotted out of the gospel, "Broad is the way that leads to destruc-'tion?" or is not that text in Paul genuine, "that every one must give an account of himself?"'

And Augustine supposes that he argues very cogently when he reminds them that,[d] so far as they weaken the credit of the scriptures, they weaken the proofs of their own particular principles built thereon. They[e] likewise hazarded even their Christianity. They weaken, he tells them, and in a manner overthrow the grounds and evidences upon which they believe in Jesus, or would persuade others to believe in him: such as the history of his words and works, and the divine appearances in his favour, recorded in the gospels.

7. The arguments they make use of for shewing that the gospels were not written by apostles or are interpolated, are insufficient.

They are such as these: That there are in the gospels many things which are absurd and contrary to reason. But that is false: every thing in the gospels is right and reasonable.

Again they say that the evangelists disagree, and that there are contrarieties in the accounts

[a] Vos ergo jam dicite, quare non accipiatis omnia ex libris Novi Testamenti? utrum quia non sunt apostolorum Christi, an quia pravi aliquid docuerunt Apostoli Christi? Respondebunt, quia non sunt apostolorum Christi. Nam illa vox altera Paganorum est, qui dicunt apostolos Christi non recta docuisse. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16, in.

[b] Ita ergo aut cogimini veraces illos codices confiteri, et continuo evertent hæresim vestram: aut si fallaces eos dixeritis, eâdem auctoritate Paracletum non poteritis asserere, et vos evertitis hæresim vestram. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16, in.

[c] An emendatum in Evangelio est, quod spatiosa via ducat in interitum? An falsum in Paulo est, quod operum singuli suorum erunt reddituri rationem? Secundin. ad Aug, c. 3.

[d] Unde asseritis personam vestri auctoris, vel potius deceptoris? Respondetis, Ex Evangelio vos probare. Ex quo Evangelio? quod non totum accipitis, quod falsatum esse vos dicitis. Quis ergo testem suum prius ipse dicat falsitate esse corruptum, et tunc producat ad testimonium? Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16. Vid. ib. l. 13, c. 4, 5.

[e] Vocem Patris de cœlo non audistis; opera Christi, quibus de seipso testificabatur, non vidistis; codices in quibus hæc scripta sunt, ut specie Christianâ fallatis, velut accipitis; ne tamen contra vos legantur, infalsatos dicitis. ib. l. 13, c. 5. Sed tamen si Paganus in Novo Testamento talia reprehenderet, qualia isti reprehendunt in Vetere, nonne et ipsi ea defendenda susciperent? &c. ib. l. 22, c. 14.

of things contained in the gospels: which too is false, as Augustine well observes. If[a] they cannot reconcile these several accounts, it is for want of skill and attention, or it is owing to prejudice. Again, says Augustine: 'Let[b] them study the gospels more, and let them come with a 'pious disposition, and judge with the candour required in reading and comparing other historians 'who have severally written of like matters, and all will be easy.'

As for any pretensions to the Spirit, they gave no proofs of their having a greater interest in him than other Christians had. Therefore, if their reason and judgment failed them, as they evidently did in this matter, their whole argument is desperate, and of no value. Augustine has spoken[c] to this particular likewise.

8. Their principle was arbitrary. They said the scriptures used by the catholics were corrupted. They[d] should then, as Augustine well observes, produce other copies more correct, where were the things they allowed and contended for as right; whilst the other things, insisted on by the catholics in arguing against them, were wanting. But they produced no such copies, nor ever pretended to have any different from those commonly used.

Augustine has very agreeably and thoroughly exposed them upon this head in a[e] passage which I transcribe in his own words at the bottom of the page.

9. That the several books of the New Testament were written by apostles, or apostolical men, that is, by the persons whose names they bear, is evident from the testimony of all Christians in general, who lived before the time of Faustus and Mani.

10. The charge against the catholics is false and groundless. Neither they, nor their ancestors had corrupted and interpolated the scriptures of the New Testament. Some faults may have crept into them: and lesser differences there will be in copies of books often transcribed: but no considerable alterations could be made in writings so much valued, so well known, in the hands of so many persons, preserved in their original language, and translated likewise into many other languages.

On these two last observations, which contain the main answer to all the Manichæan pretences and objections relating to the books of the New Testament, Augustine has insisted largely, and admirably, in his confutations of the Manichees, and elsewhere. I am sure my readers will be pleased to see what he has said; and therefore I intend to transcribe several of his passages.

1. In a letter to Jerom, Augustine writes to this purpose: 'The[f] Manichees pretend that 'many passages of the divine scriptures, by which their impious opinions are clearly confuted, and 'which therefore they cannot wrest to their purpose, are not right: which wrong things however 'they do not ascribe to the apostles, but to some unknown corrupters of the same scriptures. 'But since they cannot justify themselves by the more numerous, nor more ancient copies, nor 'by the authority of the original language, from which the Latin copies have been translated, 'their foolish assertion is easily confuted.'

[a] Vos ergo quid dicitis? Unde ostenditis scripturas illas non ab apostolis ministratas? Respondetis, quia multa sunt in eis et inter se et sibi contraria. Omnino falsissimum est; vos non intelligitis.———Quis enim ferat lectorem, vel auditorem, scripturam tantæ auctoritatis facilius quam vitium suæ tarditatis audere culpare? Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16.

[b] Sed contraria, inquit, inter se scripta eorum reperiuntur. Maligni malo studio legitis, stulti non intelligitis, cœci non videtis. Quid enim magnum erat ista diligenter inspicere, et eorumdem scriptorum magnam et salubrem invenire congruentiam, si vos contentio non perverteret, et si pietas adjuvaret? Quis enim unquam, duos historicos legens de unâ re scribentes, utrumque vel utrumlibet eorum aut fallere aut falli arbitratus est, si unus eorum dixit quod alius prætermisit; aut si alter aliquid brevius complexus est, &c.? Contr. Faust. l. 33, c. 7.

[c] An hoc dicitis vos Paracletum docuisse, Scripturas istas Apostolorum non esse, sed sub eorum nominibus ab aliis esse conscriptas? Hoc saltem docete, ipsum Paracletum esse, a quo didicistis hæc apostolorum non esse. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16.

[d] Proferendus est namque tibi alius codex eadem continens et tamen incorruptus et verior, ubi sola desint ea quæ hic immissa esse criminaris. Ut si, verbi causâ, Pauli epistolam, quæ ad Romanos est, corruptam esse contendis, aliam proferas incorruptam, vel alium codicem potius, in quo ejusdem Apostoli eadem epistola sincera et incorrupta sit. Non faciam, inquis, ne ipse corrupisse credar. Hoc enim soletis dicere. Et verum dicitis, &c. De Mor. Ec. Cath. cap. 29, n. 61.

[e] Aliud est ergo auctoritate aliquorum vel librorum vel hominum non teneri, et aliud est dicere, Iste quidem vir sanctus omnia vera scripsit, et ista epistola ipsius est; sed in eâ ipsâ hoc ejus est, hoc non est ejus. Ubi cum ex adverso audieris, Proba; non confugies ad exempla veriora, vel plurium codicum, vel antiquorum, vel linguæ præcedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum est: sed dices, Inde probo hoc illius esse, illud non esse, quia hoc pro me sonat, illud contra me. Tu es ergo regula veritatis? &c. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 2.

[f] Manichæi plurima divinarum scripturarum, quibus eorum nefarius error clarissimâ sententiarum perspicuitate convincitur, quia in alium sensum detorquere non possunt, falsa esse contendunt; ita tamen ut eam falsitatem non scribentibus apostolis tribuant, sed nescio quibus codicum corruptoribus. Quod tamen quia nec pluribus, nec antiquioribus exemplaribus, nec præcedentis linguæ auctoritate, unde Latini libri interpretati sunt, probare aliquando potuerunt, notissimâ omnibus veritate superati confusique discedunt. Aug. Ep. 82, [al. 19] n. 6.

(2) In his book to his friend Honoratus, Augustine observes: 'Their[a] opinion is, that some 'unknown men, who were desirous to mix the law with the gospel, had interpolated the scrip- 'tures of the New Testament before the time of Mani. But,' says he 'this opinion of their's 'always appeared to me extremely absurd and unreasonable. It appeared so to me when I was 'among them: and not to me only but to you, and to others also who had any good degree of 'understanding. But I am now still more persuaded of the egregious folly of such an opinion, 'since they cannot make it out by the difference of the copies of scripture.'

(3) In another place Augustine says, 'the[b] books of scripture could not be corrupted. If such 'an attempt had been made by any one, his design would have been prevented and defeated. 'His alterations would have been immediately detected by many and more ancient copies. The 'difficulty of succeeding in such an attempt is apparent hence, that the scriptures were early 'translated into divers languages, and copies of them were numerous. The alterations, which 'any one attempted to make, would have been soon perceived: just even as now,' says he 'in 'fact, lesser faults in some copies are amended by comparing ancient copies, or those of the original 'language.'

(4) And soon afterwards he says: 'According[c] to your way of proceeding, the authority of 'scripture is quite destroyed; and every one's fancy is to determine what in the scripture ought 'to be received, what not. He does not admit it because it is found in writings of so great credit 'and authority; but it is rightly written because it is agreeable to his judgment. Into what confu- 'sion and uncertainty must men be brought by such a principle!'

(5) In a passage, which[d] I place at the bottom of the page, Augustine shews admirably that by their way of reasoning the credit of all sorts of writings, the most authentic, the best attested, the most generally received, is weakened, and even reduced to nothing.

(6) Again: 'If,' says[e] he, 'you receive abundance of fabulous things upon the authority of 'Mani, because found in his writings, though there is no demonstration of the truth, and his 'authority is very obscure; is it not much more reasonable to believe the things contained in 'the scriptures of the New Testament, which are so well known, and have been transmitted 'down from the time of the apostles with an universal, uninterrupted tradition? And if the things 'therein delivered are contrary to your sentiments, you should conclude your sentiments to be 'wrong, and should correct them by the scriptures.'

(7) Augustine argues likewise in this manner: 'If[f] you here ask us, how we know these to

[a] Volunt enim nescio quos corruptores divinorum librorum ante ipsius Manichæi tempora fuisse: corrupisse autem illos, qui Judæorum legem evangelio miscere cupiebant. De Ut. Cred. c. 3, n. 7, sub f. Quæ vox mihi semper quidem, etiam cum eos audirem, invalidissima visa est; nec mihi soli, sed etiam tibi, (nam bene memini) et nobis omnibus, qui paulo majorem diligentiam in judicando habere conabamur, quam turba credentium. Nunc vero——nihil mihi videtur ab eis impudentius dici, vel, ut mitius loquar, incuriosius et imbecillius, quam scripturas divinas esse corruptas; cum id nullis in tam recenti memoriâ exstantibus exemplaribus possint convincere. ib. n. 7, init.

[b] —— quid faceretis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis, nullo modo vos potuisse falsare codices, qui jam in manibus essent omnium Christianorum? quia mox, ut facere cœpissetis, vetustiorum exemplarium veritate convinceremini. Quâ igitur causâ a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac causâ a nemine potuerunt. Quisquis enim hoc primitus ausus esset, multorum codicum vetustiorum collatione confutaretur; maxime, quia non unâ linguâ sed multis eadem scriptura contineretur. Nam etiamnum nonnullæ codicum mendositates vel de antiquioribus, vel de linguâ præcedente, emendantur. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16, f.

[c] Videtis ergo id vos agere, ut omnis de medio Scripturarum auferatur auctoritas, et suus cuique animus auctor sit, quid in quâque Scripturâ probet, quid improbet, id est, ut non auctoritati Scripturarum subjiciatur ad fidem, sed sibi Scripturas ipse subjiciat; non ut ideo illi placeat aliquid, quia hoc in sublimi auctoritate scriptum legitur; sed ideo recte scriptum videatur, quia hoc illi placuit. Quo te committis, anima misera——? Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 19.

[d] Quid hoc loco potest dicere impudentissima pertinacia? Non hoc Christum dixisse? At in Evangelio verba ejus ista conscripta sunt. Falsum esse scriptum? Quid hoc sacrilegio magis impium reperiri potest? quid ista voce impudentius? quid audacius? quid sceleratius? Simulacrorum cultores, qui Christi etiam nomen oderunt, nunquam hoc adversus Scripturas illas ausi sunt dicere. Consequetur namque omnium literarum summa perversio, et omnium, qui memoriæ mandati sunt, librorum abolitio; si quod tantâ populorum religione roboratum est, tantâ hominum et temporum consensione firmatum, in hanc dubitationem inducitur, ut ne historiæ quidem vulgaris fidem possit gravitatemque obtinere. De Mor. Ecc. Cath. c. 29, n. 60.

[e] Plane, inquis, Manichæus me docuit. Sed infelix, credidisti, neque enim vidisti. Si ergo ad millia fabulosorum phantasmatum, quibus turpiter gravidatus es, te auctoritati ignotissimæ —— subdidisti, ut ideo hæc omnia crederes, quia in illis conscripta sunt libris, quibus miserabili errore credendum esse censuisti, cum tibi nulla demonstrentur; cur non potius Evangelicæ auctoritati, tam fundatæ, tam stabilitæ, tantâ gloriâ diffamatæ, atque ab Apostolorum temporibus usque ad nostra tempora per successiones certissimas commendatæ, non te subdis, ut credas, ut videas, ut discas etiam omnia quæ te offendunt, ex vanâ et perversâ opinione te offendere. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 19.

[f] Hic jam si quæratis a nobis, nos unde sciamus Apostolorum esse istas literas: breviter vobis respondemus, inde nos scire, unde et vos scitis illas literas esse Manichæi, quas miserabiliter huic auctoritati præponitis. Si enim et hinc vobis aliquis moveat quæstionem, et scrupulum contradictionis impingat, dicens, libros quos profertis Manichæi, non esse Manichæi, quid facturi estis? Nonne potius ejus deliramenta

'be the writings of the apostles; in brief we answer, in the same way that you know the epistles, 'or any other writings of Mani, to be his: for if any one should be pleased to dispute with you, 'and offer to deny the epistles ascribed to Mani to be his, what would you do? Would you not 'laugh at the assurance of the man who denied the genuineness of writings generally allowed? 'As therefore it is certain those books are Mani's, and he would be ridiculous who should now 'dispute it; so certain is it that the Manichees deserve to be laughed at, or rather ought to be 'pitied, who dispute the truth and genuineness of those writings of the apostles, which have 'been handed down as theirs from their time to this through an uninterrupted succession of 'well known witnesses.'

(8.) Augustine says farther that, 'following [a] their principle, there must be an end to all 'authority and certainty in all writings whatever. For no writings ever had a better testimony 'afforded them than those of the apostles and evangelists. Nor does it weaken the credit and 'authority of books, received by the church of Christ from the beginning, that some other writ-'ings have been without ground, and falsely ascribed to the apostles. For the like has happened, 'for instance, to Hippocrates; but yet his genuine works are distinguished from others which 'have been published under his name. We know the writings of the apostles as we know the 'works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and others, to be theirs, and as we know the writings 'of divers ecclesiastical authors; forasmuch as they have the testimony of contemporaries, and of 'those who have lived in succeeding times. I might moreover, by way of illustration, produce 'for examples these now in hand. Suppose some one in time to come should deny those to be 'the works of Faustus, or these to be mine; how should he be satisfied but by the testimony of 'those of this time who knew both, and have transmitted their accounts to others? And shall not, 'then, the testimony of the churches, and Christian brethren, be valid here; especially when they 'are so numerous, and so harmonious, and the tradition is with so much ease and certainty traced 'down from the apostles to our time? I say, shall any be so foolish and unreasonable as to deny 'or dispute the credibility of such a testimony to the scriptures, which would be allowed in behalf 'of any writings whatever, whether heathen or ecclesiastical?'

So writes Augustine with respect both to the genuineness and the integrity of the scriptures of the New Testament, in his thirty-third and last book against Faustus.

(9) I shall only add one short passage concerning this last particular, the integrity of the text, from another book of the same work.

Augustine, arguing for our Lord's humanity from these words, Rom. i. 3: "Of the seed of David according to the flesh," says, 'the [b] clause is in all copies ancient and modern. All 'churches and languages agree with one consent in owning it.'

ridebitis, qui contra rem tantâ connexionis et successionis serie confirmatam, impudentiam hujus vocis emittat? Sicut ergo certum est, illos libros esse Manichæi, et omnino ridendus est, qui ex transverso veniens tanto post natus litem vobis hujus contradictionis intenderit; ita certum est, Manichæum, vel Manichæos esse ridendos, aut etiam dolendos, qui tam fundatæ auctoritati, a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad hæc tempora certis successionibus custoditæ atque perductæ, audeant tale aliquid dicere. Ib. cap. 21.

[a] Infelices inimici animæ vestræ, quæ unquam literæ ullum habebunt pondus auctoritatis, si evangelicæ, si Apostolicæ non habebunt? De quo libro certum erit cujus sit, si literæ, quas Apostolorum dicit et tenet ecclesia ab ipsis Apostolis propagata et per omnes gentes tantâ eminentiâ declarata, utrum Apostolorum sint, incertum est——? Quasi vero et in literis sæcularibus non fuerunt certissimi auctores, sub quorum nominibus postea multa prolata sunt, et ideo repudiata, quia vel his, quæ ipsorum esse constaret, minime congruerunt, vel eo tempore quo illi scripserint, nequaquam innotescere, et per ipsos vel familiarissimos eorum in posteros prodi commendarique meruerunt.—— Hos autem libros, quibus illi qui de transverso proferuntur comparati respuuntur, unde constat esse Hippocratis?———nisi quia sic eos ab ipso Hippocratis tempore usque ad hoc tempus et deinceps successionis series commendavit, ut hinc dubitare dementis sit? Platonis, Aristotelis, Ciceronis, Varronis, aliorumque ejusmodi auctorum libros, unde noverunt homines, quod ipsorum sint, nisi eâdem temporum sibi succedentium contestatione continuâ? Multi multa de literis ecclesiasticis conscripserunt, non quidem auctoritate canonicâ, sed aliquo adjuvandi studio, sive discendi. Unde constat quid cujus sit, nisi quia his temporibus quibus ea quisque scripsit, quibus potuit insinuavit atque edidit, et inde in alios atque alios continuatâ notitiâ latiusque firmatâ ad posteros, etiam usque ad nostra tempora pervenerunt, ita ut interrogati cujus quisque liber sit, non hæsitemus quid respondere debeamus? Sed quid pergam in longe præterita? Ecce istas literas quas habemus in manibus, si post aliquantum tempus vitæ hujus nostræ, vel illas quisquam Fausti esse, vel has neget esse meas, unde convincitur, nisi quia illi qui nunc ista noverunt, notitiam suam ad longe etiam post futuros continuatis posterorum successionibus trajiciunt? Quæ cum ita sint, quis tandem tanto furore cœcatur,———qui dicat hoc mereri non potuisse Apostolorum ecclesiam, tam fidam, tam numerosam fratrum concordiam, ut eorum scripta fideliter ad posteros trajicerent, cum eorum cathedras usque ad præsentes episcopos certissimâ successione servaverint; cum hoc qualiumcumque hominum scriptis, sive extra ecclesiam, sive in ipsâ ecclesiâ, tantâ facilitate proveniat? Contr. Faust. l. 33. cap. 6.

[b] Hoc autem quod adversus impietatem vestram ex apostoli Pauli epistolâ profertur, Filium Dei ex semine David esse secundum carnem, omnes codices et novi et veteres habent, omnes ecclesiæ legunt, omnes linguæ consentiunt. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 3.

(10) By all which we perceive how solidly and rationally Augustine defended the authority of the scriptures; and how weak are all the objections which the Manichees brought against the antiquity, genuineness, or purity, of the books of the New Testament.

VIII. Augustine, in the passage of his Summary above cited, said that 'the Manichees 'made use of apocryphal books.' We shall have full proof of it presently.

But let us first of all examine a charge or two brought against these people.

1. There is a passage in [a] Augustine, which might lead some persons to suspect that the Manichees pretended to have some letter of Christ. Mr. Jones, [b] in his table of apocryphal pieces, not extant, reckons this as one: 'An Epistle of Christ produced by the Manichees.' 'But,' says [c] Beausobre, 'no ancient author having ever accused them of forging such a letter, 'and no man having ever seen this pretended letter, it is reasonable to consider what Augustine 'says only as a supposition, which makes a part of an argument, otherwise also perplexed enough.' Fabricius [d] speaks to the like purpose. Moreover Faustus acknowledgeth that [e] Christ did not write the New Testament. If the sect had any letter ascribed to our Saviour, Faustus would have mentioned it: and Augustine in his answer would not only have made a supposition of such a thing, but would have taken particular notice of it.

2. The Manichees are sometimes charged with interpolating, or endeavouring to interpolate and alter the books of the New Testament, in order to render the words of it agreeable to their sentiments.

The passages of Titus above cited imply as much. Pope Leo [f] seems to say it expressly.

But they may be acquitted here likewise. I have formerly [g] said what is sufficient for answering Titus. And Fabricius [h] has helped us to a good solution for Leo. 'All that is to be under-'stood by his complaint against the Manichees, is, that they made use of some apocryphal books, 'in which Christ was brought in speaking what he never said: but they did not make any altera-'tions in the words of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, or any other of the cano-'nical books of the New Testament received by them, but only endeavoured to pervert them 'by false interpretations.'

That they really did not make any such alterations may be well argued from the testimony given by Photius to the Paulicians of his time, whom he always considers as Manichees. He says, 'they [i] do not make any material alterations in the scriptures, as Marcion and Valentinus 'did.' And presently afterwards he says, 'they do not corrupt the gospel by any insertions or 'additions.'

Mr. Wolff, in his notes upon that passage of Photius, says he does not see how this can be reconciled with the accounts given by Titus and Archelaus. As for Titus, what was formerly said may suffice. Nor is there, perhaps, any greater difficulty in the words of Archelaus. We have indeed seen that [k] Mani pretended the scriptures of the New Testament had been altered by others. And in the place referred to by Mr. Wolff, Archelaus says that 'when [l] Mani had 'our scriptures he endeavoured to find in them his doctrine of the two principles: and that 'when he disputed with him, he strove to support his opinions by the same; censuring some

[a] Si enim prolatæ fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius proprie Christi esse dicantur; undè fieri poterat, ut, si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis eminerent in ejus ecclesiâ ——? Quis ergo tam demens, qui hodie credat esse epistolam Christi, quam protulerit Manichæus, et non credat facta, vel dicta esse Christi, quæ scripsit Matthæus? Aug. Contr. F. l. 28. c. 4.

[b] Jones's Can. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 145, 146.

[c] Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 338, 339.

[d] Ex hoc loco non satis firmiter probatur, Manichæos reverâ Epistolam quamdam singularem sub nomine Christi jactâsse, &c. Fabr Cod. Ps. N. T. T. i. p. 306. note [t].

[e] Præsertim quod, nec ab ipso scriptum constat. Faust. l. 32. cap. 2.

[f] Ipsasque Evangelicas et Apostolicas paginas, quædam auferendo, et quædam inserendo violaverunt; confingentes sibi sub Apostolorum nominibus, et sub verbis ipsis Salvatoris, multa volumina falsitatis, quibus erroris sui commenta munirent, et decipiendorum mentibus mortiferum virus effunderent. Leo. Serm. 4, in Epiph. cap. 4.

[g] See p. 219.

[h] Hæc Leonis verba accipienda sunt de libris apocryphis a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub Apostolorum nomine scriptis, quos a Manichæis lectos notat Augustinus, l. 22, c. 79. Contra Faustum, et Timotheus presbyter in loco supra, p. 178, et seq. adducto. In his Salvator subinde loquens inducebatur. Cæterum in Evangeliis Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Joannis, atque in Epistolis Pauli,——nihil vel inserendo vel auferendo violâsse hæreticos istos, sed tantum pravâ interpretatione scripta illa divina pervertisse, testatur Photius MS. contr. Manichæos, lib. i. Fabr. ib. p. 306, 337.

[i] —— τοις ῥημασι μεν και ονομασιν οὐδεν μεγα παραλλαττων, οὐδε κατακιβδηλευων τε λογε το σχημα——και τα μεν ῥητα——διδωσι κατεχειν τε τε ευαγγελιε, μητε παρενθηκαις μητε προσθηκαις ανεδην λυμαινομενος. Ph. contr. Manich. l. 1. p. 9, 10.

[k] See before, p. 219, 220.

[l] Et, ut ne multa dicam, comparant universos libros Scripturarum nostrarum,—quibus ille acceptis, homo astutus cœpit in nostris libris occasiones inquirere dualitatis suæ——et in nostris libris, sicut etiam adversus me disputans fecit, assertionem suam proferre, quædam in his accusans, quædam permutans.——Arch. cap. 54. p. 90.

things, and changing others:' that is, I think, perverting them. In a word, Mani perverted some texts of scripture; and some others, that were too hard for him, he censured, as additions, but did not alter the text of the New Testament himself.

Augustine may be reckoned a good witness for them here: 'For,' says [a] he, 'if any one 'should charge you with having interpolated some texts alleged by you, as favourable to your 'cause, what would you say? Would you not immediately answer that it is impossible for you 'to do such a thing in books read by all Christians? And that if any such attempt had been 'made by you, it would have been presently discerned and defeated by comparing the ancient 'copies? Well then,' says Augustine, 'for the same reason that the scriptures cannot be cor-'rupted by you, neither could they be corrupted by any other people.'

The scriptures therefore were not corrupted; for it was impossible: nor had the Manichees attempted it.

Nor has Augustine, that I remember, any where charged them with such an attempt: though, if there had been reason for it, there were many occasions to mention it. He often speaks of their charge against the catholics. Certainly therefore he would have returned it, if there had been any ground for it.

Moreover, it is evident from Augustine that the Manichees had no copies of the books of the New Testament, different from those used by the catholics: they often said, that the catholic copies were corrupted: but [b] when called upon to produce others, more sincere and uncorrupt, they always declined it.

It is also very remarkable, which Augustine says, that when he was with them, and [c] in their private discourses they insinuated that the scriptures of the New Testament had been corrupted by some men, who were desirous to mix Judaism with Christianity, they produced not any copies different from those commonly received.

Beausobre has vindicated the Manichees from [d] the charge or suspicion of being the authors of several passages found in some copies of the New Testament. I refer to him: but I do not think it needful for me now to enter into particulars of that kind; I have said what is sufficient to render men easy upon this head.

IX. Augustine, in his Summary, said 'that the Manichees made use of apocryphal books, 'which they prefer to the canonical scriptures.' That they used such books is unquestionable: but what regard they had for them is not easily perceived by us now.

1. As we are now entering into this inquiry, and are to observe the proofs of the Manichees using apocryphal writings, and what they were, it may not be improper to take notice here of Augustine's definition of such books. 'Apocryphal books,' he [e] says, 'are not such as are of 'authority [or received by the church,] and are kept secret: but they are books whose original 'is obscure, and which are destitute of proper testimonials; their authors being unknown, and 'their character either heretical, or suspected.' That passage is taken out of Augustine's answer to Faustus. A like description of such books may be seen [f] in his work, entitled Of the City of God.

[a] Tamen cum ea de iis codicibus proferretis, quos dicitis falsatos, hoc ipsum illic immissum esse diceremus, quod illic de Manichæo sic dictum legeretur, ut de alio intelligere non possemus: quid faceretis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis, nullo modo vos potuisse falsare codices, qui jam in manibus essent omnium Christianorum? quia mox ut facere cœpissetis, vetustiorum exemplarium veritate convinceremini. Quâ igitur causâ a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac causâ a nemine potuerunt. Aug. contr. F. l. 32. c. 16. Vid. et supra. p. 373. note [b].

[b] Proferendus est namque tibi alius codex eadem continens, sed tamen incorruptus et verior, ubi sola desint ea quæ hic immissa esse criminaris. Ut si, verbi causâ, Pauli epistolam, quæ ad Romanos scripta est, corruptam esse contendis, aliam proferas incorruptam, vel alium codicem potius, in quo ejusdem Apostoli eadem epistola sincera et incorrupta conscripta sit. Non faciam, inquis, ne ipse corrupisse credar: hoc enim soletis dicere. De Mor. Ec. Cath. cap. 29. n. 61.

[c] Quam [responsionem] quidem non facile palam promebant, sed nobis secretius, cum dicerent scripturas novi Testamenti falsatas fuisse a nescio quibus, qui Judæorum legem inserere Christianæ fidei voluerunt, atque ipsi incorrupta exemplaria nulla proferrent. Confess. l. 5. c. xi. n. 21.

[d] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 342—344.

[e] Aliud est ipsos libros non accipere, et nullo vinculo detineri, quod Pagani de omnibus libris nostris, quod Judæi de novo Testamento faciunt, quod denique nos ipsi de vestris et aliorum hæreticorum, si quos suos et proprios habent, vel de iis qui appellantur apocryphi: non quod habendi sint in aliquâ auctoritate secretâ, sed quia nullâ testificationis luce declarati, de nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum præsumtione prolati sunt. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 2.

[f] Omittamus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quæ apocryphæ nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium Scripturarum certissimâ et notissimâ successione pervenit. In his autem apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen, propter multa falsa, nulla est canonica auctoritas. De Civ. Dei. l. 15. c. 23. n. 4.

2. Let us now observe some farther proofs of the Manichees using apocryphal scriptures: at the same time we shall perceive, in good measure, what they were.

Photius says of Agapius, a celebrated Manichæan writer, that [a] he makes use of the Acts of the twelve apostles, especially those of Andrew.

Philaster says that [b] the Manichees, and divers other heretics, make use of apocryphal scriptures. He says particularly, that they have Acts of Andrew, John and Peter.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, having named the three disciples of Mani, Thomas, Buddas, and Hermas, adds: 'Let [c] no man read the gospel according to Thomas: for it is not a work of 'one of the twelve apostles of Christ, but one of the three naughty disciples of Mani.' And in another place he says, 'The [d] Manichees have written a gospel, entitled according to Thomas, 'by which the minds of the simple are corrupted.'

Faustus [e] speaks as if he had some writings or histories of the apostles Peter, and Andrew, and Thomas, and John, which were not in the catholic canon.

He certainly quotes [f] The Acts of Paul and Thecla with a good deal of respect, as if he thought it a true history. Of this book I have said something [g] already.

Faustus says, 'The [h] Virgin Mary was not of the tribe of Judah, but of Levi: forasmuch as 'her father was a priest, named Joachim.' Augustine, [i] in his answer, calls the book, whence that particular was taken, an apocryphal piece of no authority. Beausobre makes no doubt but [k] that it was some book of Leucius.

Augustine often speaks of the Manichees using apocryphal scriptures. In his book against Adimantus he quotes one of those books, containing [l] a history of the apostle Thomas. In the same work he relates [m] another history of the apostle Peter, taken from their apocryphal scriptures, and probably from the same work where was the forecited history concerning Thomas: and in the twenty-second book of his work against Faustus he relates the [n] same account of Tho-

[a] Και ταις λεγομεναις δε Πραξεσι των δωδεκα αποστολων, και μαλιστα Ανδρεα, ε μονον συντιθεται, αλλα κακειθεν εχει το ρητον ηρμενον. Phot. Cod. 179. p. 405.

[b] —— e quibus sunt maxime Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaïtæ, Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui apocrypha Prophetarum et Apostolorum, id est Actus separatos habentes, Canonicas legere Scripturas contemnunt.——Nam Manichæi apocrypha beati Andreæ Apostoli, id est, Actus, quos fecit veniens de Ponto in Græciam, quos conscripserunt tunc discipuli sequentes Apostolum. Unde et habent Manichæi et alii tales Andreæ beati, et Joannis Actus Evangelistæ beati, et Petri similiter Apostoli; in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut pecudes et canes et bestiæ loquerentur, &c. Philast. Hær. 88.

[c] Μηδεις αναγινωσκετω το κατα Θωμαν ευαγγελιον· ε γαρ εστιν ενος των δωδεκα αποστολων, αλλ' ενος των κακων τριων τε Μανη μαθητων. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 31.

[d] Εγραψαν και Μανιχαιοι κατα Θωμαν ευαγγελιον, ὁπερ ευωδια της ευαγγελικης παρωνυμιας επικεχρωσμενον, διαφθειρει τας ψυχας των ἁπλουστερων. Id. cat. 4. n. 36.

[e] Mitto enim cæteros ejusdem Domini nostri apostolos, Petrum et Andream, Thomam, et illum inexpertem Veneris inter cæteros beatum Joannem, qui per diversa professionem [al. possessionem] boni istius inter virgines ac pueros divino præconio cecinerunt, formam nobis atque adeo vobis ipsis faciendarum virginum relinquentes. Sed hos quidem, ut dixi, prætereo; quia eos exclusistis de canone: &c. Faust. l. 30. c. 4.

[f] Si vero favere hnic quoque proposito et non reluctari volenti, id quoque doctrinam putatis esse dæmoniorum, taceo nunc vestrum periculum, ipsi jam timeo Apostolo, ne dæmoniorum doctrinam intulisse Iconium videatur, cum Theclam oppigneratam jam thalamo, in amorem sermone suo perpetuæ virginitatis incendit.——Num igitur et de Christo eadem dicere poteritis, aut de apostolo Paulo, quem similiter ubique constat, et verbo semper prætulisse nuptis innuptas, et id opere quoque ostendisse erga sanctissimam Theclam. Quod si hæc dæmoniorum doctrina non fuit, quam et Theclæ Paulus, et cæteri cæteris annuntiaverunt Apostoli. Faust. l. 30. c. 4.

[g] See Vol. i. p. 435, and p. 448, 449; and Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 423.

[h] ——— sed ex tribu Levi, unde sacerdotes: quod ipsum palam est, quia eadem patrem habuit sacerdotem quemdam nomine Joachim, cujus tamen in hac generatione nulla usquam habita mentio est. Faust. l. 23. c. 4.

[i] Ac per hoc illud quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit,————quia canonicum non est, me non constringit. —— Hoc ergo potius, vel tale aliquid crederem, si illius apocryphæ scripturæ, ubi Joachim pater Mariæ legitur, auctoritate detinerer. Aug. Contr. Faust. l. 23. n. 9.

[k] Cela se trouvoit, sans doute, avec d'autres erreurs, dans le livre de Seleucus, qui avoit écrit l'histoire de la Vierge. Beaus. T. i. p. 354.

[l] Ipsi autem legunt scripturas apocryphas, quas etiam incorruptissimas dicunt, ubi scriptum est, apostolum Thomam maledixisse homini, a quo per imprudentiam palmâ percussus est, ignorante quis esset, maledictumque illud continuo venisse ad effectum. Nam cum ille homo, quoniam minister convivii erat, ut apportaret aquam, exisset ad fontem, a leone occisus et dilaniatus est.————Sic etenim in illâ scripturâ legitur, quod deprecatus fuerit apostolus pro illo in quem temporaliter vindicatum est, ut ei parceretur in futuro judicio. Aug. contr. Adim. c. 17. n 2. T. 8.

[m] In illo ergo libro,————legimus ad sententiam Petri cecidisse homines, et mortuos esse virum et uxorem.———— Quod isti magnâ cœcitate vituperant, cum in apocryphis pro magno legant, et illud quod de apostolo Thomâ commemoravi, et ipsius Petri filiam paralyticam factam precibus patris, et hortulani filiam ad precem ipsius Petri esse mortuam. ib. c. 17. n. 5.

[n] Legunt scripturas apocryphas Manichæi, a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nominibus scriptas.—— Ibi tamen legunt apostolum Thomam, cum esset in quodam nuptiarum convivio peregrinus et prorsus incognitus, a quodam ministro palmâ percussum, imprecatum fuisse homini continuam sævamque vindictam. Nam cum egressus esset ad fontem, unde aquam convivantibus ministraret, eum leo irruens interemit, manumque ejus, qua caput Apostoli levi ictu percusserat, a corpore avulsam, secundum verbum ejusdem Apostoli id optantis atque imprecantis, canis intulit mensis, in quibus ipse discumbebat Apostolus.————Utrum illa vera

mas from the apocryphal scriptures used by the Manichees, which, he there says, were composed by some unknown fabulous authors under the names of apostles.

In his answer to an anonymous author, whom he styles an adversary of the law and the prophets, he observes, that [a] author alleged passages out of apocryphal writings under the names of the apostles Andrew and John: which, he says, if they were really theirs, would have been received by the church, which has subsisted with an uninterrupted succession of bishops, from the times of the apostles to our own.

In the disputes with Felix the Manichee, Augustine puts him in mind [b] of a passage of The Acts of Leucius, called Acts of the Apostles, one of the apocryphal scriptures, not received by the catholic church, but much esteemed by the Manichees, as he says.

The same passage is also quoted, as from Leutius or Leucius, by [c] the author De Fide against the Manichees: who also afterwards quotes the [d] same books of Leucius, entitled Acts of the Apostles, and relates thence a story concerning the apostle Andrew.

3. As we have now had sufficient proofs of the Manichees using apocryphal scriptures, and Leucius has been named, I shall next give some account of this man, who is usually esteemed a great forger of such books.

In the first place I shall take notice of his works, and the ancient authors who have mentioned him; secondly, his opinions; thirdly, his time: after which I intend to add some remarks upon the apocryphal scriptures made use of by the Manichees.

(1) I would give some account of the books ascribed to Leucius, and shew the places of ancient authors who have mentioned him: but I must be allowed to be brief. They who are desirous of fuller satisfaction may look into [e] Fabricius, [f] Jones, [g] Beausobre, and others: and possibly I may some time have another opportunity to take farther notice of him.

Leucius is expressly named in [h] two or three passages just cited from Augustine, and the author De Fide: and possibly he is the author of all the other apocryphal pieces before taken notice of from Faustus and Augustine, though he is not there named.

Photius [i] gives an account of a book entitled 'The Travels of the Apostles: in which are 'contained Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, Paul. The author is Leucius Charinus, as 'the book itself shews.'

He is mentioned by name in the Decree of [k] Gelasius. All his books are declared to be apocryphal.

He is mentioned in like manner by [l] pope Innocent the first in one of his epistles.

A large fragment of his Travels of the Apostles is cited [m] in the second council of Nice.

He is mentioned [n] in the supposititious letter of Jerom to Chromatius and Heliodorus, and called Seleucus.

(2) In the next place I shall speak a word or two of the opinions of Leucius. The account

sit aut conficta narratio, nihil mea nunc interest. Certe enim Manichæi, a quibus illæ scripturæ, quas canon ecclesiasticus respuit, tamquam veræ ac sinceræ acceptantur, saltem hinc coguntur sateri, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 22. c. 79.

[a] Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum Andreæ Joannisque conscripta sunt. Quæ si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesiâ, quæ ab illorum temporibus per episcoporum successiones certissimas, usque ad nostra deinceps tempora perseverat. Contr. Adv. L. et P. l. i. c. 20. in.

[b] Habetis etiam hoc in scripturis apocryphis, quas canon quidem catholicus non admittit; vobis autem tanto graviores sunt, quanto a catholico canone secluduntur. Aliquid etiam inde commemorem, cujus ego auctoritate non teneor, sed tu convinceris. In Actibus scriptis a Leucio, quos tamquam Actus Apostolorum scribit, habes ita positum: Etenim speciosa figmenta, &c. Act. cum. Fel. l. 2, c. 6.

[c] In Actibus etiam conscriptis a Leucio, quos ipsi accipiunt, sic scriptum est; Etenim speciosa figmenta, &c. De Fid. c. 5. ap. Aug. T. 8, in App.

[d] Attendite in Actibus Leucii, quos sub nomine Apostolorum scribit, qualia sint quæ accipitis de Maximillâ uxore Egetis: ——Ibi etiam scriptum est, quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul issent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem vult Leucius vel Deum vel certe angelum intelligi, commendaverit eos Andreæ apostolo. De Fid. cap. 38.

[e] Cod. Apocr. N. T.

[f] Of the canon of scripture, vol. i.

[g] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 348, &c.

[h] Act. cum Fel. l. 2, c. 6. De Fide c. 5, et 38.

[i] Ανεγνωσθη βιβλιον, αἱ λεγομεναι των Αποστολων περιοδοι· εν αἱς περιειχοντο πραξεις Πετρου, Ιωαννου, Ανδρεου, Θωμα, Παυλου. Γραφει δε αυτας, ὡς δηλοι το αυτο βιβλιον, Λευκιος Χαρινος. Phot. Cod. 114, p. 292.

[k] Libri omnes, quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli, apocryphi. Gelas. ap. Labb. Conc. T. 4, p. 1204.

[l] Cætera autem, quæ vel sub nomine Matthiæ, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Henocharide et Leonidâ philosophis; vel sub nomine Thomæ, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. Inn. ad Exup. Ep. 3, ap. Conc. ib. T. 2, p. 1256.

[m] εκ των ψευδεπιγραφων Περιοδων των ἁγιων αποστολων. ap. Labb. Conc. T. 7, p. 357, &c. and see Beaus. Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 388, 389, &c.

[n] Sed factum est, ut a Manichæi discipulo nomine Seleuco, qui etiam Apostolorum gesta falso sermone conscripsit, hic liber editus, &c. Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 445.

which Photius gives of them, who had read his work abovementioned, is this: 'He [a] teaches that 'the God of the Jews is evil; that the God preached by Jesus Christ is good. He speaks of 'God by the names of Father and Son: he says that Christ was not really man, though he ap- 'peared to be so; that he appeared to the disciples differently, sometimes young, sometimes old, 'and less at one time than another, and sometimes so high as to touch the heavens with his head: 'he says that Christ was not crucified, but another in his room; that marriage is evil in itself, 'and of the evil one; that God is not the creator of dæmons. In the Acts of John he seems to 'argue against images.'

From this account, though possibly Photius is not exact, and may have misrepresented some things, it may be concluded that [b] Leucius agreed in divers respects with the Manichees, or rather they with him. For we may hence argue that, as he said the God of the Jews was evil, he did not receive the books of the Old Testament. We likewise perceive that he was one of them who are called Docetæ, and that he did not believe Christ to be man really, but in appearance only: he likewise had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and highly extolled perpetual virginity: he denied that dæmons were made by God, and condemned the use of pictures and images. Beausobre [c] has carefully examined the forecited extract of Photius, and made just remarks upon it, for discovering the real sentiments of Leucius.

(3) I am to consider the time of Leucius. Mr. Jones was positive that [d] Leucius was a Manichee, and that he did not live before the latter part of the third, or the beginning of the fourth, century after Christ: and many others undoubtedly are of the same opinion. But [e] Grabe placeth him in the second century, as does [f] Mill; who supposeth that he flourished about the year of Christ 140, and has a great many just observations upon this man and his works, to whom I refer the reader; not judging it needful to transcribe a modern author who is, or ought to be, in every body's hands. Beausobre is exactly of the same mind with the two last mentioned writers: and says that,[g] unless by a Manichee be meant one who held the same or like opinions with them, it is certain that Leucius was not a Manichee, he having lived more than a hundred years before Mani was born. He then proceeds to mention [h] divers arguments for that supposition, which appears to me very considerable: but I may not now stay to transcribe or abridge them.

4. Lastly, I am to mention some observations upon the works of Leucius, and the apocryphal writings made use of by the Manichees.

(1) It seems to me not improbable that all the preceding quotations of apocryphal books in Augustine are taken out of one and the same book, called Acts or Travels of the Apostles, and composed by Leucius.

(2) So much I said formerly. I now add: It seems to me that the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew, Thomas, Peter, John, and even Paul, were not distinct books, but parts of one and the same work called Acts of the Apostles. Photius, as before quoted, calls the work of Leucius, Travels of the Apostles. That very title might lead us to suppose there was somewhat in that piece concerning all, or most of the apostles. In his article of Agapius he says, 'that Mani- 'chæan author makes use of The Acts of the twelve Apostles, especially those of Andrew.' It does not follow that The Acts of Andrew or Thomas, or the like, were distinct works, because they are sometimes quoted severally and alone. We have a proof of this in the article of Leucius, just now transcribed from Photius, where at the end he mentions the Acts of John distinctly: whilst yet, unquestionably, they were a part only of the work before described by the general title of The Travels of the Apostles: which also he expressly said contained The Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, Paul. Mill likewise [i] allows it to be one work which contained Acts of several apostles.

[a] Φησι γαρ αλλον ειναι τον των Ιουδαιων θεον και κακον ——αλλον δε τον Χριστον, ον φησιν αγαθον——και καλει αυτον και πατερα και υιον· λεγει δε μηδ' ενανθρωπησαι αληθως, αλλα δοξαι· και πολλα πολλακις φαινηναι τοις μαθηταις, νεον και πρεσβυτην παλιν, και παλιν παιδα, και μειζονα και ελαττονα, και μεγιστον, ωστε την κορυφην διηκειν εσθ' ότε μεχρις ηρανω ——και τον Χριστον μη σταυρωθηναι, αλλ' ετερον αντ' αυτου. ——Γαμους δε νομιμους αθετει, και πασαν γενεσιν πονηραν τε και τω πονηρω· και πλαστην των δαιμονων αλλον εκκλητοι—— δοκει δε κατ' εικονων τοις εικονομαχοις εν ταις Ιωαννου πραξεσι δογματιζειν. Phot. Cod. 114, p. 292.

[b] Concerning the opinions of Leucius, see Beaus. T. i. p. 384—390. [c] Ib. p. 384——390.

[d] Ib. V. i. p. 303, &c.

[e] ——figmentum Leucii hæretici, seculo secundo plura ejusmodi cudentis. Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 58.——Leucius, sive Lucius, Marcionis successor. Sec. ii. ib. p. 78.—— quæ Lucium seculi ii. hæreticum auctorem habere videntur. ib. p. 324. [f] Proleg. n. 333—340.

[g] Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 349, 350.

[h] Ib. p. 350, 351.

[i] Consarcinati quoque erant ab eodem Charino, teste, qui

(3) Another observation to be mentioned here is, that there is no good reason to think, as some have done, that the apocryphal scriptures, made use of by the Manichees, were forged by them. No, they had no occasion to forge books of that sort: for they found most of their sentiments encouraged by apocryphal books, composed by authors of earlier antiquity. Those [a] books favoured their sentiments concerning the seeming humanity of Jesus, the merit of virginity or celibacy, and the imperfection of the marriage-state. They therefore took the advantage of those writings, and sometimes quoted or appealed to them.

Cyril, above quoted, says the gospel of Thomas was written by a disciple of Mani, so called. But [b] Beausobre well argues that this gospel was not forged by the Manichees; forasmuch as it was in being before the rise of Manichæism; and is mentioned among spurious writings, not only by [c] Eusebius, but also by [d] Origen, in the preface to his Commentary upon St. Luke's Gospel. He adds, that the gospel of Thomas is placed among apocryphal books in the Synopsis, which is in [e] the works of Athanasius, without imputing it to the Manichees. Gelasius likewise contents himself with saying of this gospel, that it was used by the Manichees, without adding that [f] it was forged by them.

The same may be shewn to be probable with regard to other books made use of by the Manichees.

Eusebius among spurious books written by heretics, reckons [g] Acts of Andrew, John, and other apostles. Epiphanius says that [h] The Acts of Andrew, John, and Thomas, were used by the Encratites: The [i] Acts of Andrew and Thomas by the apostolics: The [k] Acts of Andrew and other apostles by the Origenists: all three sects, which are supposed to be older than the [l] Manichees.

Augustine particularly observes of [m] a hymn used by the Priscillianists, that it was among the apocryphal scriptures: and then adds, 'Not that these apocryphal scriptures are peculiarly 'theirs; for there are several sects of very different opinions from each other, who delight in 'those books, as fetching thence some support for some of their notions.'

(4) I add but one observation more, which is, that these apocryphal books confirm the history of the genuine and authentic scriptures of the New Testament. They do not directly contradict them; they indirectly confirm and establish them. For they are composed and written in the names of such as our authentic scriptures say were apostles, or companions of apostles. They all suppose the dignity of our Lord's person, and the power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, to have been conveyed by him to his apostles.

SECT. VII.

Various readings, and select passages, in Faustus the Manichee.

I SHALL here take some notice of various readings in the New Testament, or the texts of scripture made use of by the Manichees, and likewise some select passages, or observations, in Faustus the Manichee.

1. The catholics, as [n] Faustus observes, asserted the integrity of the books of the New Testament, and could not endure the supposition that they had been corrupted and interpolated.

librum ipsum diligenter perlustrârat, Photio, Περιοδοι Apostolorum.——Complectebatur autem istud volumen 1. Acta Petri.——2. Acta Joannis.——3. Acta Andreæ.——4. Acta Thomæ.——Mill. Proleg. n. 337, 338.

[a] Beaus. T. i. p. 424. [b] Ib. p. 345.

[c] Hist. Ec. l. 3, c. 25, p. 97. D.

[d] The passage of Origen, with remarks upon it, may be seen in the first Vol. of this work, p. 551, &c.

[e] Athan. T. 2, p. 202.

[f] Evangelium nomine Thomæ, quo utuntur Manichæi, apocryphum. Gelas. ap. Labb. Conc. T. 4, p. 1264.

[g] H. E. l. 3, c. 25, p. 97. D. [h] Epiph. H. 47, n. 2.

[i] H. 61, n. 1. [k] H. 63, n. 2.

[l] See before ch. xli. p. 588, &c.

[m] Hymnus sane, quem dicunt esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi,——in scripturis solet apocryphis inveniri. Quæ non proprie Priscillianistarum sunt, sed alii quoque hæretici eis nonnullarum sectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur, inter se quidem diversa sentientes, unde suas quisque varias hæreses sunt secuti. Sed scripturas istas habent in suâ diversitate communes, easque illi præcipue frequentare assolent, qui legem veterem et prophetas canonicos non accipiunt. Ep. 237, al. 253, n. 2.

[n] Sed quia vobis ita placet, qui nunquam sine stomacho auditis aliquid esse in Apostolo cauponatum, ne hoc quidem nobis sciatis esse contrarium. Faust. l. xi. c. 1.

2. Faustus says that [a] the gospel of Jesus Christ is nothing but the preaching, or the doctrine and commandments, of Christ. Beausobre assents [b] to this explication as right, and prefers it to Augustine's: though that great writer did not forget to allege [c] 2 Tim. ii. 8.

3. We evidently perceive, from the work of Faustus, that [d] both the catholic and the Manichæan copies of the New Testament had the two genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke.

4. It looks as if [e] Faustus understood the beatitude, Matt. v. 3, of worldly poverty, and the mourning in ver. 4, of afflictions in this life; and ver. 6, of bodily hunger and thirst for the sake of righteousness: though, as it seems, this last mentioned text, which we render "hunger and 'thirst after righteousness," was read [f] as it is now in our present copies.

5. Faustus had Matt. xxviii. 19, in his [g] copies.

6. He likewise quotes [h] the beginning of St. Mark's and St. John's gospels.

7. There is some reason to think that Faustus read Luke xxiii. 43, as [i] Origen did: 'This [k] 'day shalt thou be with me in the paradise of God,' or 'of my Father.'

8. Faustus [l] has the history of the woman taken in adultery, which is at the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John's gospel.

9. Mani, in The Dispute with Archelaus, understands our Lord to say [m] in John viii. 44, that 'the devil is a liar, as is also his father.' Upon this text the curious may consult [n] Mill, and [o] Beausobre.

10. Augustine in his work against Faustus, says, that, in some Latin [p] copies they had, Rom. i. 3, 'Which was *born* of the seed of David;' instead of *made*, which is in the Greek.

11. Faustus [q] and [r] Secundinus quote St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesian's by that title.

12. I put in the margin the definitions which [s] Faustus gives of schism and heresy.

[a] ——et interrogas, utrum accipiam Evangelium? nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod Evangelium nuncupatur. Est enim nihil aliud, quam prædicatio et mandatum Christi. Faust. l. 5, c. 1. Vides in me Christi beatitudines illas, quæ Evangelium faciunt, et interrogas, utrum accipiam? ibid.——Quia evangelium quidem a prædicatione Christi et esse cœpit et nominari.——Id. l. 2, c. 1. Scias me, ut dixi, accipere Evangelium, id est, prædicationem Christi. ib.

[b] Cependant je dois rendre justice à Fauste. Il n'explique pas mal, et si je l'ose dire, il explique mieux que S. Augustin, ce que veut dire le mot d' Evangile. Il entend par là, non l' histoire de la naissance, et des actions de J. Christ, mais la doctrine que Jésus Christ a prêchée.——Et quoique S. Augustin eût raison dans le fond, il n'en avoit pas néanmoins de soutenir, comme il fasoit, que l'histoire de la naissance de J. Christ est comprise dans l'idée de ces mots, Evangile de J. Christ, qui ne signifioit autre chose, que la doctrine prêchée par Jésus Christ. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 298, 299.

[c] ——hanc scilicet causam subjiciens, quia generatio Christi non pertinet ad Evangelium. Quid ergo respondebis Apostolo dicenti, Memor esto Christum Jesum resurrexisse a mortuis, ex semine David secundum Evangelium meum? Aug. contr. Faust. l. 2, c. 2.

[d] Quid enim scripsit? Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David, &c. Faust. l. 2, c. 1. Sed offensus duorum maxime Evangelistarum dissensione, qui genealogiam ejus scribunt, Lucæ et Matthæi, Læsi, &c. l. 3, c. 1. Vid. et l. 7, c. 1, et l. 23, c. 1, 2

[e] Vides pauperem, vides mitem, ——lugentem, esurientem, sitientem, persecutiones et odia sustinentem propter justitiam. l. 5. c. 1.——beati qui lugent, beati qui esuriunt, beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. ib. c. 3.

[f] ——quomodo esurientem et sitientem justitiam, quam Faustus in scriptis suis non addidit. Aug. Contr. Faust. l. 5, c. 7.

[g] Et alibi ad discipulos: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti,—— F. l. 5, c. 3.

[h] At denique Marcus,——vide quam sit competenter exorsus: Evangelium, inquit, Jesu Christi Filii Dei. Faust. l. 2, c. i. Sed Joannes quidem in principio fuisse Verbum dicit, et Verbum fuisse apud Deum, et Deum fuisse Verbum. Marcus vero, Evangelium, inquit, Jesu Christi, Filii Dei. l. 3, c. 1. Cur ergo credunt Joanni dicenti, In principio erat Verbum? Aug. C. Faust. l. 7, c. 2.

[k] See before V. i. p. 566.

[i] ——Cum latronem Christus de ligno secum introduxerit in paradisum Patris sui. Faust. l. 14, c. 1.——et ipso eodem die secum futurum dixit eum in paradiso patris sui. Id. l. 33, c. 1.

[l] In injustitiâ namque et in adulterio deprehensam mulierem quamdam Judæis accusantibus absolvit, ipse præcipiens ei ut jam peccare desineret. Faust. l. 33, c. 1.

[m] ——cum loquitur mendacium, de suis propriis loquitur; quoniam mendax est, sicut et pater ejus. ap. Arch. c. 29, p. 48. Conf. c. 33, p. 56, et c. 13, p. 24, f.

[n] Ad Joh. viii. 44, et Proleg. 793.

[o] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 105, 388. T. 2, p. 263.

[p] Etsi enim in quibusdam Latinis exemplaribus non legitur *factus*, sed, *natus ex semine David*, cum Græca *factus* habeant, &c. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 4.

[q] Dicit ad Ephesios. Faust. l. 24, c. 1.

[r] Contra quos se Apostolus in Ephesiorum epistolâ certamen subiise fatetur. Secundin. ad Aug. c. 1.

[s] Schisma, nisi fallor, est eodem opinantem atque eodem ritu colentem quo cæteri, solo congregationis delectari discidio. Secta vero est longe alia opinantem quam cæteri, alio etiam sibi ac longe dissimili ritu divinitatis instituisse culturam. Faust. l. 20, c. 3. Porro autem sectas si quæras, non plus erunt quam duæ, id est, Gentium et nostra, qui eis longe diversa sentimus. ib. c. 4, in fin.

SECT. VIII.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF THE MANICHEES.

In composing this chapter I have made much use of Beausobre's History of Manichee and Manichæism; and I have often quoted him as I have gone along. Nevertheless it was fit to make this renewed and final acknowledgment of my obligations. Sometimes, however, I have differed from him; whether with reason or not, others have a right to judge. That work of Beausobre contains not only a laboured history of the Manichees, but likewise several entertaining and useful digressions concerning the opinions of the heathen philosophers, and the most early Christian sects. I wish some learned man might have sufficient leisure and encouragement to give us a handsome edition of it [a] in English.

It may be thought by some that, in writing the history of this people, I have taken a great deal of liberty with the ancient writers of the Christian church. Nevertheless, I know that I have not designed to disparage them: and I humbly hope that I have not lessened their just credit and authority. No men are infallible. In controversial writings, especially where the difference of opinion is very great, it is difficult for the best of men to keep themselves entirely free from the influence of prejudice and passion. Moreover, Manichæism is in itself an abstruse and intricate subject; and had its rise in Persia, a country remote from most of those ecclesiastical writers who have come down to us; which makes a good apology for them, though they should be supposed to have made some mistakes, and to have been guilty of some misrepresentations. It is acknowledged by such as have looked into this matter, [b] that the history of Mani and his followers has long lain in great obscurity and uncertainty. This may be allowed to be a good reason why I should take some more than ordinary pains about it, and endeavour to avoid and correct the errors which others seem to have fallen into.

It may be easily supposed that for several reasons I could wish this history had been shorter. However I presume it will be found upon trial that the length of it is not altogether unprofitable. And I persuade myself it will afford my readers divers useful and agreeable reflections. I propose to mention some, not doubting but that others of taste and judgment will think of more.

1. The rise of Manichæism in Persia is a proof of the early planting the gospel in that country. If Christianity had not been there before, Mani could not have formed a new sect of Christians. 'Heresies and schisms,' as [c] Augustine says, 'break the gospel-nets. Some in one 'place, some in another: the Donatists in Africa, the Arians in Egypt,—the Manichees in 'Persia.' According to Abulpharagius, Mani [d] was at first a Christian priest, and he preached and explained the scriptures, and disputed against the Jews, the Magi, and the heathens. Beausobre [e] has an article on purpose concerning the planting the gospel in Persia.

2. We cannot avoid recollecting, in the next place, the just observation of Socrates, taken notice of by us at our entrance into this field: 'It is no unusual thing for cockle to grow up 'amongst good grain.' It is no other than what our Lord foresaw, and likewise forewarned the

[a] What is to be expected of Beausobre, may be concluded from what he says of himself, when he enters upon the examination of the scandalous story of the Manichæan eucharist: 'As for me,' says he, 'whom heaven has preserved from the 'spirit of the church, who know no greater good than free-'dom of thought, nor any more delightful employment than 'the search of truth, nor greater pleasure than that of finding 'and speaking it, I have studied ecclesiastical history with as 'little prejudice as possible.' Pour moi, que le ciel a préservé de l'esprit de l'église, qui ne connois point de plus grand bien que la liberté de penser, de plus douce occupation que la recherche de la vérité, ni de plus grand plaisir que celui de la trouver et de la dire, &c. Hist. de Manichée et du Manichéisme. T. 2, p. 730.

[b] Hæc nos compendio, et pro more nostro, de Manete, ejusque scriptis. Cum vero Manetis historiam mire turbaverint tum veterum, tum recentiorum plures, neque ea adhuc satis dilucide exposita sit, non abs re erit illam paullo accuratius et explicatius enarrare. Cav. H. L. in Manete. T. i. p. 140. Oxon.

[c] Disruptis retibus, hæreses et schismata facta sunt. Retia quidem omnes concludunt. Sed impatientes pisces,——ubi possunt, impingunt se, et rumpunt, et exeunt.——Et retia quidem illa per totum expanduntur. Qui rumpunt autem, per loca rumpunt. Donatistæ ruperunt in Africâ, Ariani ruperunt in Ægypto, Photiniani ruperunt in Pannoniâ, Cataphryges ruperunt in Phrygiâ, Manichæi ruperunt in Perside. Aug. Serm. 252, n. 4. T. v. al. in Dieb. Pasch. Serm. 23.

[d] Hic primo Christianismum præ se tulit, et sacerdos factus est Ehwazi, docuitque et interpretatus est libros, [sacros,] et cum Judæis, Magis, et Ethnicis disputavit. Gregor. Abulph. Dynast. p. 82.

[e] T. i. p. 180—196.

disciples of, that they might not be too much surprised at the event. "The kingdom of heaven," he said, "is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but while men slept his enemy came, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way."——Matt. xiii. 24,—30. Again: "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind:" ver. 47. "Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but offences will come; but woe unto him by whom they come:" Luke xvii. 1. And St. Paul says to the Corinthians: "There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you:" 1 Cor. xi. 19. Indeed before the apostles left this world they saw divers corruptions getting into the churches, or actually brought into them.

3. There were early two very different opinions concerning Christ. 'Some,' as[a] Augustine observes, 'believed Christ to be God, and denied him to be man. Others believed he was a man, 'and denied him to be God.' Of this opinion[b] was Augustine for a while, at his first getting out of Manichæism, as he says, till[c] he became acquainted with some Platonic writings. And it has been thought by some that this last was likewise the notion which[d] the Jews of old had of their expected Messiah. Therefore Athanasius says that the[e] 'apostles of Christ, well knowing the 'Jewish prejudices upon this head, with great wisdom first instructed them in our Saviour's 'humanity.' The former was the opinion of the Manichees, and of many others before them. Jerom says, that 'whilst[f] the apostles were still living, and when the blood of Christ was scarce 'cold in Judea, there were men who taught that his body was no more than a phantom.' This opinion is more than once censured by[g] Ignatius in his epistles, written soon after the beginning of the second century; which, as[h] Cotelerius observes, plainly shews the early rise of this false doctrine.

4. We may now discern the true character of the Manichees. I formerly said they were rather a sect of reasoners and philosophers than enthusiasts. But they were very indifferent critics; otherwise they would not have treated the New Testament as they did; nor have pretended that those books were falsely inscribed, and greatly interpolated, which had such evidences of genuineness and integrity. Faustus, so celebrated a teacher among them, does not appear to have been a man of much reading. He had a plausible way of speaking, and an agreeable manner

[a] Sic enim quidam Deum credendo Christum, et hominem negando erraverunt. Et rursus quidam hominem putando, et Deum negando, aut contemserunt, aut in homine spem suam ponentes, in illud maledictum inciderunt. Contr. Faust. l. 13, c. 8. Ait enim, Christus Deus est tantum, omnino hominis nihil habens. Hoc Manichæi dicunt. Photiniani, homo tantum; Manichæi, Deus tantum. Illi nihil divinum in Domino confitentur; isti quasi totum divinum.——Serm. 37, c. 12.

[b] Ego vero aliud putabam, tantumque sentiebam de Domino Christo meo, quantum de excellentis sapientiæ viro, cui nullus posset æquari: præsertim quia mirabiliter natus ex virgine, ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium pro adipiscendâ immortalitate, divinâ pro nobis curâ tantam auctoritatem magisterii meruisse videbatur. Quid autem sacramenti haberet, Verbum caro factum est, ne suspicari quidem poteram. Confess. l. 7, c. 19, n. 25.

[c] Et primo volens ostendere mihi,——quod Verbum tuum caro factum est, et habitavit inter homines, procurâsti mihi per quemdam hominem——Platonicorum libros ex Græcâ linguâ in Latinam versos. Et ibi legi, non quidem his verbis, sed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus suaderi rationibus, quod in principio erat Verbum, &c. Confess. l. 7, c. 9, n. 13, et 14. Vid. ib. l. 8, c. 2, n. 3.

[d] Beausobre's account of that matter is to this purpose: 'At 'the beginning of Christianity, there arose two opposite errors 'concerning the person of our Saviour. The first obtained 'among the Christians that came out of Judaism. Many persuaded themselves that the Christ was but a mere man, 'distinguished from others by the abundance of divine gifts 'conferred upon him, and by his incomparable virtues. "In 'the time of the apostles," says Athanasius, "the Jews were 'in this error, and drew the Gentiles into it: that the Christ 'is only a mere man, that he is not God, and that the Word 'was not made flesh." De Sent. Dionys. p. m. 432. These 'Jews were not the unbelieving Jews, but such as made profession of Christianity. But though they agreed so far, they 'were not all of the same mind concerning the nativity of 'our Saviour. Some believed that he was the Son of Joseph 'and Mary.——Others acknowledged that he was born of a 'virgin, and conceived by the sole operation of the Holy 'Spirit. Neither the one nor the other refused him the title 'of the Son of God; but they imagined that it was given 'him on account of the eminence of his office, the excellence 'of his gifts, his glorious resurrection, the sovereign authority 'and dominion to which he was advanced by the Father: to 'all which, these last added his miraculous nativity. These 'kept the name of Nazarenes which had been given to the 'first believers. The others were called Ebionites. These 'two are the most ancient heresies of Christianity. Antiquissima hæresis ista fuit, et ab ipso religionis Christianæ 'exordio grassari cœpit.' Petav. Dogm. Th. T. v. De Incarn. 'l. 1, 2. sect. 3. In a short time arose another quite opposite 'but not less pernicious than the former.' Hist. Manich. T. 2, p. 517.

[e] Επειδη γαρ οι τοτε Ιεδαιοι——ενομιζον τον Χριστον ψιλον ανθρωπον μονον, εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ εργεσθαι——τοτε ενεκα μετα πολλης της συνεσεως οι μακαριοι αποστολοι τα ανθρωπινα τε σωτηρος πρωτον εξηγγειλαντο τοις Ιεδαιοις. Athan. de Sent. Dion. T. i. p. 248. C.

[f] Apostolis adhuc in seculo superstitibus, adhuc apud Judæam Christi sanguine recenti, phantasma Domini corpus asserebatur. Hier. adv. Lucif. T. 4, p. 304, in.

[g] Ει δε ωσπερ τινες αθεοι οντες, τατεστιν απιστοι, λεγεσιν, το δοκειν πεπονθεναι αυτον, κ. λ. Ign. ad Trall. c. x. et passim.

[h] Solem negaret meridie lucere, qui Docetas seu phantasiastas hæreticos temporibus apostolorum inficiaretur erupisse. Cotel. ad. Ign. Ep. ad. Trall. c. x.

of setting off his opinions; and that is all. Though the Manichees made high pretensions to[a] truth, reason, science, they did not escape superstition. With all their boastings of that kind, and the contempt they expressed for the credulity of the catholics and their numerous rites, there was not a sect that rendered themselves more miserable by affected austerities than the Manichees. The restraints laid on all the higher order, the elect, with regard to marriage, diet, and secular business, must, I think, have more than equalled all the superstitious usages of the catholics at that time. And when it is considered what[b] difficulty the Manichæan auditors must have had to maintain their elect, and with how little hopes of getting to heaven at last; I mean directly, without the fatigue of I know not how many transmigrations, as it might happen; this people must appear ridiculous and contemptible.

5. The subsistence of the Christian religion to our time, notwithstanding the many dangers it has been exposed to, affords us reason to hope it shall maintain itself, and be upheld to the end of time, whatever oppositions may be yet made against it. It cannot encounter worse enemies than it has already experienced and withstood: nor can there arise more absurd, or more different opinions in the church, and among Christians, than there were in former times. Some there have been who have handed down to us, in the main, the genuine principles of the Christian religion. And by the events of past ages we are encouraged to trust in Providence, and do our best to serve the cause and interests of truth and liberty.

6. It is not unlikely that differences of opinion, and the disputes they occasion, are some way of use for advancing the interest of truth. The great Augustine was plainly of this opinion. He says that[c] objections against scripture, and false interpretations, excite our zeal and industry, and induce to study, until we have learned the right sense. Augustine has upon several occasions spoken[d] of the advantage which the catholic interest receives from heresies.

7. The Manichees have not weakened but confirmed the evidence of the Christian religion. They agree with other Christians in acknowledging the dignity of Christ's person, his high authority, and the authority of his apostles, and other things which were formerly insisted on by us, and need not to be repeated here. And they received all, or well nigh all, the same books of the New Testament which were received by other Christians. They said, indeed, that those scriptures had been interpolated in some time past: but they never corrupted or interpolated them, nor attempted it. Nor could they, or any others, corrupt them if they would, as[e] Augustine observes. And the controversy with them has occasioned the writing of many books, containing numerous quotations of the scriptures, and excellent vindications of their genuineness and integrity.

8. We are very much indebted to Augustine, and many other learned Christians of former times, who asserted and maintained the authority of the Old, and the genuineness and integrity of the New Testament; and gave a better account of the creation of the world, of[f] human liberty, and[g] the nature and origin of evil, than was taught by these people.

[a] Incidi in homines superbe delirantes.—Et dicebant. Veritas, et veritas. Et multum eam dicebant mihi. Aug. Conf. l. 3, cap. 6, sub in.——ut a vobis, magnis omnino pollicitatoribus rationis atque veritatis, quæram.——De M. Manich. c. 17, n. 55.

[b] Quid autem fallitis Auditores vestros, qui cum suis uxoribus, et filiis, et familiis, et domibus, et agris vobis serviunt, ——eis non resurrectionem, sed revolutionem ad istam mortalitatem promittitis, ut rursus nascantur,——Contr. Faust. l. 5, cap. x. Vid. supra. p. 476. not. [5].

[c] Sed ideo divina providentia multos diversi erroris hæreticos esse permittit, ut, cum insultant nobis, et interrogant nos ea quæ nescimus, vel sic excutiamus pigritiam, et divinas scripturas nôsse cupiamus. Propterea et Apostolus dicit: Oportet hæreses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter vos. Illi enim Deo probati sunt, qui bene possunt docere. Sed manifesti hominibus esse non possunt, nisi cum docent: docere autem nolunt, nisi eos qui doceri quærunt. Sed multi ad quærendum pigri sunt, nisi per molestias et insultationes hæreticorum quasi de somno excitentur, et de illâ imperitiâ suâ periclitari se sentiant. Qui omines, si bonæ sint fidei, non cedunt hæreticis, sed, quid eis respondeant, diligentius inquirunt. Nec eos deserit Deus, ut petentes accipiant, et quærentes inveniant, et pulsantibus aperiatur. Aug. de Genesi contr. Manich. l. i. c. i. n. 2. Didicimus enim, singulas quasque hæreses intulisse ecclesiæ proprias quæstiones, contra quas diligentius defenderetur scriptura divina, quam si nulla necessitas cogeret. Id. de Dono Persever. c. 20, n. 23. Tom. 10.

[d] Utitur enim [Ecclesia Catholica] gentibus ad materiam operationis suæ, hæreticis ad probationem doctrinæ suæ. De Verâ Relig. cap. 6, n. 10. Tom. i. Sed quoniam verissime dictum est, oportet multas hæreses esse,——utamur etiam isto divinæ providentiæ beneficio. Ex his enim hominibus hæretici fiunt, qui, etiamsi essent in ecclesiâ, nihilominus errarent. Cum autem foris sunt, plurimum prosunt, non verum docendo, quod nesciunt, sed ad verum quærendum carnales, et ad verum aperiendum spiritales Catholicos excitando. —— Quapropter multi, ut diem Dei videant et gaudeant, per hæreticos de somno excitantur. ib. cap. 8, n. 18.

[e] Quâ igitur causâ a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac de causâ a nemine potuerunt. Contr. Faust. l. 32, c. 16.

[f] Εϛι μεν ȣν ἡ κακια ανȣσιος, και ανυποϛατος· πραξις μαλλον η ȣσια ȣσα, και πραξις εκ προαιρεσεως συμβαινȣσα. κ. λ. Serap. contr. Manich. p. 44, fin.

[g] Peccatorum originem non libero arbitrio voluntatis, sed substantiæ tribuunt gentis adversæ; quam dogmatizantes esse hominibus mixtam, omnem carnem non Dei, sed malæ mentis

9. We may hence learn to exercise moderation toward men of different sentiments, and to keep our temper in disputing with them. In all probability we shall never meet with any men, Christians at least, who differ more from us than the Manichees did from the catholics. Those unreasonable men rejected all the scriptures of the Old Testament in the lump. They asserted that the books of the New Testament had been long ago interpolated, and that they were not all written by those whose names they bear. They held two eternal principles, and denied the humanity of Christ and the resurrection of the body. And yet Augustine professeth much mildness and moderation toward them. And, entering into an argument with them, he offers to God a fervent prayer that[a] he may be enabled to govern his passions, and seek their conversion, not their destruction. Possibly he did not always fully observe the rules, which in the time of sedate judgment he prescribed to himself as just and reasonable. But the passage, which I chiefly refer to, is so beautiful and emphatical, that I have transcribed it largely at the bottom of the [b] page. And I would translate it too, but that I am not able to reach the energy of his expressions. In the general he says: 'Let them be severe against you, who know not with what labour truth is 'discovered, and how difficultly error is avoided. Let them be severe against you, who know 'not how hardly the diseases of the mind are cured, and the eye of the understanding strengthened to bear the light. Let them be severe against you, who are insensible how little we can 'know of God after our best endeavours to understand his perfections. Let them treat you 'with rigour, who never were entangled in a like error. As for me, I can by no means treat you 'in that manner; but must exercise toward you that patience and long-suffering which I once 'wanted, and which my friends shewed me, when with a blind and furious zeal I not only 'maintained but propagated to the utmost of my power, the principle in which you are still 'engaged.'

It will be one good use of all this long history, if we learn to form charitable sentiments of other men, and to practise moderation toward them; no longer debating with those who differ from us, as if we were infallible, but as inquirers after truth, even as we desire they should do: which [c] also is particularly recommended by the same renowned writer.

perhibent esse opificium, quæ a contrario principio Deo coæterna est. &c. De Hær. cap. 46, sub fin.

Quam concupiscentiam, quod sæpe inculcandum est, non vitium substantiæ bonæ, sed malam vult esse substantiam. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 106.

Vos autem asseritis quamdam naturam atque substantiam malum esse. De M. Manich. cap. 2, n. 2.

Veritas autem dicit, omnia ista quæ videmus, et quæ non videmus, quæ naturaliter subsistunt, a Deo facta esse; in quibus rationalem creaturam, etiam ipsam factam, sive in angelis sive in hominibus, accipisse liberum arbitrium; quo libero arbitrio si Deo servire vellet secundum voluntatem ac legem Dei, haberet apud eum æternam felicitatem.——Ecce autem liberum arbitrium, atque inde peccare quemque si velit, non peccare si nolit, &c. Aug. ap. Act. cum Felic. l. 2. c. 3.

[a] Unum verum Deum omnipotentem—et rogavi, et rogo, ut in refellendâ et revincendâ hæresi vestrâ, Manichæi, cui et vos fortasse imprudentius quam malitiosius adhæsistis, det mihi mentem pacatam atque tranquillam, et magis de vestrâ correctione, quam de subversione cogitantem. Contr. Ep. Fund. cap. i. in.

[b] Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quam rarum et arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piæ mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quantâ difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis.——Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis et gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulâcumque parte possit intelligi Deus. Postremo in vos sæviant, qui nunquam tali errore decepti sunt, quali vos deceptos vident. Ego autem, qui, diu multumque jactatus, tandem respicere potui,——qui denique illa figmenta, quæ vos diuturnâ consuetudine implicatos et constrictos tenent, et quæsivi curiose, et attente audivi, et temere credidi, et instanter, quibus potui, persuasi,—sævire in vos non possum, quos, sicut me ipsum illo tempore, ita nunc debeo sustinere, et tantâ patientiâ vobiscum agere, quantâ mecum egere proximi mei, cum in vestro dogmate rabiosus et cœcus errarem. ibid. cap. 2. n. 2, 3.

[c] ——illud quovis judice impetrare me a vobis oportet, ut in utrâque parte omnis arrogantia deponatur. Nemo nostrûm dicat, se jam invenisse veritatem. Sic eam quæramus, quasi ab utrisque nesciatur. Ita enim diligenter et concorditer quæri poterit, si nullâ temerariâ præsumtione inventa et cognita esse credatur. Id. ib. n. 4.

SECT. IX.

THE PAULICIANS.

I. *Their history.* II. *Their testimony to the scriptures.*

I. I TAKE this opportunity to give a brief account of the Paulicians, who were mentioned [a] before, and are usually reckoned a branch of the Manichees. But Beausobre says that [b] though they are sometimes confounded with the Manichees, they agreed but little with them. And indeed Peter of Sicily intimates that [c] they did not own themselves to be Manichees.

They are generally supposed to have first appeared in the seventh century, in the country of Armenia, and to have been so called from [d] Paul, son of Callinice, a Manichæan woman, who had another son named John, who also was a zealous preacher of this doctrine, called revived Manichæism.

Photius says they [e] hold two principles, as the Manichees do; he [f] calls Mani their master: he continually considers their sect as a [g] branch of Manichæism.

I formerly [h] mentioned a particularity of theirs. Photius likewise says that [i] they did not chuse to have their ministers called priests, but scribes or secretaries, or "companions in travel," the word used in Acts xix. 29, and 2 Cor. viii. 19.

II. I now proceed to observe their testimony to the scriptures.

1. Photius says they [k] reject the holy prophets and all the Old Testament, and the ancient saints in general, calling them thieves and robbers.

2. 'As for the scriptures of the New Testament,' Photius says, 'they [l] receive the gospel, 'and the apostle [meaning the gospels and the epistles of the apostle Paul at least,] which the 'Christian church receives and honours, and has delivered to them. These they receive without 'altering or corrupting them in any material things, as Valentinus and some others have done. 'But they pervert them from their true meaning to support their apostasy.'

3. Afterwards, having quoted 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, and having applied to them what St. Peter says of some who wrested the scriptures to their own destruction, he says: 'As [m] for the oracles 'of the Lord and the apostles, and the other scriptures, (by which last I mean the Acts of the 'apostles, and the epistles called catholic,) excepting those of the chief apostle, they receive 'them: for those ascribed to him they do not receive at all. And concerning the Acts of the 'apostles, and the catholic epistles, they are not all of the same opinion: for some reject them, 'whilst others join them with the other scriptures received by all.'

4. Photius does also elsewhere expressly say they [n] rejected Peter, because he denied his

[a] See p. 158. [b] B. T. 2, p. 765.

[c] Qui tametsi se a Manichæorum impuritatibus alienos dictitant, sunt tamen dogmatum ipsorum vigilantissimi custodes et propugnatores. Pet. Sic. ap. Bib. P. P. Max. T. 16, p. 754, B.

[d] Εν ταυτῃ γυνη τις, ονοματι Καλλινικη——δυο τικτει παιδας,——Εκ θατερα τοινυν των ειρημενων, ὁτῳ Παυλος ην ονομα——Παυλικιάνων κλησιν οἱ της αποστασιας ερασται μετελλαξαντο. Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 2, p. 4, 5. Vid. et Petr. Sic. ib. p. 759, A.

[e] Δυο μεν αρχας ὁμολογουσιν, ὡς οἱ Μανιχαιοι· Phot. ib. l. i. c. 6, in.

[f] Και τοιγε τῳ διδασκαλῳ αυτων Μανεντος, κ. λ. ib. c. 8. p. 24.

[g] οἱ τῳ Μανεντος παραφυαδες· ib. l. 4. c. 1. in. et passim.

[h] See p. 158.

[i] Τους μεντοι παρ' αυτοις ἱερεων ταξιν επεχοντας ουκ ἱερεις, αλλα συνεκδημους και νοταριους επονομαζουσι. l. i. c. 9, p. 31. Conf. c. 25, p. 134, et Wolf. not. in. loc.

[k] Αλλα γαρ και τους ἱερους προφητας, και πασαν την παλαιαν γραφην, και τους αλλους αποστρεφονται ἁγιους, λῃστας και κλεπτας αποκαλουντες. ib. l. i. c. 8, p. 23.

[l] Το μεντοι ευαγγελιον, και τον αποστολον, ἁ και το θειον των Χριστιανων περιπτυσσεται και τιμᾳ συνταγμα, εγγραφως τουτοις παρεθετο, τοις ῥημασι μεν και ονομασιν οὐδεν μεγα παραλλαττων τῳ λογῳ το σχημα, κ. λ. l. 1, c. 3, p. 9. Vid. et p. 10, 11.

[m] Οἱ αυτα τε τα κυριακα λογια, και τα αποστολικα, και τας αλλας γραφας, φημι δη τας τε Πραξεις των αποστολων, και τας Καθολικας λεγομενας, πλην των αναφερομενων εις τον κορυφαιον, εκεινας γαρ οὐδε τοις ῥημασιν παραδεχονται.——Και τας Πραξεις δε των αποστολων, και τας Καθολικας ουκ παντες αυτων συναρμοζουσι τοις αλλοις, εισι δε οἱ και συνταττουσι, Id. l. i. c. 8, p. 27.

[n] ——μαλιστα δε τον κορυφαιον των αποστολων Πετρον δυσφημουσιν, ὁτι γεγονεν ἐξαρνος, φασι, της εις τον διδασκαλον και Χριστον πιστεως. ib. c. 8, p. 24.

Lord and Master. Mr. Wolff therefore says, that [a] perhaps these are the only Christians that ever rejected both of St. Peter's epistles.

5. In another place, 'they [b] admit, as the rule of their faith, the oracles of the Lord, and the 'epistles of the great apostle Paul, and some of them the Acts of the apostles, and the catholic 'epistles, except those of the chief apostle.'

6. 'Again, 'they [c] endeavour to confirm their doctrines by the scriptures of the gospel, and 'the divine apostle Paul.'

7. He quotes to them [d] the divine Luke in the Acts, though, as he adds, many of the sect do not receive that book.

8. He quotes to them expressly [e] Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, or Jews, as his word is.

9. What regard the Paulicians had for the book of the Revelation I cannot particularly say; Photius not quoting it in his argument with them.

10. I add one thing more. These [f] people greatly respected the scriptures of the New Testament, and approved that all people, the laity, and even women, should read, study, and understand them. This appears from a story told by Photius, of a conversation between a Manichæan woman and Sergius, who afterwards became a zealous promoter of the sect.

11. I have almost entirely confined myself to Photius, not thinking it needful to be more particular at present, or to copy much from Peter, or any other author, concerning so late a sect. However I shall briefly observe, that Peter of Sicily in the main agrees with Photius, often saying that the Paulicians rejected the Old Testament, and used only the gospels and the apostle. In particular, he says: 'They [g] receive the four gospels, and the fourteen epistles of Paul, and 'the catholic epistle of James, and the three epistles of John, and the catholic epistle of Jude, 'and the Acts of the apostles, without making any alterations in them. But they admit not the 'two epistles of the chief of the apostles.'

12. Upon the whole, the Paulicians, according to these accounts, received the books of the New Testament as they were received by other Christians, excepting the two epistles of Peter, which they entirely rejected, if these authors say right. But what was their sentiment concerning the Revelation we cannot say.

[a] Hi igitur forte soli ex omni Christianorum antiquitate utramque Petri epistolam adversati sunt, cum Eusebius lib. iii. c. 3. H. E. testetur priorem ab omnibus, posteriorem ab antiquioribus non receptam fuisse. At hi quidem id fecerunt, oborta, an Petri ea sit, dubitatione; illi vero, ex temerario quodam in Petrum odio. Wolff. ib. p. 27.

[b] εν οἱς τατε κυριακα αναγεγραπται λογια, και τα μεγαλα αποστολα Παυλα αἱ επιστολαι, και παρ' ενιοις των αποστολων αἱ Πραξεις, και των Καθολικων ὁσαι παρα τας τα κορυφαια τυγχανουσιν. ib. l. i. c. 13, p. 56, 57.

[c] οἱς τε τας ευαγγελικας γραφας τιμαν ισχυριζονται, και οἱς τον αποστολον και θεοφορον Παυλον τα οικεια φρονηματος δογματιζην και διδασκαλον καταψευδονται. l. 4, c. 6, p. 133.

[d] Τα ισα δε και ταις Πραξεσιν ὁ θειος Λουκας, ει και το πλειστον της αποστασιας αυτων τας εκεινα φωνας α προσιεται. l. 2, c. 6, p. 187.

[e] Τω σωτηρι γαρ ἡμων ὁ Παυλος προς Ιουδαιους γραφων, την πατρικην ἁρμοζει φονην, κ. λ. l, 2, c. x. p. 185.

[f] Η προειρημενη Μανιχαια γυνη, ἡνικα το πρωτον εις ὁμιλιαν αυτω κατεστη, ἱνα τι, φησιν, ειπε μοι, τα θεια εκ αναγινωσκεις ευαγγελια; Ὁ δε——μη εξειναι φησας την των λαϊκων πληθυντικην ταξιν ανεθην ἑως την των φρικτων λογιων ποιεισθαι αναγνωσιν, ανεισθαι γαρ τοις ἱερευσιν το εργον. l. i. c. 20, p. 100.

[g] Quod veteris instrumenti tabulas non admittant, prophetasque planos et latrones appellent,——aut sola duntaxat sacra quatuor evangelia, et S. Pauli Apostoli denas quaternas epistolas recipiant, Jacobi item Catholicam, ternas Joannis, Catholicam Judæ, cum Actis Apostolorum, iisdem quibus apud nos sunt verbis.——Binas Catholicas magni et immobilis ecclesiæ fundamenti,——principis apostolorum, non admittunt. Petr. ubi supr. p. 756, E.

REMARKS

UPON

MR. BOWER'S ACCOUNT OF THE MANICHEES,

IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF HIS HISTORY OF THE POPES.

None of my learned friends, who have read Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, (and I suppose they have all read it,) could forbear observing the difference between his account of the Manichees, and that given in the sixth volume of the first edition of this work. And some of them have intimated that I could not decline taking public notice of it, unless I would be understood to allow that the account given by me of the same people was wrong; for which I see no reason. Indeed I cannot but wish that Mr. Bower had read that volume, or the late Mr. Beausobre's History of the Manichees, from which I received a great deal of light; I think he would then have expressed himself very differently from what he has done: as it is, I think myself obliged to make a few remarks.

In the history of Manes, or Mani (as the Persians his countrymen call him,) which is at the beginning of note (D) p. 19, 20, of Mr. Bower's second volume, there are, in my opinion, several mistakes: as may appear from the account given of Mani, and his works, and predecessors, in the forementioned volume: to which they are referred who please to look into it.

In the latter part of the same note, p. 21, 22, Mr. Bower proceeds to the tenets of this sect, which I considered formerly, so far as I judged needful. I therefore take notice of a very few things only in Mr. Bower upon this article.

In that note, p. 21, says Mr. Bower: 'Thus was gluttony with them a cardinal virtue, and 'eating to excess highly meritorious.' I do not conceive how that can be truly said of the Manichees, when their elect, the most distinguished part of them, comprehending their ecclesiastics, and some others, were obliged to abstain from meat, and wine, and eggs, and fish. And Mr. Bower says, p. 23, that 'their auditors, as well as their elect, kept two fasts in the week, the 'one on Sunday, the other on Monday.' That the Manichees were great fasters was shewn p. 160: that they were by principle, and frequent practice, a temperate, abstemious sort of people, appears, I think, from a passage which I have not yet alleged at all. It is near the conclusion of a work generally ascribed to Marius Victorinus Afer, in the fourth century; which is a letter to Justin, a Manichee, a learned man, and the author's friend. 'In [a] vain,' says he, 'do you now macerate your body, and mortify it with continual fasting and watching; if, 'after all, it has no other lot than to return to the devil, who, you say, is its creator.

But, undoubtedly, Mr. Bower has some reason for saying what he does, which therefore ought to be considered. 'The particles of the good nature were, according to them, in all 'beings of this universe, mixed, and chained to, the particles of the evil nature. Such, however, 'as happened to be in the food which they used, were, in being used by them, delivered for 'ever from so painful a bondage. Thus was gluttony with them a cardinal virtue, and eating to 'excess highly meritorious:' p. 21, note (D). This therefore is only a consequence deduced from the just mentioned supposed principle of theirs. But it does not appear that they discerned this consequence; for, so far as we can find, they did not, by principle, eat to excess: but were, and upon principle, great fasters and very abstemious. Augustine imputes to them the same principle, whether justly or not I do not now inquire. Nevertheless he does not upon that account charge them with excess in eating; because I suppose he knew they were not guilty of

[a] Et cassum nunc usque jugi inediâ, inimicæ, ut ais, carnis membra tenuâsti, censens ipse animæ officere meritis, ac naturæ passi corporis succos, ac pinguedinis distentæ grassamina atque ipsorum abdominum mole prægravari: si post hunc jejuniorum laborem ad creatorem tuum, quem ais, aut diabolum, aut exteriores tenebras reverteris. T. M. Victorin. adv. Manich. Ap. B. PP. Lugd. T. 4, p. 292, D. E.

it. But he ridicules their fasting: 'Your [a] fasting,' says he, 'is cruel; you ought to be always 'eating; whilst you cease to eat, you forbear to deliver the particles of the good nature from 'their chains.'

Farther, p. 21: 'They rejected the Old Testament, and some parts of the New, especially 'the Acts of the apostles.' That the Manichees rejected the Old Testament is undoubted; whether they rejected any books of the New Testament, and particularly the Acts of the apostles, has been carefully examined p. 212—217.

In the latter part of that note, p. 23, Mr. Bower gives a shocking account of their eucharist, taken from ancient ecclesiastical writers. And afterwards, at p. 25, he tells the same, or like story from pope Leo, commonly called the great: this was also examined. See particularly my reference to Beausobre, with his arguments and observations, p. 408; in which, if I am not mistaken, there is a sufficient vindication of the Manichees from the charge of lewd and abominable rites and mysteries.

Nevertheless, as I did not then distinctly speak of Pope Leo, upon whom Mr. Bower chiefly insists, I shall now consider what is alleged from him. 'He spared no pains,' says Mr. B. p. 25. 'to find them out; and being informed by some, whom they had attempted to seduce, where 'they assembled, he caused great numbers of them to be seized, in virtue of the imperial edicts, 'and among the rest their bishop, and some of their teachers. Having them thus in his power, 'his first care was to learn of them their true tenets, and the secret practices of their sect; which 'he had no sooner done, than he assembled the neighbouring bishops, and those who happened 'to be then at Rome, with a great number of presbyters; inviting to the assembly even the 'laymen of any rank, the great officers of the empire, and the senate.....Being all met and in 'great expectation, Leo ordered the elect of the Manichees, that is, their teachers and chief 'men among them to be brought forth. Great was their confusion when they appeared before 'so grand an assembly; but being encouraged by Leo, they first owned their impious tenets, and 'their superstitious practices, and discovered a crime, which modesty,' says pope Leo, 'would 'not allow him to name: but it was so fully proved,' adds he 'that the most incredulous were 'thoroughly satisfied it was true, for all those who were concerned in that abominable act were 'present: viz. a girl of twelve years old, the two women who had brought her up, and prepared 'her for the crime, the youth who had debauched her, and the bishop who presided at that 'detestable ceremony, and had directed it.....It appeared from the confession which their bishop 'made openly, and gave in writing, that they committed these abominations chiefly on their 'festivals.' I think it may be worth our while to see pope Leo's own words; which therefore I transcribe [b] below.

With regard then to pope Leo I would observe, first, that we have not remaining any copy of the proceedings against these people to which Leo refers. Secondly, though the confessions mentioned by Leo seem a specious argument for the truth of these charges, yet I apprehend that, when duly weighed, they are of little value. By menaces, and promises, and good management, an artful and powerful ecclesiastic, like Leo, is able to obtain such confessions as he wants, whenever there are any people, who have fallen under his displeasure, and he has determined to harass them with fines, or imprisonment, or banishment. Says Athenagoras, in his Apology for the Christians of his time, 'that [c] our enemies may seem not to hate us without reason, they

[a] Nec ipsa jejunia vobis competunt. Non enim oportet vacare fornacem, in quâ spiritale aurum de stercoris commixtione purgatur, et a miserandis nexibus divina membra solvuntur. Quapropter ille est misericordior inter vos, qui se potuerit ita exercere, ut nihil ejus valetudini obsit, sæpe crudos cibos sumere, et multa consumere. Vos autem..... a membrorum divinorum purgatione cessando crudeliter jejunatis. Contr. Faust. l. 6, c. 4, T. 8.

[b] De sacris tamen eorum, quæ apud illos tam obscœna sunt, quam nefanda, quod inquisitioni nostræ Dominus manifestare voluit, non tacemus, ne quisquam putet nos de hac re dubiæ famæ et incertis opinionibus credidisse. Residentibus itaque mecum Episcopis et Presbyteris, ac in eumdem confessum Christianis viris ac nobilibus congregatis, Electos et Electas eorum jussimus præsentari. Qui cum et perversitate dogmatis sui, et de festivitatum, suarum consuetudine multa reserarent, illud quoque scelus, quod eloqui verecundum est, prodiderunt; quod tantâ diligentiâ investigatum est, ut nihil minus credulis, nihil obtrectatoribus, relinqueretur ambiguum. Aderant enim omnes personæ, per quos infandum facinus fuerat perpetratum, puerula scilicet ut multum decennis, et duæ mulieres quæ ipsam nutrierant, et huic sceleri præparaverant. Præsto erat etiam adolescentulus vitiator puellæ, et episcopus ipsorum detestandi criminis ordinator. Omninum par fuit horum et una confessio, et patefactum est exsecratum, quod aures nostræ vix ferre potuerunt. De quo ne apertius loquentes, castos offendamus auditus, gestorum documenta sufficiunt..... Leon. Serm. 15. c. 4, p. 64. edit. Lugd. 1700. Conf. Ep. 15, al. 93, c. 16, p. 230, 231. et Ep. 8. al. 2.

[c] Ετι δε και τραπας και μιξεις λογοποιουσιν αθεους καθ' ημων, ινα τε μισειν νομιζοιεν μετα λογ. κ. λ. Legat. prò. Chr. p. 34, D.

'accuse us of abominable feasts, and incestuous mixtures in our assemblies.' It has been the way of all persecutors in general. They will make those appear criminal whom they intend to destroy, and will do their utmost to expose them to general scorn and aversion. Thirdly, after all these examinations and confessions, Leo did not know when this abominable rite, with which he charged them, was performed. First he says, 'in their worship: de sacris tamen eorum,' &c. then 'in their festivals: de festivitatum eorum consuetudine.' In another place [a] it is in their 'mysteries.' Once more, 'in [b] the principal feast of their sect.' If good evidence of this fact had been produced, he would have expressed himself more clearly and uniformly. As pope Leo says that this was done 'in the principal feast of their sect,' Beausobre [c] understood him to mean their Bema, an annual festival, celebrated in honour of Mani with great [d] solemnity. 'Which,' he says, 'affords a manifest proof of the falsehood of the deposition of the witnesses 'before Leo: for that feast was not profaned with any sacrifices of unchastity. Augustine, who, 'when a Manichee, was present at it, has described it, and discerned nothing impure in it.' Fourthly, it appears from pope Leo, that the Manichees celebrated the eucharist in the like manner with other Christians: for he has informed us that 'the [e] better to conceal themselves, 'and avoid the sufferings which by law they were exposed to, they would come to church and 'communicate with the catholics; when they partook of the bread, but refused the cup.' The reason is manifest: according to the Manichæan rule, the elect, who alone had a right to communicate at the Lord's table, were forbidden wine, which was used by the catholics. If, instead of wine, water had been proposed to them, or some other liquor not prohibited, they would have received it. I think that what Leo says teaches us two things. The first of which is, that the Manichees observed the eucharist in the same manner with the catholics, except that they used some other liquor instead of wine. And certainly the testimony of Leo in this point is very remarkable. The other thing which we learn from hence is, that the Manichees were scrupulous and conscientious men. Who can believe that they who refused to taste wine, though it were to secure themselves from heavy sufferings, admitted into their religious rites abominable filthiness, which no reasonable creature can bear to think of? Fifthly, the Manichees at Rome, in the time of pope Leo, were a sober and modest people. For he found himself obliged frequently to caution his own people and hearers against being [f] seduced 'by their fastings, abstinence from 'certain meats, mean dress, pale countenances,' and other marks of a sober and abstemious course of life. Which is agreeable to Augustine, who says, that 'by [g] an appearance of chastity 'and temperance they ensnared many people.' Sixthly, pope Leo's abusive manner of speaking of the Manichees invalidates all his accusations against them. For he says, 'they [h] were the 'worst of all heretics, who had nothing in them that was tolerable: whose law is a lie, whose 'religion is the devil, and whose sacrifice is filthiness and the like.' Is any regard to be had to a man who talks at that rate? He who should take his notion of the Manichæan worship from pope Leo, I believe, would suffer himself to be grossly imposed upon. It might be better to take it from Faustus, one of their own bishops, as cited in [i] Augustine, and also in this volume at p. 205.

I must now return to the note before cited at p. 590. 'The great and chief mystery of their

[a] In exsecrabilibus autem mysteriis eorum. Ep. 15, al. 23, c. 16, p. 230.

[b] ——in ipso præcipuo observantiæ suæ festo, sicut proximâ confessione patefactum est, ut animi, ita et corporis pollutione lætantur. Serm. 23, c. 4, p. 76, al. Serm. 4, De Nativitate Domini. [c] Hist. de Manich. T. 2, p. 754.

[d] A brief account of that festival may be seen p. 142, and 207.

[e] Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum, ne penitus latere non possint, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiant, sanguinem autem redemtionis nostræ haurire omnino declinent. Serm. 41, c. 5, p. 106. al. de Quadragessima. iv.

[f] Neminem fallant discretionibus ciborum, sordibus vestium, vultuumque palloribus. Non sunt casta jejunia, quæ non de ratione veniunt continentiæ, sed de arte fallaciæ. Serm. 33, c. v. p. 93.

Non vos seducant deceptoriis artibus ficta et simulata jejunia, quæ non ad purificationem proficiunt animarum. Speciem quidem sibi pietatis et castitatis assumunt, sed hoc dolo actuum suorum obscœna circumtegunt, &c. Serm. 23. c. 6, p. 76.

[g] Duæ maxime sunt illecebræ Manichæorum, quibus decipiuntur incauti——altera, cum vitæ castæ, et memorabilis continentiæ, imaginem præferunt. De Mor. Cath. Ec. l. 1, c. 1, T. 1.

[h] ——quibus plenissime docetur, nullam in hac sectâ pudicitiam, nullam honestatem, nullam penitus reperiri castitatem: in quâ lex est mendacium, diabolus religio, sacrificium turpitudo. Serm. 15. c. 4. p. 64.

Aliæ hæreses dilectissimi, licet merito omnes in suâ perversitate damnandæ sint, habent tamen singulæ in aliquâ sui parte quod verum est.——In Manichæorum autem scelestissimo dogmate prorsus nihil est, quod ex ullâ parte possit tolerabile judicari. Serm. 23. c. 5, p. 76. al. De Nativitate Domini. iv.

[i] Contr. Faust. l. 20, c. 3. T. 8.

'sect was the eucharist. And it was in celebrating the eucharist that they committed the abo-'minations with which the fathers have reproached them. We might indeed suspect the testi-'mony of the fathers, it being well known that in declaiming against heretics they are apt to 'exaggerate, and did not always scrupulously adhere to truth. But that the Manichees 'abandoned themselves, in the celebration of their eucharist, to the most impure and infamous 'practices, is not only attested by them, but has been often proved by unexceptionable witnesses, 'nay, and owned by themselves, before the civil magistrates, in Italy, in Gaul, in Paphlagonia, 'and Africa.'

But is not that a new charge? Is not this different from what we have been considering? 'The Manichees abandoned themselves, in the celebration of the eucharist, to the most impure 'and infamous practices.' Those expressions seem to me to imply promiscuous lewdness, or the general practice of impurity at their eucharist. But pope Leo, as we have seen, speaks only of 'one girl debauched by a youth,' for a certain purpose. And in a like manner August. de Hær. cap. 46. T. 8.

But Mr. Bower has some other evidence beside that of the fathers, and says 'it has been 'proved by unexceptionable witnesses, and has been owned by themselves.' I suppose Mr. B. may have an eye to a passage in Augustine, which is to this purpose: 'It[a] is said that 'some of them have confessed it before magistrates, not only in Paphlagonia, but likewise in 'Gaul. This I heard at Rome from a catholic Christian.' Upon which I would observe, first, that Augustine does not there speak of 'the Manichees abandoning themselves to impure practices,' but of a particular fact, like to that mentioned by Leo. Secondly, Mr. B——'s expressions are too strong and positive. Augustine only says that he had heard such a thing from a catholic at Rome. Thirdly, this fact, or these facts are laid at remote places. If Augustine had had proofs of them at home, or near at hand, he needed not to have gone so far as Paphlagonia and Gaul in quest of them. Fourthly, Mr. B. speaks of its being 'proved and owned by themselves before 'civil magistrates in Italy and Africa.' Which I do not see in Augustine, but only Gaul and Paphlagonia; unless some other passage be also referred to.

Mr. B. concludes the note upon which I have made these animadversions, saying: 'The 'Waldenses, who sprung up in the twelfth century, were stigmatized by their enemies with the 'odious name of Manichees, but that their doctrine was different from that of the Manichees, 'nay, that it was altogether orthodox, I will shew in a more proper place.'

When Mr. B. comes to that part of his work, I suppose he will have the task of shewing, not only that the Waldenses were unjustly stigmatized with the Manichæan doctrine, but likewise, that they were not guilty of the impure and infamous practices generally imputed to the Manichees. And perhaps he may also discern at length, that those crimes were unjustly charged upon the real Manichees, or such as owned themselves disciples of Mani. But however that may be, I have taken the liberty to make these remarks for supporting what I had said formerly, and which I still think to be right: not with a design to detract from the merit of Mr. Bower's laborious and useful work, which I heartily wish he may carry on with continued and increasing acceptance and esteem.

[a] Hoc se facere quidam confessi esse in publico judicio perhibentur, non tantum in Paphlagoniâ, sed etiam in Galliâ, sicut a quodam Romæ Christiano catholico audivi. De Natura Boni. c. 47. T. 8.

CHAP. LXIV.

ARNOBIUS.

I. *His history, and work, and time.* II. *His character.* III. *Select passages:* 1. *The sum and design of the Christian religion.* 2. *Arguments for the truth of the Christian religion.* 3. *Objections against it.* 4. *His notion concerning the divinity of Christ, and the Spirit.* 5. *Whether he was a Manichee?* 6. *Miracles in his time.* 7. *Ends of Christ's death.* 8. *Of Free-will.* 9. *Heathens offended at Cicero's works.* 10. *An argument for free inquiry.* IV. *His testimony to the scriptures.* V. *Extracts out of another Arnobius's Commentary upon the Psalms.*

Says Jerom in his Catalogue: 'Arnobius in[a] the time of the emperor Dioclesian, taught rhetoric 'at Sicca in Africa, with great reputation, and wrote those volumes against the Gentiles, which 'are well known.'

In his letter to Magnus, shewing the merit of Christian writers, and particularly their Latin authors, he says: 'Arnobius[b] published seven volumes against the Gentiles, and his scholar 'Lactantius as many: who also wrote two other volumes, Of the Wrath, and the Workmanship 'of God: which if you read, you will find in them an epitome of what is valuable in the Dia-'logues of Cicero.'

In another place Jerom passeth a severe and ill-natured censure upon Arnobius's performance, saying, that[c] he is unequal and prolix, and for want of divisions of his work[d] confused.

Arnobius is likewise mentioned by Jerom[e] with some other learned ecclesiastical writers, who, he says, ought to be read with discretion, taking what is good in them, and rejecting what is bad.

In Jerom's Chronicle at the 20th year of Constantine, or the year of Christ 326, are these words: 'Arnobius[f] a rhetorician is famous in Africa, who while he taught the youth rhetoric 'at Sicca, and was yet a heathen, was admonished in his dreams to embrace Christianity. But 'when he applied to the bishop of the place for baptism, he rejected him, because he had been 'wont to oppose the Christian doctrine. Whereupon he composed an excellent work against 'his old religion, and thus at length, as by hostages of his piety, he obtained the seal of the 'covenant.'

According to this account, Arnobius's work against the Gentiles was composed by him whilst a catechumen only and before he was a complete Christian. Nay, Tillemont from this passage argues, that[g] Arnobius was not baptized, nor so much as a catechumen. And Cave too, without hesitation says, that[h] 'he was not then so much as a catechumen, instructed in the first 'rudiments of the faith.'

But each of those suppositions appears to me inconsistent with Arnobius's ordinary style, who

[a] Arnobius, sub Diocletiano principe Siccæ apud Africam florentissime rhetoricam docuit, scripsitque adversus Gentes quæ vulgo extant volumina. De V. I. c. 79.

[b] Septem libros adversus Gentes Arnobius edidit, totidemque discipulus ejus Lactantius, qui de Irâ quoque & Opificio Dei duo volumina condidit; quos si legere volueris, dialogorum Ciceronis in eis *επιλομην* reperies. Ep. 83.

[c] Arnobius inæqualis & nimius, & absque operis sui partitione confusus. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49. al. 13. T. 4. p. 567.

[d] Cave, in his English life of Arnobius, at the end of his second volume of The Lives of the Fathers, says: 'His style 'though censured by Jerom, is yet sufficiently elegant.—Nor 'is his work so confused and immethodical, as that father 'seems to insinuate: as is evident to any that will be at the 'pains attentively to read it, and observe how his design is 'laid, his argument prosecuted, and how the several parts of 'it do naturally enough one depend upon another.' So Cave.

[e] Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, & nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter & Latinos: ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria. Hier. Ep. 56. al. 76. T. 4. p. 589.

[f] Arnobius rhetor clarus in Africâ habetur; qui quum in civitate Siccæ ad declamandum juvenes erudiret, & adhuc ethnicus ad credulitatem somniis compelleretur, neque ab episcopo obtineret fidem, quam semper oppugnaverat, elucubravit adversus pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros, & tandem, velut quibusdam obsidibus pietatis, fœdus impetravit Chr. l. ii. p. 181.

[g] —puisque c'est la production d'un homme qui n'étoit baptisé, ou qui même n' étoit pas encore catécumène. Tillem. Arnobe. Mem. Ec. T. 4, P. 2. p. 1209.

[h] See Cave's life of Arnobius in English, as above note [d].

continually speaks of himself as a Christian, and reckons himself one of them. Many such passages might be alleged; and I put [a] a few in the margin: but it is the whole strain of the work.

It may be argued likewise, that he was not barely a catechumen at that time, from [b] the description he gives of the Christian worship in their assemblies: not only discourses, but prayers likewise; at which last, as is generally said, catechumens were not allowed to be present.

Indeed I do not see how Arnobius could so confidently assert the innocence and usefulness of every part of Christian worship, as he does, if he was not fully acquainted with it. Not to add, that it would seem a very extraordinary step, for a man to undertake the public defence of a religion, who did not understand the rudiments of it.

I must therefore take the liberty to say, that I cannot but question the genuineness of that passage.

That Arnobius was once a blind and zealous idolater, is fully owned and confessed by [c] himself. And he professeth to have been taught by Christ, or that Christ was his master. But I do not perceive him any where to ascribe his conversion to dreams by which he had been admonished whilst a heathen. Nor does Jerom elsewhere mention, or hint at that matter. It is also observable, that in Jerom's Catalogue, Arnobius is said to have flourished in the time of Dioclesian; whereas in the passage in the Chronicle, he is placed at the twentieth year of Constantine. And if Arnobius had been in the circumstances intimated in that passage, he must have been intent upon dispatch. But it is manifest from the work itself, that it is no hasty performance, but a laboured composition, fit to see the light: and many authors, both Greek and Latin, are here [d] quoted. Nor has Arnobius any where hinted, that he was under any sort of compulsion or necessity to engage in this work. But at the beginning he speaks of his undertaking as perfectly free and voluntary; and says, that [e] some injurious reproaches cast upon the Christians, induced him to write in their defence.

Add these considerations to that before-mentioned, that Arnobius writes as a Christian; and it must, I think, appear somewhat probable, that Jerom was not the author of that article in the Chronicle; and that it was inserted after his time by some credulous person, not thoroughly acquainted with Arnobius's history, or work.

According to Cave, Arnobius flourished about the year 303. However, it is not easy to settle exactly the time of the work he has left us.

Tillemont is inclined to the year [f] 297, or sooner: whom [g] Beausobre follows, supposing Arnobius to have written in 295. Basnage [h] thinks the year 303, or 304, more likely.

The article in Jerom's Chronicle, whether his or not, seems to deserve but little regard. Arnobius must be there wrong placed, at the year of Christ 325 or 326; for in his Catalogue Jerom says, that Arnobius flourished under Dioclesian, and that Lactantius, Arnobius's scholar, was appointed professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia under the same emperor: which must be understood to have been done before the persecution which began in 302 or 303. For after that it cannot be supposed, that Dioclesian would invite a Christian to come and settle in the city, where his palace was.

There are some notes of time in the work itself. For Arnobius says, that [i] it was then three hundred years, more or less, since the rise of Christianity. And heathens are brought in object-

[a] Nihil sumus aliud Christiani, l. i. p. 41. f. Nationibus enim sumus in cunctis, p. 10. m. Audetis nos ridere——! l. ii. p. 51. Non ergo, quod sequimur, novum est, sed nos sero addidicimus, ib. p. 95. & passim.

[b] Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis & venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, & resolutis corporum vinctione; in quibus aliud auditur nihil, nisi quod humanos faciat, nisi quod mites, verecundos, pudicos, castos, familiaris communicatores rei, & cum omnibus consolidæ germanitatis necessitudine copulatos. Arnob. l. iv. p. 152. Lugdun. Bat. 1651. Vid. & lib. 1. p. 14. f. 15. in.

[c] Venerabar, o cæcitas! nuper simulacra modo ex fornacibus promta, in incudibus deos, & malleis fabricatos: elephantorum ossa, picturatas veternosis in arboribus tænias si quando conspexeram, lubricatum lapidem & ex olivi unguine sordidatum, tamquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar, & beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente de trunco. —— Nunc doctore tanto in vias veritatis inductus, omnia ista, quæ sint, scio: digna de dignis sentio, contumeliam nomini nullam facio divino: & quid cuique debeatur, vel personæ, vel capiti, inconfusis gradibus atque auctoritatibus, tribuo. Id. l. i. p. 22, 23.

[d] Catalogues of authors quoted by Arnobius may be seen in Fabr. Bib. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 391, &c. Nourry Apparat. Tom. ii. p. 537, &c.

[e] Quoniam, comperi nonnullos—statui pro captu & mediocritate sermonis contraire invidiæ, & calumniosas dissolvere criminationes, l. i. in.

[f] Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1210. & 1374.

[g] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 412. Note (7.)

[h] Annal. 303. n. 24.

[i] Trecenti sunt anni, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo cœpimus esse Christiani, & terrarum in orbe censeri, l. i. p. 9 in.

ing, that[a] the Christian religion had not a being four hundred years ago. And soon after it is said to be[b] a thousand and fifty years since the foundation of Rome, or thereabout.

Following the ordinary computation of that epoch, Arnobius must have written in the year of our Lord 297, or 298. And[c] Pagi was once of opinion, that Arnobius's books were published in the year of Christ 298, or 299, at the latest. But afterwards observing, that Arnobius useth words denoting such sufferings as followed Dioclesian's edict for a general persecution, he was induced to alter his mind, and to conclude, that he did not write till after the year 302. And from hence he was led to infer, that Arnobius followed another, and very uncommon computation of the Roman æra, which placeth the foundation of the city thirteen years later than the Varronian account. Consequently Arnobius wrote in the year of Christ 310, which, according to the last mentioned computation, is in the 1050th year of Rome.

I think, that if the demolition of the churches, and the burning of the Christian scriptures, and other afflictions of Christians for the sake of their principles, which[d] Arnobius speaks of, relate to the persecution under Dioclesian; Arnobius could not write till the year 303, or after. Nevertheless, as he speaks in a loose and general manner, both of the time of the rise of Christianity, and of the foundation of the city; I see no reason to conclude that he made use of a different computation from the common. For though it were then 1056 or 1057 years from the foundation of Rome, (according to the common computation, and that too followed by him;) he might express himself as he has done, or say, it was about 1050 years.

It may be reckoned somewhat strange, that Lactantius, when[e] he mentions the Latin Christian apologists, Minucius, Tertullian, and Cyprian, should take no notice of Arnobius; if he was his master, as Jerom says in his Catalogue, and if he wrote before him.

With regard to this difficulty, I would say, Lactantius appears to be so honest and generous a man, that I cannot impute his silence to envy, or any other bad principle. Indeed, according to the whole strain of Arnobius's work, he wrote when Christianity was under discouragements, and therefore before the sun-shine of Constantine's reign: whereas it is a common opinion, that the Institutions of Lactantius, written against the gentiles, were not published, as we now have them, before the year 319, or 320, or 321. But however that may be, I think it probable, that the main part of the Institutions was written during the time of Dioclesian's persecution; when Lactantius might be entirely ignorant of what Arnobius had done, or was doing in Africa, at a great distance from him. For they might be both writing at one and the same time, without any communication of their several designs to each other, and without a possibility of it. Arnobius was a heathen a good while. His work is the work of a man of vast reading, and of a mature age at least. Nor have we any account of any thing done by him afterwards: possibly he was then far advanced in life, and died soon after. And if his books were not composed before the year of our Lord 305, or 306, Lactantius, probably, would be entirely unacquainted with them, when he wrote his Institutions. Moreover, supposing the persecution to have been begun before Arnobius's work was composed, there might be no fair opportunity to make it public, till that affliction ceased.

Cave[f] and some others say, that Arnobius did not write till after the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. And it is certain, that he not only often speaks of the afflictions endured by Christians, but as if they suffered at the very time: for he prays to God[g] to forgive those that persecuted his servants; and he sometimes speaks of their sufferings in the present[h] tense. If the persecution was begun before he was converted, and set about his work, it must have raged for some good while, before his Apology was finished. Consequently, it could not be written, much less published, quite so soon as some have thought.

Upon the whole I am inclined to think, without being positive, that Arnobius did not write till some time after the beginning of the persecution ordered by Dioclesian, possibly about the year 305, or 306.

[a] Ante quadringentos annos religio, inquit, vestra non fuit, l. ii. p. 94. in.

[b] Ætatis urbs Roma cujus esse in annalibus indicitur? Annos ducit quinquaginta & mille, aut non multum ab his minus, l. ii. p. 94. infr. m.

[c] Pagi in Baron. Ann. 302. n. 14, 15, 16.

[d] See before note [h] p. 245.

[e] Inst. l. v. c. 1. p. 459.

[f] Scripti enim sunt hi libri anno 303, vel non diu post, exortâ jam persecutione. Cave H. L. in Arnobio.

[g] Da veniam, rex summe, tuos persequentibus servos, &c. l. i. p. 18. in.

[h] Vid. l. ii. p. 44, 45.

Were we inquiring at what time Arnobius flourished as a rhetorician, I should make no scruple to say, that he flourished about the year 290, or sooner. But as our inquiry is, when he wrote for the Christians, we place him somewhat lower.

Though Arnobius has quoted a large number of Greek and Roman authors, he has not mentioned any Christian writers. Some think that[a] he made great use of Clement of Alexandria: but he has not named him.

It is supposed that[b] this work is not come down to us complete; but that somewhat is wanting at the end, if not also at the beginning.

Arnobius's books against the Gentiles have never yet been divided into chapters or smaller sections: though, as[c] Nourry says, it might be easily done, and would remove the seeming confusion which there is in the method, and render the reading of this author more agreeable. However, as yet we have only the original division of this work into seven books.

There is another of this name, author of Brief Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, formerly supposed the same with our Arnobius, but now universally allowed by learned men to be a different person, and to have lived in the fifth century, about[d] the year 461.

I design at the end of this chapter to insert a brief account of his testimony to the scriptures.

II. Having given a general account of Arnobius, and his work, I shall add some things to illustrate his character.

It has been often said of Arnobius and Lactantius, that[e] they undertook the defence of Christianity before they understood it. In answer to which it is observed by a learned and judicious writer, 'That[f] this must be understood of the Christian system, as to doctrines and 'precepts: which it is not to be wondered, if he was not perfectly acquainted with, since he 'wrote his books before he was admitted by baptism into the church, and fully instructed in 'those points. But as to the general evidence of Christianity, that he understood very well, 'and by his knowledge and serious consideration of it, embraced the faith in that discouraging 'season the reign of Dioclesian.'

I wish that vindication of our Christian apologist had been more complete. For in order to judge of the evidence of a religion, it seems requisite, that a man understand its doctrines; or what it teaches, and consists of. Nor do I perceive how Arnobius could be acquainted with our Lord's works, or miracles, and not also know his[g] words, or the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion.

I observe then, that Arnobius knew and believed the several following things: 1. He[h] believed in one God Almighty, the creator of all things. 2. He believed, that[i] Jesus Christ came from God, and that he proved his divine commission. 3. He was acquainted with[k] the sublime morality taught by our Saviour on the mount and elsewhere. 4. He believed, that[l] Jesus Christ came to save lost sinners: 5. And that[m] he promised eternal life, and gave full assurance of his being able to perform what he promised. 6. He likewise[n] believed and expected the resurrection of the dead. 7. He knew that[o] the gospel of Christ, or the Christian religion, did not make promises of temporal, earthly blessings; but taught men to bear afflictions, and even

[a] Vid. Nourry, Diss. in Arnob. in App. T. ii. p. 430. C. 481, 482, 487. C. D. 491. D. E. & 492.

[b] Id. ib. p. 287. D. E.

[c] Quapropter si quis in novâ aliquâ horum librorum editione, eos, quod non ita difficile est, in capita aut sectiones distribuat; is sane & huic confusioni medebitur, & tædium laboremque lectoris plurimum sublevabit. Id. ib. p. 287. C.

[d] Cave Hist. L. in Arnobio Juniore.

[e] See Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation, Vol. i. p. 3.

[f] See Dr. Chapman's Eusebius, Vol. i. p. 272.

[g] Neque enim qualitas & deformitas mortis dicta ejus immutat aut facta, l. i. p. 23. m. Vid. & p. 6. in.

[h] Audetis ridere nos, quod Patrem rerum & Deum veneramur & colimus, quodque illi dedamus & permittamus spes nostras? l. ii. p. 51. m. & alibi passim.

[i] —— rei maximæ causâ a summo rege ad nos missus, l. i. p. 24. & passim.

[k] Ib. p. 5. & 6.

[l] Sed si, inquiunt, Christus in hoc missus a Deo est, ut infelices animas ab interitionis exitio liberaret,——l. ii. p. 87.

[m] Ut enim dii certi certas apud vos habent tutelas, licentias, potestates,——ita unius pontificium Christi est, dare animis salutem, & spiritum perpetuitatis apponere, l. ii. p. 89.

Si nobis hæc gaudia, hoc est, viam fugiendæ mortis, Plato in Phædone promisisset, aliusve ex hoc choro, possetque eam præstare, atque ad finem pollicitationis adducere; consentaneum fuerat ejus suscipere nos cultus, a quo tantum doni expectaremus & muneris. Nunc cum eam Christus non tantum promiserit, verum etiam virtutibus tantis manifestaverit posse compleri; quid alienum facimus, aut stultitiæ crimen quibus rationibus sustinemus, si ejus nomini, majestatique substernimur, a quo speramus utrumque, & mortem cruciabilem fugere, & vitæ æternitate donari? l. ii. p. 66, 67.

[n] Audetis ridere nos, quod mortuorum dicamus resurrectionem futuram? l. ii. p. 51.

[o] Nihil enim est nobis promissum ad hanc vitam, nec in carunculæ hujus folliculo constitutis opis aliquid sponsum est auxiliique decretum. Quinimo edocti sumus minas omnes, quæcumque sunt, parvi ducere atque æstimare fortunæ. Ac si quando ingruerit vis quæpiam gravior, quâ finem necesse sit consequi vitæ, eam nec timere, nec fugere,—— l. ii. p. 98.

death itself, with meekness, patience and fortitude. 8. And finally, he was so fully persuaded of the real excellence and manifest certainty of the Christian religion, as to say, that[a] it needed not any apology, but stood firm upon the foundation of its own truth and reasonableness, though all the world should gainsay it. He had therefore considered the internal, as well as the external evidence of Christianity.

A man who knew all these things, and was acquainted with the history of our Lord's life, death, and resurrection, and his apostles' miracles; I think may be esteemed sufficiently qualified to write a defence of the Christian religion. Indeed, the faith of the ancient apologists, and other primitive Christians, was in some respects more plain and simple than ours: but it was a faith, that[b] produced good works, that taught them self-denial, and made martyrs. Nor was it, possibly, because of its plainness and simplicity, the less conformable to the Christian doctrine contained in the New Testament, which is summarily set forth by St. Paul in these words: "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation," or the salutary, saving grace of God, "has appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; looking for the blessed hope, and the appearance of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ: who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." Tit. ii. 11—14. But to proceed.

Another learned modern speaks of Arnobius after this manner: 'He[c] was very shy of 'determining abstruse and difficult points of a speculative nature. He supposed the Christian 'religion to consist in the clear and certain doctrine of our Saviour, omitting whatever is not 'plainly taught by him. Far from being curious and dogmatical, he was timorous and reserved: 'which, perhaps, is no great fault; for it is the deciding positive temper, that produceth sects 'and schisms.'

Arnobius was learned and pious; as every one must perceive, who looks into him. And though his style is generally reckoned rough and unpolished, and hath in it some uncouth and obsolete words: it is strong and nervous, and[d] there are in him shining and beautiful passages, which must highly please attentive readers of good taste. It is very much to the honour of this rhetorician, learned in all[e] the learning of Greece and Rome, that he embraced the Christian religion when under persecution: and that like Moses, "he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches, than the treasures" of all the world. Heb. xi. 25, 26. And see Acts vii. 22.

III. I shall now make some extracts out of Arnobius. 1. He represents the sum of the Christian religion in this manner: 'We[f] Christians are men that worship the great Lord and 'governor of the world, according to the direction of Jesus Christ. If you examine it, you will 'find nothing else in this religion: this is the sum of the whole affair: this is the scope and 'design of all our religious offices: to this supreme Lord we all bow down: him we worship with

[a] Neque enim res stare sine assertoribus non potest & religio Christiana: aut eo esse comprobabitur vera, si adstipulatores habuerit plurimos, & auctoritatem ab hominibus sumserit. Suis illa contenta est viribus, & veritatis propriæ fundaminibus nititur. Nec spoliatur vi suâ, etiamsi nullum habeat vindicem: immo si linguæ omnes contra faciant, contraque nitantur, & ad fidem illius abrogandam consensionis unitæ animositate conspirent, l. iii. in. p. 100.

[b] Ου γαρ εν λογοις, αλλ' εν εργοις τα της ἡμετερας θεοσεβειας πραγματα. Just. M. ad Gr. Coh. p. 33. B. Ου γαρ μελετη λογων, αλλ' επιδειξει και διδασκαλια εργων, τα ἡμετερα. Athenag. leg. p. 37. B. vid. ib. p. 12. A. Nos non habitu sapientiam, sed mente, præferimus. Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus. Min. Fel. cap. 38. Nos autem,—qui philosophi non verbis sed factis sumus, nec vestitu sapientiam, sed veritate, præferimus,——qui non loquimur magna, sed vivimus. Cypr. De Bono Sap. sub init. Nostro autem populo, quid horum potest objici, cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere, & sine maculâ vivere? Lact. Inst. l. 5. cap. 9. sub fin.

[c] Tout cela, selon lui, sont des questions vaines & curieuses, qu'il est impossible de déterminer, parceque la raison humaine manque de lumières suffisantes pour cela, & que le Fils de Dieu ne s'est point expliqué là-dessus. Arnobe faisoit consister la religion Chrêtienne dans la doctrine claire & certaine du Sauveur, & en retranchoit tout ce qu'il n'a pas enseigné avec évidence. On peut bien croire que je n'approve pas les hypothèses d'Arnobe. Mais pourquoi faut il, que les anciens ayent été animés d'un esprit aussi curieux & aussi décisif que celui du savant Arnobe étoit timide & reservé? C'est cet esprit décisif, qui a fait naître tant de sectes & schismes. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 415.

[d] Negari tamen non potest, plurima passim occurrere apte, polite, eleganter & rhetorice dicta, ac gravissimis ornata illustrataque verbis & sententiis. Nourry Diss. in Arnob. cap. ii. p. 287. A. B.

[e] Quem quidem locum plene jamdudum homines pectoris vivi tam Romanis literis explicavere quam Græcis, l. iii. p. 103.

[f] Nihil sumus aliud Christiani, nisi, magistro Christo, summi regis & principis veneratores. Nihil, si consideres, aliud invenies in istâ religione versari. Hæc totius summa est actionis. Hic propositus terminus divinorum officiorum, hic finis. Huic omnes ex more prosternimur; hunc collatis precibus adoramus. Ab hoc justa, & honesta, & auditu ejus condigna deposcimus, l. i. p. 14. & 15.

'united prayers: to him we present holy, and innocent, and honourable requests, fit to be heard 'by him.'

I place [a] another like passage at the bottom of the page, without translating it, but referring it to the consideration of my readers.

2. It is worth while to observe, what arguments Arnobius makes use of to prove the truth and divine original of the Christian religion.

(1.) One argument insisted on by him is its excellence. For this I would refer to what was before said [b] concerning Arnobius's knowledge of the Christian religion and its evidences, and to his passages just alleged, containing his summary accounts of the great design of it. I might also refer to other passages, where [c] he insists upon those laws of Christ, which teach men to bear injuries, and not to return evil for evil: as likewise to some other places where [d] he puts the heathens in mind of the innocence of Christ himself, and of his whole undertaking: which, as he tells them, is alone sufficient to shew, how unreasonable their fierce opposition against him was. And there are in him many other passages to the same purpose, which will offer themselves to an attentive reader.

(2.) He insists [e] upon the virtues of our Lord's life, and the perfection and amiableness of his conduct upon all occasions.

(3.) Another argument is taken from our Lord's miracles. Several of the passages where Arnobius speaks of them, will be produced hereafter, in the article of his testimony to the scriptures. He observes particularly, that [f] our Lord's great works were very numerous, and were performed without the use of any external means, and were healing and beneficial: that [g] they were performed without show and ostentation, in order to convince, if possible, a hard-hearted and unbelieving race of men, of the truth of the doctrine taught by him. He likewise observes, that [h] Christ discovered a knowledge of men's inward thoughts: that [i] after he had been put to death, he rose again, and shewed himself to many. He farther [k] insists largely upon our Saviour's conferring a like power of doing miracles, equal to all those which had been done by himself, upon his disciples, who were poor fishermen, or of other low occupations, ignorant, illiterate, and unskilful: a full proof, he says, that those works were not the effect of magic, or any human art; but of the power of God. And whereas some might be apt to insinuate, that the writers of our Lord's history had magnified his works beyond the reality; he

[a] Qui [Christus] si dignus non esset, cui auscultare deberetis, aut credere; vel hoc ipso fuerat non aspernandus a vobis, ostenderet quod vias vobis ad cœlum & vota immortalitatis optaret,——qui hominibus cæcis, & reverâ in impietate degentibus, pietatis aperuit januas, & cui se submitterent indicavit. An ulla est religio verior, officiosior, potentior, justior, quam Deum principem nôsse, scire Deo principi supplicare, qui bonorum omnium solus caput & fons est, perpetuarum pariter fundator & conditor rerum, a quo omnia terrena, cunctaque cœlestia animantur,——& qui si non esset, nulla profecto res esset, quæ aliquod nomen, substantiamque portaret? l. ii. p. 42, 43. Vid. & p. 13. f.

[b] See p. 247, 248.

[c] Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare præstantius, l. i. p. 6. in.

[d] —quid causæ est, quod tam gravibus insectamini Christum bellis? Numquid regiam sibi vindicans potestatem, terrarum orbem cunctum legionibus infestissimis occupavit? Numquid ardoribus avaritiæ flagrans universas opes illas, quibus se genus humanum studiose contendit impleri, possessionis suæ mancipio vindicavit? Numquid—l. ii. p. 42.

[e] Ipse denique non lenis, non placidus, non accessu facilis, non familiaris affatu, non humanas miserias indolescens, omnes omnino crucibus & corporalibus affectos malis unicâ illâ benignitate miseratus reddidit & restituit sanitati? Quid ergo vos subigit, quid hortatur, maledicere——quem redarguere, quem tenere, nemo hominum possit ullius facinoris in reatu? l. i. p. 39.

[f] Potestis aliquem nobis designare, monstrare ex omnibus illis magis, qui unquam fuere per sæcula, consimile aliquid Christo millesimâ ex parte qui fecerit? qui sine ullâ vi carminum, sine herbarum & graminum succis,——? Atqui constitit Christum sine ullis adminiculis rerum, sine ullius ritûs observatione, vel lege, omnia illa quæ fecit, nominis sui possibilitate fecisse: & quod proprium, consentaneum, dignum Deo fuerat vero, nihil nocens, aut noxium, sed opiferum, sed salutare, sed auxiliaribus plenum bonis, potestatis munificæ liberalitate donâsse, l. i. p. 25.

[g] Quæ quidem ab eo gesta sunt, & factitata, non ut se vanâ ostentatione jactaret, sed ut homines duri atque incredulî scirent, non esse quod spondebatur falsum, l. i. p. 27.

[h] Unus fuit e nobis, qui quid singuli volverent, quid sub obscuris cogitationibus continerent, tacitorum in cordibus pervidebat? p. 27. in.

[i] Unus fuit e nobis, qui, deposito corpore, innumeris se hominum promtâ in luce detexit? p. 27.

[k] Quid quod istas virtutes, quæ sunt a nobis summatim, non ut rei poscebat magnitudo, depromtæ, non tantum ipse perfecit vi suâ, verum, quod erat sublimius, multos alios experiri, & facere sui nominis cum affectione permisit. Nam cum videret futuros vos esse gestarum ab se rerum, divinique operis abrogatores, ne qua subesset suspicio, magicis se artibus munera illa beneficiaque largitum, ex immensâ illâ populi multitudine, quæ suam gratiam sectabatur admirans, piscatores, opifices, rusticanos, atque id genus elegit imperitorum, qui per varias gentes missi cuncta illa miracula sine ullis fucis atque adminiculis perpetrarent.—Neque quidquam est ab illo gestum per admirationem stupentibus cunctis, quod non omne donaverit parvulis illis & rusticis, & eorum subjecerit potestati, p. 30. Vid. & p. 32.

answers, that [a] they had related but a small part of them. And he wisheth they had recorded them all if it had been possible, and likewise all the miracles of his disciples, the more to increase the astonishment and wonder of such incredulous men. He particularly asserts, that [b] the miracles done by Christ himself, and by his apostles, whom he sent forth to preach in his name, are a just foundation of faith in him, as a divine messenger. And he says, that [c] those great works had excited the attention of all mankind, and induced distant nations, and people of very different manners and customs, to unite in respect for his high character.

I presume it will be allowed, that Arnobius has done justice to this argument, and treated it in a handsome manner.

(4.) He argues [d] from the great effect of the Christian religion upon men in softening their tempers, amending their manners, sowing the seeds and principles of benevolence, peace and friendship, among men. Which advantages, he says, would have been greater, and more general, provided all, who made an appearance of being men, would have exercised their rational powers and faculties, and would have laid aside their prejudices, and their pride, and would have candidly attended to the doctrine of Christ. Then wars and disturbances might have ceased in the earth.

He observes particularly, and with much thankfulness, that [e] Christ had delivered men from great errors: he had brought them from idolatry to the knowledge of the true God, and taught them how to worship, and pray to him.

(5.) Another argument insisted on by him is [f] the great progress of the Christian doctrine, and the vast numbers of people that had embraced it in many and remote kingdoms of the earth, in a very short time. He says, that there were then Christians in all countries: he particularly mentions Syria, Persia, Scythia, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and divers other people and countries; some under the Roman government, others out of it.

The dignity of our Lord's person, he [g] says, and the divine original of his religion must be hence manifest, that in so short a time he filled the whole world with that doctrine.

(6.) This argument is confirmed, forasmuch [h] as this religion had been embraced under the

[a] Sed conscriptores nostri mendaciter ista promserunt, extulere in immensum exigua gesta, & angustas res satis ambitioso dilatavere præconio. Atqui utinam cuncta referri in scripta potuissent, vel quæ ab ipso gesta sunt, vel quæ ab ejus præconibus pari jure & potentiâ terminata. Magis vos incredulos faceret vis tanta virtutum.———l. i. p. 33.

[b] Atque si causas causis, partes partibus voluerimus æquare, magis nos valemus ostendere, quid in Christo fuerimus secuti, quam in philosophis quid vos. Ac nos quidem in illo secuti hæc sumus: opera illa magnifica, potentissimasque virtutes, quas variis edidit exhibuitque miraculis, quibus quivis posset ad necessitatem credulitatis adduci, & judicare fideliter, non esse quæ fierent hominis, sed divinæ alicujus atque incognitæ virtutis. Vos in philosophis virtutes secuti quas estis,——? l. ii. p. 49.

[c] Virtutes sub oculis positæ, & inaudita illa vis rerum, vel quæ ab ipso fiebat palam, vel ab ejus præconibus, celebratur in orbe toto: ea subdidit appetitionum flammas, et ad unius credulitatis assensum mente unâ concurrere gentes & populos fecit, & moribus dissimillimas nationes, ib. p. 50.

[d] Habet a Christo beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, per quem feritatis mollita est rabies, atque hostiles manus cohibere a sanguine cognati animantis occœpit. Quod si omnes omnino, qui homines se esse non specie corporum, sed rationis intelligunt potestate, salutaribus ejus pacificisque decretis aurem vellent commodare paulisper, & non fastu & supercilio luminis———universus jamdudum orbis mitiora in opera conversis usibus ferri, tranquillitate in mollissimâ degeret, & in concordiam salutarem incorruptis fœderum sanctionibus conveniret, l. i. p. 6.

[e] ———honoribus quantis afficiendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis insinuatâ veritate traduxit? qui velut cæcos passim, ac sine ullo rectore gradientes, ab deruptis, ab deviis, locis planioribus reddidit! qui, quod frugiferum primo atque humano generi salutare, Deus monstravit quid sit, quis, quantus, qualis;—qui, quod omnia superavit, & transgressum est munera, ab religionibus nos falsis religionem traduxit ad veram; qui ab signis inertibus, atque ex vilissimo formatis luto, ad sidera sublevavit & cœlum, & cum Domino rerum Deo supplicationum fecit verba atque orationum colloquia miscere, l. i. p. 21, 22.

[f] Si Alamannos, Persas, Scythas, idcirco voluerunt devinci, quod habitarent in eorum gentibus Christiani; quemadmodum Romanis tribuere victoriam, cum habitarent & degerent in eorum quoque gentibus Christiani? Si in Asiâ, Syriâ,——quod ratione consimili habitarent in eorum gentibus Christiani? in Hispaniâ, Galliâ, cur eodem tempore horum nihil natum est, cum innumeri viverent in his quoque provinciis Christiani? Si apud Gætulos, Tinguitanos, hujus rei causâ siccitatem satis ariditatemque miserunt; eo anno cur messes amplissimas Mauris, Nomadibusque tribuerunt, cum religio similis his quoque in regionibus verteretur?———nationibus enim sumus in cunctis, l. i. p. 9, 10.

[g] Unus fuit e nobis, qui cum officia religionis certæ suis sectatoribus traderet, mundum totum repente complebat, quantusque, & qui esset, revelatâ nominis immensitate monstrabat? l. i. p. 27. in.

[h] Nonne vel hæc saltem fidem vobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras, in tam brevi temporis spatio, immensi nominis hujus sacramenta diffusa sunt? quod nulla jam natio est tam barbari moris, & mansuetudinem nesciens, quæ non ejus amore versa molliveret asperitatem, & in placidos sensus assumtâ tranquillitate migravit? quod tam magnis ingeniis prædita oratores, grammatici, rhetores, consulti juris, ac medici, philosophiæ etiam secreta rimantes, magisteria hæc expetant, spretis quibus paulo ante sidebant? quod ab dominis se servi cruciatibus affici, quibus statuerint, malunt, solvi conjuges matrimoniis, exhæredari a parentibus liberi, quam fidem rumpere Christianam, & salutaris militiæ sacramenta deponere? quod cum genera pœnarum tanta sint a vobis proposita religionis hujus sequentibus leges, augeatur res magis, & contra omnes minas atque interdicta formidinum animosius populus obnitatur, & ad credendi studium prohibi-

greatest difficulties and discouragements by men of all ranks; by orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, philosophers, and the greatest wits, as well as by men of low condition, and smaller attainments. Nor could the heaviest sufferings induce men to renounce it. Yea, this doctrine continued to spread, and make converts, at the very time that the professors of it endured a cruel persecution.

(7.) He argues, that [a] it would be altogether absurd to suppose, that so many people should on a sudden, without any good ground and reason, change their former opinions and customs, and forsake the religion of their ancestors. They had therefore good proof and evidence of the great works said to be done by Christ.

It is still the more unreasonable, as he argues, to suppose, that [b] men should act here without good evidence; when it is considered, that by change of sentiment, and embracing this doctrine, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and the heaviest sufferings.

(8.) Finally, he argues, that [c] the things said of Christ must be true; forasmuch as they who first reported, or recorded them, had no interest to induce them to falsify, and by only not bearing testimony to him, they might have avoided many sufferings, and have lived quietly and comfortably among their neighbours. Would men in such a circumstance, pretend to have seen what they never saw? and assert facts they had no knowledge of? Would men bring upon themselves enmity and hatred, and expose themselves to universal infamy, for no reason at all? They were therefore fully persuaded of the things they related, and knew them to be true.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in these extracts; for I think no one can be displeased to see, how solidly this Christian rhetorician and apologist argued above a thousand, almost fifteen hundred years ago, in behalf of the religion of Jesus, whose disciples we profess ourselves to be.

3. Let us now attend to the objections, or at least some of the objections against the Christian religion, which we find to be taken notice of and considered by this writer.

(1.) I have not observed any notice taken by Arnobius of those scandalous imputations upon the Christians, of sacrificing young children, and practising promiscuous lewdness in their religious assemblies. It is likely, therefore, that the Christians had so fully confuted those stories, and all men were so fully satisfied of their falsehood, that they were no longer mentioned by the enemies of the Christian religion. Our author indeed speaks [d] of their being called impious, irreligious, atheistical. But that is another thing, and relates only to their disowning the heathen deities, and abandoning their worship, together with all their rites and ceremonies.

(2.) But his book begins with that popular heathen complaint and calumny against the Christians, that [e] they were the occasion of all the calamities that befel mankind. This complaint, taken up [f] long before, was continued a good while after this, and is finely answered by [g] our

tionis ipsius stimulis excitetur? Numquid hæc fieri possim & inaniter creditis? fortuitis cursibus adsumi has mentes? Itane istud non divinum & sacrum est, aut sine Deo, eorum tantas animorum fieri conversiones, ut, cum carnifices unci, aliique innumeri cruciatus, quemadmodum diximus, impendeant crediturís, veluti quâdam dulcedine atque omnium virtutum amore correpti, cognitas accipiant rationes, atque mundi omnibus rebus præponant amicitias Christi? l. ii. p. 44, 45.

[a] Nulla major est comprobatio, quam gestarum ab eo fides rerum, quam virtutum novitas, quam omnia victa decreta, dissolutaque fatalia, quæ populi gentesque suo geri sub lumine nullo dissentiente videre: quæ nec ipsi audent falsitatis arguere, quorum antiquas seu patrias leges vanitatis esse plenissimas atque inanissimæ superstitionis ostendit, l. i. p. 24, 25.

[b] Quod si falsa, ut dicitis, historia illa rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore totus mundus istâ religione completos est? aut in unam coire qui potuerunt mentem gentes regionibus dissitæ, ventis, cœli convexionibus dimotæ? Asseverationibus illectæ sunt nudis, inductæ in spes cassas, & in pericula capitis immittere se sponte temerariâ desperatione voluerunt, cum nihil tale vidissent, quod eas in hos cultus novitatis suæ possit excitare miraculo? Imo quia hæc omnia & ab ipso cernebant geri & ab ejus præconibus, qui per orbem missi beneficia patris & munera sanandis animis hominibusque portabant, veritatis ipsius vi victæ, & dederunt se Deo, nec in magnis posuere dispendiis membra vobis projicere, & viscera sua lanianda præbere, l. i. p. 33.

[c] Numquid dicemus, illius temporis homines usque adeo fuisse vanos, mendaces, stolidos, brutos, ut, quæ nunquam viderant, vidisse se fingerent? & quæ facta omnino non erant, falsis proderent testimoniis, aut puerili assertione firmarent? cumque possent vobiscum & unanimiter vivere, & inoffensas ducere conjunctiones, gratuita susciperent odia, & execrabili haberentur in nomine? p. 33. sub in.

[d] Quantumlibet nos impios, irreligiosos vocetis, aut atheos, nunquam fidem facietis esse amorum deos, &c. l. iii. p. 116. f. Trophonius nos impios, Dodonæus aut Jupiter nominat,—l. i. p. 14.—ut convicio utamur vestro, infausti & athei nuncupamur, ib. p. 16.

[e] Quoniam comperi nonnullos, qui se plurimum sapere suis persuasionibus credunt, insanire, bacchari, & velut quiddam promtum ex oraculo dicere: postquam esse in mundo Christiana gens cœpit, terrarum orbem periisse, multiformibus malis affectum esse genus humanum: ipsos etiam cœlites derelictis curis solennibus, quibus quondam solebant invisere res nostras, terrarum ab regionibus exterminatos: statui pro captu ac mediocritate sermonis contraire invidiæ, & calumniosas dissolvere criminationes; ne aut illi sibi videantur, popularia dum verba depromunt, magnum aliquid dicere; aut nos, &c. l. i. p. 1. [f] Vid. Tertul. Ap. c. 40. [g] P. 244, 245.

Arnobius, as well as by later [a] Christian writers. That absurd and ridiculous charge seems to have been the immediate occasion of Arnobius's resolving to write an apology for the Christians.

(3.) Another objection against the Christians was, that [b] their religion was new. To which good answers may be seen in Arnobius, to [c] whom I refer.

(4.) Another was, that [d] Christ came no sooner. To which Arnobius makes several [e] answers, and among the rest this: that there [f] may be good reasons, well known to God, though men be unacquainted with them; and that this is a sufficient answer.

(5.) They objected: 'if [g] Christ came to save men, why are not all saved?'

(6.) They excepted [h] against Christ's birth as a man,

(7.) And we may be assured, they [i] did not fail to make exceptions to his death: the death too of criminals, and mean persons. Arnobius answers, that [k] neither his death, nor the manner of it, makes any alteration in his words, or his works, or any way weakens his authority. Besides, he [l] rose again from the dead in a short time. Nor [m] did his divinity die and suffer, but only his humanity.

4. Bull supposeth, that [n] Arnobius asserts the true divinity of the Son. But it seems to me, that this is far from being clear. Arnobius indeed calls Christ God, and true God: but I think he means no more, than that he is a God, and truly God. For he so distinguisheth Christ from God, the Lord and Sovereign of all, that I do not see how he could think him one God with the Father. For proof of this, I place at the bottom of the page [o] two of those passages, which Bull allegeth as most to his purpose. And I shall add [p] several others, where also Arnobius, in like manner as in those alleged by Bull, remarkably distinguishes Christ from the one God Almighty, from the Supreme King, the first and chief God. By true God he seems to mean no more than truly [q] so, in some sense, in opposition to such as are esteemed and called gods, but are not so at all, and have no right to that title.

Nor does Bull say, whether this author thought rightly of the Spirit. Indeed I am not certain, that Arnobius has once mentioned the Holy Ghost. However, I shall [r] put in the margin a passage, to be considered by my readers.

[a] Vid. P. Oros. Hist. & August. Retr. l. ii. c. 43.

[b] Religiones, inquiunt, impias, atque inauditos cultus terrarum in orbem trahitis, l. i. p. 13. Neque quod nobis objectare consuêstis, novellam esse religionem nostram, & ante dies natam propemodum paucos, neque vos potuisse antiquam & patriam relinquere, & in barbaros ritus peregrinosque reduci, ratione istud intenditur nullâ. l. ii. p. 90. & passim.

[c] Non ergo, quod sequimur, novum est; sed nos sero didicimus, &c. l. ii. p. 95, &c.

[d] Et quid, inquit, est visum Deo regi atque principi, ut ante horas, quemadmodum dicitur, pauculas, sospitator ad vos Christus cœli ex arcibus mitteretur? l. ii. p. 96.

[e] Vid. p. 87, 90, 96, 97.

[f] Quænam igitur ratio est? Non imus inficias, nescire nos. Neque enim promtum est cuiquam Dei mentem videre, aut quibus modis ordinaverit res suas. Homo, animal cæcum, & ipsum se nesciens, nullis potest rationibus consequi, quid oporteat fieri, quando, vel quo genere. Ipse rerum cunctarum pater, moderator, & dominus scit id solus, &c. p. 96, 97.

[g] Sed si generis Christus humani, ut inquitis, conservator advenit, quare omnino non omnes æquali munificentiâ liberat? l. ii. p. 88.

[h] Sed non, inquit, idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum; sed quod hominem natum, &, quod personis infame est vilibus, crucis supplicio interemtum, & Deum fuisse contenditis, & superesse adhuc creditis, &c. l. i. p. 19, 20. Natum hominem colitis, p. 24. m. & passim.

[i] Vid. not. [h]

[k] Sed patibulo affixus interiit. Quid illud ad causam? Neque enim qualitas & deformitas mortis dicta ejus immutat aut facta, aut eo minus videbitur disciplinarum ejus auctoritas, quia vinculis corporis non naturali dissolutione digressus est, sed vi illatâ discessit, l. i. p. 23. m.

[l] Unus fuit e nobis, qui, deposito corpore, innumeris se hominum promtâ in luce detexit? l. i. p. 27. in.

[m] Sed more est hominis interemtus. Non ipse. Neque enim cadere divinas in res potest mortis occasus: nec interitionis dissolutione dilabi id, quod est unum ac simplex, nec ullarum partium congregatione compactum. Quis est ergo visus in patibulo pendere? quis mortuus est? Homo, quem induerat, & secum ipse portabat, l. i. p. 37 & 38.

[n] In eo opere veram ille Filii divinitatem sæpius atque apertissimis verbis confitetur. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 151. al. 168.

[o] Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus, & percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus, & interiorum potentiarum Deus; &, quod magis infidos acerbissimis doloribus torqueat, rei maximæ causâ a summo Rege ad nos missus. Arnob. l. i. p. 24. Deus ille sublimis fuit, Deus radice ab intimâ, Deus ab incognitis regnis, & ab omnium Principe Deus sospitator est missus, ib. p. 32.

[p] ——Omnipotens & primus Deus——Nonne solus ingenitus, immortalis, & perpetuus solus est? l. ii. p. 95.

Potest ergo fieri, ut tum demum emiserit Christum Deus Omnipotens, Deus solus.——p. 97.

——propter quas in mundum venerat faciendas, summi Regis imperio & dispositione servatis, l. i. p. 37. m.

——cum animas renuamus Dei esse Principis prolem, l. ii. p. 76. ——visum est Deo regi atque principi, p. 96. m.

——unum solum posuisse contenti, nihil a Deo principe quod sit nocens——proficisci, p. 81.

——Deus, inquam, Christus——Dei principis jussione loquens sub hominis formâ——p. 85. f.

—— in Deo rerum capite,——Dei principis notioni.—— p. 86.

——Nonne dignus a nobis est tantorum ob munerum gratiam Deus dici, Deusque sentiri? l. i. p. 21.

[q] Cum enim Dii omnes, vel quicumque sunt veri, vel qui esse rumore atque opinione dicuntur, immortales & perpetui voluntate ejus sint, l. ii. p. 87.

[r] Ita unius pontificium Christi est, dare animis salutem, &

I shall add here a few more select passages.

5. Beausobre once had suspicions, that [a] Arnobius held the Manichæan principle concerning the origin of the human soul; but upon farther consideration he acquitted him. I cannot believe, that Arnobius was at all acquainted with the Manichees. And Beausobre's opinion, that Manichæism had spread in Africa before the end of the third century, appears to me to be without good foundation.

6. Arnobius seems to speak of some [b] extraordinary works done in the name of Christ in his own time.

7. He supposeth Christ to have died, that [c] thereby, and by his resurrection afterwards, he might confirm the truth of his doctrine, and give his followers full assurance of immortality.

8. In his answer to the forementioned objection, If Christ came to save men, why are not all saved? he strongly asserts human power and freedom. For he says, that [d] the kind proposal of the gospel is made to all; if any refuse it, it is their own fault. It is not to be expected, that God should force their consent: it is not the method of his dealings with men.

9. Arnobius informs us, that [e] not a few heathens of his time were much offended at Cicero, for the freedom he had taken in exposing some of their absurd sentiments concerning their deities; and that his writings were so serviceable to the Christian cause, that some people were for having his works, or some of them at least, destroyed, or prohibited by order of the senate.

10. Upon occasion of which, Arnobius declares it to be his opinion, that [f] reading and inquiry ought not to be discouraged, and that so doing is a sign of a bad cause.

Mr. Bayle observed this passage of our author: I choose to place his words at the bottom of the [g] page.

IV. I come now to observe this writer's testimony to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

1. Arnobius has not expressly quoted any books, either of the Old or the New Testament. It is likely, that he did not judge it proper to allege the scriptures, as books of authority, in an argument with heathens, and was of the same opinion upon this head with Lactantius, who [h] did not scruple to censure St. Cyprian for so doing.

2. We can perceive however, that Arnobius was acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures. For whereas [i] some heathens objected, that those scriptures spake of God, as having bodily parts,

spiritum perpetuitatis apponere, l. ii. p. 89. sub fin. And compare Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 413.

[a] See Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 413, &c. See him likewise, p. 145, 146, and p. 330, 331, & 398, 399.

[b] ——qui justissimis viris etiam nunc impollutis, ac diligentibus sese, non per vana insomnia, sed per puræ speciem simplicitatis apparet? cujus nomen auditum fugat noxios spiritus, imponit silentium vatibus, haruspices inconsultos reddit, arrogantium magorum frustrari efficit actiones, non horrore, ut dicitis, nominis, sed majoris licentiâ potestatis, l. i. p. 27.

[c] Cumque novitas rerum, & inaudita premissio audientium turbaret mentes, & credulitatem faceret hæsitare, virtutum omnium dominus, atque ipsius mortis extinctor, hominem suum permiserit interfici, ut ex rebus consequentibus scirent in tuto esse spes suas, quas jamdudum acceperant de animarum salute, nec periculum mortis aliâ se posse ratione vitare, l. i. p. 41.

[d] Non æqualiter liberat, qui æqualiter omnes vocat?—— Si tibi fastidium tantum est, ut oblati respuas beneficium muneris——quid invitans in te peccat, cujus solæ sunt hæ partes, ut sub tui juris arbitrio fructum suæ benignitatis exponat?—— Vis sumere quod offertur, atque in tuos usus convertere? Consulueris tu tibi——Nulli Deus infert necessitatem—— Immo, inquit, si Deus est potens, misericors, conservator, convertat nobis mentes, & invitos faciat suis pollicitationibus credere. Vis ergo est ista, non gratia: nec Dei liberalitas principis, sed ad vincendi studium, puerilis atque animi contentio, l. ii. p. 88 & 89.

[e] Adduci enim primum hoc ut credamus, non possumus, immortalem illam——naturam divisam esse per sexus—— Quem quidem locum plene jamdudum homines pectoris vivi, ——explicavere——& ante omnes Tullius Romani disertissimus generis——Sed quid aucupia verborum, splendoremque sermonis peti ab hoc edicam, cum sciam esse non paucos, qui aversentur, refugiant, libros de hoc ejus, nec in aurem velint admittere lectionem opinionum suarum præsumta vincentem? cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, & dicere: Oportere statui per senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus religio Christiana comprobetur, & vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Quinimo, si fiditis exploratum vos dicere quidquam de diis vestris, erroris convincite Ciceronem: temeraria & impia dictitantem refellitote, redarguite, comprobate. Nam intercipere scripta, & publicatam velle submovere lectionem, non est deos defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere, l. iii. p. 103, 104.

[f] Vid. not. [c]

[g] ——il auroit pu se moquer de ces sectaires, s'ils fussent venus lui alléguer les reflexions que faisoit Arnobe, sur ce que les idolâtres demandoient que le sénat abolît par ses arrêts quelques livres de Cicéron, où la vanité des faux dieux est démontrée. Refutez les, leur disoit Arnobe, s'ils contiennent des impiétés. Car d'en interdire la lecture, ce n'est pas soutenir la cause des dieux; c'est craindre le temoignage de la verité. Bayle, Dict. V. iv. p. 2840. b. edit. 3. Volkelius, Note (A).

[h] ——quâ materiâ non est usus, ut debuit. Non enim scripturæ testimoniis, quam ille [Demetrianus] utique vanam, fictam, commentitiamque putabat; sed argumentis & ratione, fuerat refellendus. Nam, cum ageret contra hominem veritatis ignarum, dilatis paulisper divinis lectionibus, formare hunc a principio tamquam rudem debuit, atque paulatim lucis principia monstrare, Lact. Inst. l. v. c. 4.

[i] Nunc ad speciem veniamus & formas, quibus esse descriptos deos superos creditis——Neque quisquam Judaïcas in hoc loco nobis opponat, & Sadducæi generis fabulas, tamquam

and human passions; he recommends it to them, to study the style of those books with greater care, and then, he says, they will better know their true meaning.

Nevertheless it must be owned, that at the end of his sixth book, and in the seventh book almost throughout, Arnobius [a] so argues against all manner of sacrifices, and particularly bloody sacrifices of animals; that we may be apt to suspect, he was not well acquainted with the Mosaic institution, or else had but little regard for it. And it is not unlikely, that about this time Gentile people became first acquainted with Christians and their scriptures: and they might be converted some while, before they were well acquainted with the Jewish scriptures, and the ancient constitution of that people.

3. Arnobius, for certain, was well acquainted with the books of the New Testament, though he did not think fit to quote them expressly in his books against the Gentiles.

4. He says, [b] the world has this benefit from Christ, that there is already a vast multitude of men, who have been taught by his laws, precepts, and institutions, "not to return evil for evil," and rather suffer wrong than to do any.

5. Herein he may be thought to refer to the whole tenor of the Christian doctrine, as contained in the New Testament. However, it must be also reckoned probable, that he has some particular regard to that part of our Lord's doctrine, which is recorded in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, especially from ver. 38 to the end; and perhaps to some other texts, where "recompensing," or "rendering evil for evil," is forbidden in terms, much resembling those of Arnobius. See Rom. xii. 17. 1 Thess. v. 15. 1 Pet. iii. 9.

6. He has enumerated the miracles of our Saviour in such a manner as shews him to have been well acquainted with our gospels; and that he gave full credit to them, and paid them great deference. 'He [c] speaks of our Lord's healing fevers, dropsies, lunacies, leprosies, and all 'manner of diseases and torments, to which the human frame is subject; and relieving great 'numbers of those deplorable cases on the sudden, by his word and command only, without any 'external means, and without charms and incantations: and some obtained relief by only a slight 'touch of his garment. He strengthened the lame to walk, and to carry their beds, who before 'was carried themselves upon men's shoulders: he enabled the deaf to hear, and the dumb to 'speak: he gave sight to the blind, to some that were blind from their birth: he calmed the 'boisterous winds, and the stormy seas, and himself walked safely upon them: he fed five thousand 'people at once with five loaves, of which also there remained, after all were satisfied, such an 'abundance, that twelve baskets were filled with the fragments: a sure proof,' he says, 'that 'there was no deceit: he raised the dead, and some that had been buried.'

7. He observes also, agreeably to our gospels, that [d] sometimes Christ by touching the afflicted with his hands, at other times by his sole command, opened the ears of the deaf, and the eyes of

formas tribuant atque os Deo. Hoc enim putatur in eorum literis dici, & ut vel re certâ, atque auctoritate firmari: quæ aut nihil ad nos attinent—aut, si sunt, ut creditur, sociæ, quærendi sunt nobis altioris intelligentiæ doctores, per quos possitis addiscere quibus modis conveniat literarum illarum nubes atque involucra relaxare, l. iii. p. 106, 107.

[a] Ergone, o Jupiter, aut quis alius Deus es, humanum est istud & rectum,—ut, cum alius peccaverit, ego occidar, & de meo sanguine fieri tibi patiaris satis, qui nunquam te læserim? &c. l. vii. p. 216.—quod est istud honoris genus, vervecem, arietem, taurum, dei sub ore connectere, conspectuque in ejus occidere? Quod est honorum genus deum invitare ad sanguinem, quem cum canibus videas eum sumere, atque habere communem? ib. p. 222.

[b] Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti, quam irrogare, esse præstantius,—habet a Christo beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, l. i. p. 5, 6.

[c] Ergo ille mortalis, aut unus fuit e nobis, cujus imperium, cujus vocem, popularibus & quotidianis verbis missam, valetudines, morbi, febres, atque alia corporum cruciamenta fugiebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus præsentiam, cujus visum gens illa nequibat ferre mersorum in visceribus dæmonum, conterritaque vi novâ, membrorum possessione cedebat? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus fœdæ vitiligines jussioni optemperabant pulsæ statim, & concordiam colorum commaculatis visceribus relinquebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus ex levi tactu stabant profluvia sanguinis, & immoderatos cohibebant fluores? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus manus intercutes & veternosæ fugiebant undæ—? Unus fuit e nobis, qui claudos currere præcipiebat? Etiam operis res erat porrigere mancos manus, & articuli immobilitates jam ingenitas explicabant: captos membris assurgere. Etiam suos referebant lectos alienis paulo ante cervicibus lati: viduatos videre luminibus, etiam cœlum diemque nullis cum oculis procreatos. Unus, inquam, fuit e nobis, qui debilitatibus variis, morbisque vexatos centum, aut hoc amplius, semel unâ intercessione sanabat? cujus vocem ad simplicem furibunda & insana explicabant se maria, procellarum turbines tempestatesque sidebant? qui per altissimos gurgites pedem ferebat inlutum? calcabat ponti terga undis ipsis stupentibus, in famulatum subeunte naturâ? qui sequentium se millia quinque, quinque saturavit e panibus: ac, ne esse præstigiæ incredulis illis viderentur & duris, bis senarum sportarum fragminibus aggerebat? Unus fuit e nobis, qui redire in corpora jamdudum animas præcipiebat afflatas, prodire ab aggeribus conditos? & post diem funeris tertium pollinctorum voluminibus expediri? l. i. p. 26.

[d] Christus enim scitur, aut admotâ partibus debilitatis manu, aut vocis simplicis jussione, aures aperuisse surdorum, exturbâsse ab oculis cæcitates, orationem dedisse mutis, articulorum vincula relaxâsse, ambulatum dedisse contractis, &c. ib. p. 28.

the blind, and unloosed the tongues of the dumb, or gave feet to the lame, and performed other like works.

8. He takes notice [a] of the uncommon darkness, and other surprising events, at the time of our Lord's passion and death; which he describes in a very rhetorical manner.

9. Arnobius, as before said, does not expressly quote any books of scripture: but it is likely, that he, in the places just cited, refers to our evangelists, and their histories. It is plain, he does not take his accounts of our Lord's miracles from oral tradition only. For, as he goes along in his argument, he refers to [b] writers, and [c] writings, which also he calls ours.

10. We may be confirmed in the supposition, that he means our evangelists, and their gospels, from the character he gives the historians of our Lord's miracles, which he speaks of. For [d] he insists, that they are credible witnesses of the things they relate, because they had seen them, and were present at the doing them; and they write with evident marks of truth and credibility. He likewise owns, that [e] they were unlearned and mean men, and that their style is destitute of ornaments. But then he says, that their accounts are not for those reasons the less credible.

11. He seems to refer [f] to John xiv. 6, and perhaps to some other texts in that gospel.

12. He seems likewise to refer to the books of the Acts of the Apostles, when he says, that [g] Christ gave to those little ones, fishermen, and other mean persons, his disciples, the power of performing the same great works that he did: and [h] when he speaks of their exerting that power all over the world, in obedience to the commission they had received. And he may be thought to refer to the great miracle of speaking with divers tongues, recorded Acts ii. when he expresseth himself after this manner: 'Was [i] he one of us, who, when he spake one language, was 'thought by divers people, using different languages, to speak words, they were well acquainted 'with, and in their own language?' He may be thought likewise to allude to [k] Acts xvii. 25 and 28.

13. In the accounts he gives [l] of our Lord's resurrection, and the many proofs and incontestible evidences, which were afforded of it, it is somewhat doubtful, whether he refers only to the histories of that important event at the end of the gospels, or whether he intends likewise the beginning of the book of the Acts.

14. He has the words of [m] 1 Cor. iii. 19, but without any intimation of his borrowing from any particular book.

15. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 6, that our Lord, after he was risen, "was seen of above five hundred brethren at once." It is not easy to say, whether Arnobius has any particular reference to that text, when he observes, that [n] Christ, in a short time after he had died, shewed himself to innumerable people.

16. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks much of Christ's priesthood: Arnobius

[a] Exutus at corpore, quod in exiguâ sui circumferebat parte, postquam videri se passus est, cujus esset aut magnitudinis sciri, novitate rerum exterrita universa mundi sunt elementa turbata; tellus mota contremuit; mare funditus refusum est: aër globis involutus est tenebrarum; igneus orbis solis tepefacto ardore diriguit, p. 32.

[b] Conscriptores nostri, l. i. p. 33. Quidquid dicere de nostris conscriptoribus intenderitis, p. 34.

[c] Non creditis scriptis nostris? p. 34.——quæ in nostris consignata sunt literis, confiteamini necesse est esse vera, ib.

[d] Sed non creditis gesta hæc. Sed qui ea conspicati sunt fieri, & sub oculis suis viderunt agi, testes optimi, certissimique auctores, & crediderunt hæc ipsi, & credenda posteris nobis, haud exilibus cum approbationibus, tradiderunt, p. 32. f. Vid. & p. 33.

[e] Sed ab indoctis hominibus, & rudibus, scripta sunt; & idcirco non sunt facili auditione credenda. Vide ne magis hæc fortior causa sit, cur illa nullis coinquinata mendaciis, mente simplici tradita, & ignarâ lenociniis ampliare. Trivialis & sordidus sermo est. Nunquam enim veritas sectata est fucum; nec quod exploratum & certum est, circumduci se patitur per ambitum longiorem, l. i. p. 34, 35.

[f] Et hoc necesse a nobis est ut debeatis accipere, a nullo animas posse vim vitæ atque incolumitatis accipere, nisi ab eo, quem Rex summus huic muneri officioque præfecit. Hanc Omnipotens Imperator esse voluit salutis viam, hanc vitæ, ut ita dixerim, januam. Per hunc solum est ingressus ad lucem, &c. l. ii. p. 89, 90.

[g] Neque quidquam est ab illo gestum per admirationem stupentibus cunctis, quod non omne donaverit faciendum parvulis istis & rusticis, & eorum subjecerit potestati, l. i. p. 30, f.

[h] Imo quia hæc omnia & ab ipso cernebant geri, & ab ejus præconibus, qui per orbem totum missi beneficia patris & munera sanandis animis hominibusque portabant, &c. l. i, p. 33. m.

[i] Unus fuit e nobis, qui, cum unam emitteret vocem, ab diversis populis, & dissonâ oratione loquentibus, familiaribus verborum sonis, & suo cuique utens existimabatur eloquio? p. 27.

[k] Nonne huic omnes debemus hoc ipsum primum, quod sumus?——Non, quod incedimus, quod spiramus & vivimus, ab eo ad nos venit, vique ipsâ vivendi efficit nos esse, ut animali agitatione motari? l. i. p. 16.

[l] Unus fuit e nobis, qui deposito corpore innumeris se hominum promtâ in luce detexit? qui sermonem dedit, atque accepit, docuit, castigavit, admonuit? qui, ne illi se falsos vanis imaginationibus existimarent, semel, iterum, sæpius, familiari collocutione monstravit, l. i. p. 37.

[m] Nunquam illud vulgatum perstrinxit aures vestras, sapientiam hominis stultitiam esse apud Deum? l. ii. p. 46. in.

[n] See before, Note [l].

also has the expression of Christ's high-priesthood. In Heb. ix. 6, are the words "eternal spirit:" Arnobius has a like expression. I refer to a passage, which [a] may be consulted for both these particulars. But I somewhat question, whether any will think our author had an eye to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

17. It may be proper to observe here, that [b] in one place Arnobius speaks of the burning of the Christian scriptures, and complains of it, as a most unreasonable thing.

18. This is all which we have to produce from this writer upon this head. We have seen good evidence of his being well acquainted with the gospels. And it is likely, that he had read, and highly respected the other books of the New Testament, generally received by Christians. But he did not judge it proper to quote expressly, and as of authority, any books of scripture, in an argument with heathens.

V. I shall now, as formerly proposed, make some extracts out of the other Arnobius's Commentaries upon the Psalms. But a few particulars will suffice out of so late a writer, who flourished not till about the year 460. I shall take it for granted, that he received the Old Testament, and those books of the New, which were always received by all Christians in general. I shall only observe some passages, relating to such books, or parts of books of the New Testament, which have been denied, or disputed by some, together with a few other remarkable things.

1. There are in these Commentaries some indications, that [c] there still were heathens, who practised their idolatrous rites and ceremonies.

2. He magnifies the speedy progress of the gospel in this manner: 'For [d] many ages God was 'known in Judea only. But upon the coming of Christ, the word of the Lord ran swiftly from the east to the west, from the Indies to Britain.

3. This writer mentions divers of those Christians, which are called heretics, as [e] the Novatians, the [f] Manichees, and [g] Photinus, and [h] some others.

4. This author cites [i] our Lord's genealogy in the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

5. He takes notice of several things in the second chapter of the same gospel, as [k] the coming of the wise men to Jerusalem, the star that conducted them, and the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem.

6. He also mentions several things, which are in [l] the first and second chapters of St. Luke's gospel.

7. He has several things out of the book of [m] the Acts.

8. He has twice quoted Philip. ii. 6, and in one of those places seems to understand [n] the words rendered by us, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God," as expressing our Lord's free and voluntary humiliation.

9. He received [o] the epistle to the Hebrews, as St. Paul's.

[a] That passage is quoted already, p. 252. Note [r].

[b] Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? l. iv. p. 152. f.

[c] Usque hodie gentes fremunt adversus Christum, qui idolis finem imposuit. Arnob. in Pis. ii. p. 3. Basil. 1560. In Libano sacrificantes usque hodie turpissimæ Veneri, vitulorum virilia amputant, & in ejus sacrificio hujusmodi incensa supponunt: mercedem quam oportuit erroris sui, deæ suæ exhibent meretrici. In Ps. xxviii. p. 64. Vid. & in Ps. ix. p. 17.

[d] Et tam velociter currit sermo ejus, ut, cum per tot millia annorum in solâ Judæâ notus fuerit Deus, nunc, intra paucos annos, nec ipsos Indos lateat a parte Orientis, nec ipsos Britones a parte occidentis: ubique cucurrit velociter sermo ejus. In Ps. cxlvii. p. 443. Sicut enim ecclesiæ in toto mundo positæ civitates sanctorum sunt. In Ps. ix. p. 17.

[e] In Ps. cv. p. 195. in Ps. cxxxviii. p. 406 & 407.

[f] In Ps. cx. p. 319, in Ps. cxxxviii. p. 409.

[g] Non ergo, sicut damnabilis Photinus credit, ex Mariæ partu sumsit exordium, sed ante luciferum est ex patris ore progenitus. In Ps. cix. p. 317.

[h] Hunc enim eundemque Deum Marcion negat, similiter Apelles & Valentinus & Manichæus, infideles & miseri. In Ps. cxliii. p. 430.

[i] Sic enim legis evangelii caput: liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. In Ps. ciii. p. 277.

[k] Sic autem proprium locum relinquentes magi stellæ indicio, &c. in Ps. xviii. al. xix. p. 40. Herodes turbatur, pastores terrentur, magi fugiunt, infantes occiduntur, angeli psallunt dicentes: Gloria Deo in excelsis, &c. In Ps. xlvi. p. 118. Vid. & in Ps. xlvii. p. 120.

[l] In Ps. xviii. al. xix. p. 41. in Ps. lxxi. p. 185. Vid. & supr. not. [k]

[m] Hi autem, qui cum apostolis tertiâ diei horâ ebrii sunt Spiritu Sancto, lætentur, &c. In Prologo. p. 1.——ita ut universarum gentium loquaces dicerent de eis: Nonne hi viri Galilæi sunt, &c. in Ps. xviii al. xix. p. 41. Unde & Petrus mendicanti infirmo: Argentum & aurum non habeo, &c. In Ps. lxviii. p. 178.

[n] Ille, cum dominus cœli & terræ esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit, &c. In Ps. cxxx. p. 383. Cum in formâ dei esset, essetque æqualis Deo patri, exinanivit seipsum, &c. In Ps. cxliii. p. 429.

[o] Sine fide autem, ut ait Apostolus, impossibile est placere Deo. In Ps. lxxvii. p. 207. Ad hæc Paulus clamat, Hebræus ex Hebræis, impossibile est mentiri Deum, [Hebr. vi. 18.] In Ps. civ. p. 287.

10. He quotes [a] the epistle of James, as written by James the apostle.
11. He quotes [b] the book of the Revelation, and ascribes it to John the apostle.
12. He recommends [c] the frequent reading of the scriptures.

CHAP. LXV.

LACTANTIUS.

I. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *Select passages:* 1, *The design of the Christian religion.* 2. *Its effects.* 3. *His interpretation of Gen.* vi. 3. 4. *Free will.* 5. *Christian writers mentioned by him.* 6, 7. *Writers against the Christian religion.* 8. *Unsteady Christians in his time.* 9. *Calumnies against the Christians.* 10. *The innocence of Christian people.* 11. *Miracles in his time.* 12. *A future state proveable by reason.* 13. *He did not deny the eternity of hell-torments.* 14. *The value of repentance.* 15. *The ends of Christ's coming and death.* 16. *The great progress of the Christian religion.* 17. *Christian fortitude.* 18. *The right of private judgment.* 19. *Arguments against persecution.* 20. *Christians did not persecute.* IV. *Errors ascribed to him:* 1. *Manichæism.* 2. *He denied antipodes.* 3. *Of the fall of angels.* 4. *Held a millennium.* 5. *Denied the personality of the Spirit.* 6. *Of the origin of the soul.* 7. *Of Christ's priestly office.* V. *His character.* VI. *His testimony to the scriptures:* 1. *Of the Old Testament.* 2. *Of the New Testament, particularly the gospels.* 3. *The Acts of the Apostles.* 4. *St. Paul's epistles.* 5. *The catholic epistles.* 6. *The Revelation.* 7. *Respect for the scriptures.* VII. *Whether he quotes any other writings as of authority.* VIII. *The sum of his testimony to the scriptures.* IX. *Extracts from the book of the deaths of persecutors.*

St. Jerom's history of Lactantius, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, is to this purpose: 'Firmianus, [d] called also Lactantius, scholar of Arnobius, being sent for in the time of the 'emperor Dioclesian, together with Flavius Grammaticus, whose books of medicines, written in 'verse, are still extant, taught rhetoric at Nicomedia: but not having many scholars there, it 'being a Greek city, he betook himself to writing. We have his Banquet, which he wrote when 'very young: an Itinerary from Africa to Nicomedia, in [e] hexameter verses: and another book, 'entitled Grammaticus: and an excellent book Of the Wrath of God: and seven books of 'Divine Institutions against the Gentiles: and an Epitome of the same work in one book, the 'beginning of which is wanting: and two books to Asclepiades: Of the Persecution, one 'book: four books of Epistles to Probus: two books of Epistles to Severus: two books of 'epistles to Demetrian, his scholar: and to the same, one book of the Workmanship of God, or 'the Formation of Man. In his old age he was preceptor to Crispus Cæsar, son of Constantine, 'in Gaul, who was afterwards put to death by his father.'

[a] Unde & Jacobus apostolus: Omne, inquit, gaudium existimate, fratres, cum in tentationibus variis incideritis. [Cap. i. 2.] In Ps. xxxii. p. 73 & 74.

[b] Sicut Ezechielis prophetia, & Joannis Apocalypsis loquitur. In Ps. xx. p. 45. Si vis videre divitem & mendicum, sancti apostoli Joannis lege Apocalypsin. In Ps. cii. p. 274.

[c] Deus enim sciri vult omnia suarum mysteria literarum——Beatus enim perfectus esse non poteris, nisi scrutatus fueris testimonia ejus.——Tu quid facis, Christiane? Si militas homini, scrutaris legem ejus; quia si quid, licet jam ignarus, incurreris, morieris. Nescire enim legem nemini licet.——Servus Christi es? Scrutare testimonia ejus. In Ps. cxviii. al. cxix. p. 338, 339.

[d] Firmianus, qui & Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio Grammatico, cujus de Medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri, Nicomediæ rhetoricam docuit; & penuriâ discipulorum, ob Græcam videlicet civitatem, ad scribendum se contulit. Habemus ejus Symposium, quod adolescentulus scripsit; Ὁδαιπορικὸν de Africâ usque ad Nicomediam, hexametris scriptum versibus; & alium librum, qui inscribitur Grammaticus; & pulcherrimum de Irâ Dei; & Institutionum Divinarum adversum Gentes libros septem; & Ἐπίτομην ejusdem operis in libro uno acephalo; & ad Asclepiadem libros duos; de Persecutione librum unum; ad Probum Epistolarum libros quatuor; ad Severum Epistolarum libros duos; ad Demetrianum, auditorem suum, Epistolarum libros duos; ad eundem de Opificio Dei, vel Formatione hominis, librum unum. Hic extremâ senectute magister Cæsaris Crispi, filii Constantini, in Galliâ fuit, qui postea a patre interfectus. De Vir. Ill. cap. 80.

[e] I shall here place an ingenious conjecture of Dr. Heumann: Scilicet apud Hieronymum pro *hexametris scriptum versibus* conjiciebam scriptum fuisse *hexametris utrumque versibus: Utrumque*, id est, tum Symposium, tum Odœporicum Lactantii. Vid. Sympos. Lact. in Præf. n. xix.

against the Christian religion. And he supposeth, there might be others who [a] did the like about the same time, as well as [b] in former times.

7. He also mentions one [c] Domitius, supposed [d] to be the famous Lawyer Domitianus Ulpianus, who made a collection of Imperial Edicts that had been published against the Christians.

8. He intimates, that [e] there were in his time many Christians, especially such as had a smattering of learning, who wavered in the profession of Christianity.

9. We do not observe in Lactantius any notice taken of those scandalous reflections upon the Christians, which we can find by our writers were common in the second century. By the continued purity of their lives, and the force of their Apologies, it is likely they had confuted and obliterated those calumnies.

But they were still reckoned a silly [f] and contemptible people, partly for [g] following a crucified master and leader, partly [h] for suffering so many evils which they might have avoided. Moreover, they were still called [i] impious and profane for deriding the common deities, and not complying with the established superstition: and desperadoes [k] on account of their uncommon resolution and steadiness in the profession of their own peculiar principles, which they believed to be true.

10. Lactantius openly asserts the innocence of Christian [l] people, all whose religion, he says, consists in good works, or a care to live unblameably and inoffensively. And [m] the criminals, who fell under the sentence of the magistrate for robbery and other offences, he observes, were not Christians, but of the same religion with their enemies.

11. Lactantius expresseth himself, as if in his time Christians [n] performed miracles in dispossessing dæmons. The author, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, has somewhat [o] to the like purpose.

12. Our author was of opinion, that another life, or a future state of happiness for good men, may be proved by reason.

(1.) Entering upon this subject at the beginning of the seventh and last book of the Institu-

& eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur; duo extiterunt ibidem,——Quorum alter antistitem se philosophiæ profitebatur.——Alius eamdem materiam mordacius scripsit, qui erat tum e numero judicum, l. v. c. 2. vid. & cap. 3. & cap. 4. init.

[a] —— non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant; sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profligarem. Non dubito enim, quin & alii plurimi, & multis in locis, & non modo Græcis, sed etiam Latinis literis, monimentum injustitiæ suæ struxerint, l. v. c. 4. in.

[b] Omitto eos, qui prioribus eam temporibus necquidquam lacessierunt, l. v. c. 2. sub in.

[c] Domitius, de Officio Proconsulis libro septimo, rescripta Principum nefaria collegit, ut doceret, quibus pœnis affici oporteret eos, qui se cultores Dei confiterentur, l. v. c. 11. fin.

[d] Vid. Heuman. Annot. in loc.

[e] Nam si lucrari hos a morte, ad quam concitatissime tendunt, non potuerimus; —— nostros tamen confirmabimus, quorum non est stabilis ac solidis radicibus fundata & fixa sententia. Nutant enim plurimi, ac maxime, qui literarum aliquid attigerunt, l. v. c. 1. p. 457.

[f] Si vobis sapientes videmur, imitamini; si stulti, contemnite, aut etiam ridete, si libet: nobis enim stultitia nostra prodest, l. v. c. 12. p. 492. Suam—sibi habeant sapientiam prudentes. Relinquant nobis stultitiam nostram, ib. p. 493.

[g] Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem, quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod & hominem, & ab hominibus insigni supplicio affectum & excruciatum, colamus, l. iv. c. 16. in.

[h] Docui, ut opinor, cur populus noster apud stultos stultus habeatur. Nam cruciari, atque interfici malle, quam thura tribus digitis comprehensa in focum jactare, tam ineptum videtur, quam, in periculo vitæ, alterius animam magis curare, quam suam, l. v. c. 18. p. 515.

[i] Impios enim vocant, ipsi scilicet pii, & ab humano sanguine abhorrentes.—l. v. c. 9. p. 483.——nec maledictis abstinent, sed quantis possunt verborum contumeliis insectantur. Epit. c. 52. Sed soli ex omnibus impii judicantur, qui Deum, qui veritatem sequuntur. Quæ cum sit eadem justitia, eadem sapientia, hanc isti vel impietatis vel stultitiæ crimine infamant, &c. ib. c. 55.

[k] Qui autem magni æstimaverint fidem, cultoresque Dei se non abnegaverint, in eos vero totis carnificinæ suæ viribus veluti sanguinem sitiant, incumbunt, & desperatos vocant, quia corpori sub minime, parcunt, l. v. c. 9. p. 483.——& hanc adversus innocentes carnificinam exercentes, pios utique se & justos & religiosos putant——illos vero impios & desperatos nuncupant. Epit. c. 54.

[l] Nostro autem populo quid horum potest objici? cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere ac sine maculâ vivere, l. v. c. 9. p. 485.

Dicet hic aliquis: Quæ ergo, aut ubi, aut qualis est pietas? Nimirum apud eos, qui bella nesciunt, qui concordiam cum hominibus servant, qui amici sunt etiam inimicis, qui omnes homines pro fratribus diligunt,——l. v. c. 10. p. 487.

Et quoniam communiter cum deorum cultoribus loquimur, liceat per vos benefacere vobiscum. Hæc est enim lex nostra, hoc opus, hæc religio. l. v. c. 12. sub in.

[m] Non enim de nostro, sed ex illorum numero semper existunt, qui vias obsideant armati, maria prædentur, &c. l. v. c. 9. p. 483, 484.

[n] Justos autem, id est, cultores Dei, metuunt; cujus nomine adjurati de corporibus excedunt; quorum verbis, tamquam flagris, verberati, non modo dæmonas se esse confitentur, sed etiam nomina sua edunt, illa quæ in templis adorantur. ——Itaque maximis sæpe ululatibus editis, verberari se, & ardere, & jam jamque exire, proclamant. Inst. l. ii. c. 15. p. 220. Vid. & l. iv. c. 27. p. 439, 440, 441. & l. v. c. 21. in. & c. 22. sub fin. & Epit. c. 51.

[o] Tum quidam ministrorum scientes Dominum, cum assisterent immolanti, imposuerunt frontibus suis immortale signum. Quo facto, fugatis dæmonibus, sacra turbata sunt. Trepidabant auspices, nec solitas in extis notas videbant, &, quasi non litâssent, sæpius immolabant, &c. De M. P. c. 10. in.

tions, he says, he [a] intends to prove a future state by testimonies of Scripture, and by arguments from reason.

(2.) The [b] expectation of a better, and a more durable life, he says, is agreeable to philosophy, or natural reason, as well as revelation.

(3.) Since [c] man is capable of virtue, there must be another and endless life. For [d] in this world virtue often proves to the prejudice and detriment of men. But forasmuch as virtue is excellent, and it is allowed that they act wisely, who now deny themselves sensual gratifications, and endure pain, and even death itself, rather than not perform their duty; there must be a future recompense for such persons, consisting of better things than those they have resigned. But what recompense, excepting immortality, can be given to those, one great part of whose virtue consists in dying well?

(4.) In this manner Lactantius frequently argues. If [e] there is no future state, he acts most discreetly who consults his present interest. But if there is another life after this, he who suffers greatly here may act wisely, because immortality will be a full recompence.

(5.) He observes, that [f] in fact it is seen, that good men are here despised and ill treated for virtue itself, or for righteousness sake; therefore they must be happy in another state.

(6.) There [g] is not any thing, he says, so reasonable, fit, and excellent in itself as virtue: but yet, if there is no other life, there is nothing more foolish and insignificant. God therefore, for certain, has appointed for it a great reward in another state.

(7.) He argues likewise, and, as seems to me, excellently, that [h] virtue is in its own nature perpetual, and always progressive. It is not reasonable therefore to suppose, that this principle, once begun and formed in the mind of man, should be cut off, and be for ever destroyed by providence.

(8.) He argues strongly, that [i] there can be no religion, if God does not reward and punish men according to their actions.

(9.) Truly, he [k] says, an excellent being ought to be honoured: but to what purpose, if he takes no notice of it.

(10.) He more than once argues to this purpose. Take [l] away the hope of eternal happi-

[a] Satis & huic parti faciamus, cum testimoniis divinarum literarum, tum etiam probabilibus argumentis, l. vii. c. 1.

[b] Si autem superest homini vita melior & longior, (quod & philosophorum magnorum argumentis, & vatum responsis, & prophetarum divinis vocibus discimus:) l. v. c. 18. sub in.

[c] Virtus quoque soli homini data magno argumento est, immortales esse animas; quæ non erit secundum naturam, si anima exstinguitur. Huic enim præsenti vitæ nocet, &c. l. vii. c. 9. p. 677.

[d] Si autem virtus malum non est, facitque honeste, quod voluptates vitiosas turpesque contemnit, & fortiter, quod nec dolorem nec mortem timet, ut officium servet; ergo majus aliquod bonum assequatur necesse est, quam sunt illa, quæ spernit. At vero, morte susceptâ, quod ulterius bonum sperari potest, nisi æternitatis? l. vii. c. 9. ad fin.

Virtus autem numquam, nisi morte, finitur: quoniam & in morte suscipienda summum ejus officium est. Ergo præmium virtutis post mortem est, l. vii. c. 10. p. 679.

Quod si virtus, quæ bona omnia terrena contemnit, mala universa sapientissime perfert, ipsamque mortem pro officio suscipit, sine præmio esse non potest; quid superest, nisi ut merces ejus immortalitas sola sit? Epit. c. 35. in.

[e] Si enim post mortem nihil sumus, profecto stultissimi est hominis, non huic vitæ consulere, ut sit quam diutina & omnibus bonis plena. Quod qui faciet, a justitiæ regulâ discedat necesse est.——Si autem superest homini vita melior & longior,—hanc præsentem cum suis bonis contemnere sapientis est, cujus omnis jactura immortalitate pensatur, l. v. c. 18. sub in.

[f] Deinde qui justitiam sequentes, in hac vitâ miseri fuerint & contemti & inopes, & ob ipsam justitiam contumeliis & injuriis sæpe vexati, (quia nec aliter virtus teneri potest,) semper beati sunt futuri, l. vii. c. 11. p. 680.

[g] Perdetne suum præmium virtus? aut potius peribit ipsa? Minime. Sed & mercedem Deo judice accipiet, & vivet, & semper vigebit. Quæ si tollas, nihil potest in vitâ hominum tam inutile, tam stultum videri esse, quam virtus: cujus naturalis bonitas & honestas docere nos potest, animam non esse mortalem, divinumque illi a Deo præmium constitutum, l. v. c. 18. p. 515.

[h] Virtus autem sine ullâ intermissione perpetua est, nec discedere ab eo potest, qui eam semel cepit.—Ipsa ergo virtutis perpetuitas indicat, humanum animum, si virtutem ceperit, permanere.—Ergo præmium virtuti post mortem, l. vii. c. 10. Justitia vero & beneficentia tam immortales, quam mens & anima, quæ bonis operibus similitudinem Dei assequitur, &c. De Ira Dei. cap. ult. sub fin.

[i] In eo enim summa omnis & cardo religionis pietatisque versatur. Neque honor ullus deberi potest Deo, si nihil præstat colenti; nec ullus metus, si non irascitur non colenti. De Ira Dei, c. 6. Sive igitur gratiam Deo, sive iram, sive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli necesse est, &c. ib. c. 8. p. 780.

[k] Si enim Deus nihil cuiquam boni tribuit; si colentis obsequio nullam gratiam refert; quid tam vanum, tam stultum, quam templa ædificare?——At enim naturam excellentem honorari oportet. Quis honos deberi potest nihil curanti & ingrato? De Ir. Dei. c. 8. Vid. & cap. 5. & not. [i]

[l] Nam quid prodest, aut falsis religionibus liberari, aut intelligere veram? quid, aut vanitatem falsæ sapientiæ pervidere, aut quæ sit vera cognoscere? quid, inquam, prodest cœlestem illam justitiam defendere? quid, cum magnis difficultatibus cultum Dei tenere, quæ est summa virtus, nisi eum divinum præmium beatitudinis perpetuæ subsequatur? l. vii. c. 1. in.

writing the books above-mentioned, his instructing Crispus in the Latin tongue in Gaul, his being generally poor, and living to a great age, and [a] that he never pleaded as an advocate at the bar. But we are not informed, how he passed through that long and dreadful persecution. Nor can the time of his leaving Nicomedia, or of his coming into Gaul, or of his death, be exactly determined at present. If indeed the book of the Deaths of Persecutors be his, it may be thought, as [b] is argued by Baluze, that Lactantius became acquainted with Constantine, and left Nicomedia about the year 314, and soon after came into Gaul by order of that emperor.

It has been supposed by some, that Lactantius was at first a heathen. Gallæus [c] speaks of this as a point not to be disputed: Tillemont [d] in a manner takes it for granted: and it was the opinion likewise of [e] Du Pin, that Lactantius was converted in his youth. But Cellarius [f] was in suspense about it. Du Pin refers to two passages [g] of our author's works; where, as he says, Lactantius seems to reckon himself with those, who having seen their error embraced the true religion. But those expressions appear to me ambiguous: and, as I apprehend, they rather relate to the state of mankind in general, than to that of Lactantius himself, or of any other particular person; he is there speaking of the great design of the Christian religion in general, to deliver men from the errors and superstitions in which they had been long involved. So Arnobius says: 'It [h] is now about three hundred years since we began to be Christians.'

Beside these two passages, Gallæus refers to [i] a third. But the same answer will suffice for that likewise.

His being sent for by Dioclesian, to teach rhetoric at Nicomedia, is no proof that he was then a heathen. Dioclesian, who [k] was intent upon adorning that city, would be glad of any man of fine parts, who would come and take up his residence, and display them there. It is well known, that before the persecution there [l] were many Christians in the imperial court and armies: and it is past doubt, that Lactantius was a Christian, when the persecution began at Nicomedia. Nor does his great and long diligence in the pursuit of eloquence, and the study of polite literature, afford any argument for his heathenism at that time. It can hardly be suspected, that Lactantius was not a Christian when he wrote the Epistles, mentioned by St. Jerom. Yet pope Damasus writes to him, that [m] he did not read them with pleasure, because, though many of them were very long, they had little about the Christian doctrine, but chiefly related to measures, and the situation of countries, and philosophical questions. Nay, that observation of Damascus does at once afford a proof of our author's Christianity at that time, and of his extensive learning. Nor does the Symposium, supposing it to be a genuine work of Lactantius, demonstrate his heathenism. It was composed indeed during [n] the holidays of Saturn. But yet there is no heathenism in any part of the work, as is [o] well observed by the learned editor. Finally therefore, since [p] there are no clear intimations of his heathenism, or of his conversion

[a] Equidem tametsi operam dederim, ut quantulamcumque dicendi assequerer facultatem propter studium docendi; tamen eloquens nunquam fui, quippe qui forum ne attigerim quidem. Inst. l. iii. c. 13. p. 275.

[b] Vid. Baluz. Annot. ad libr. de M. P. p. 5. edit. Ultraj.

[c] Gall. de Vit. Lact. [d] Tillem. as before, p. 34.

[e] Du Pin, as before, p. 205.

[f] Primum ingenii monimentum, Symposium, in Africâ adolescens edidit; utrum tum Christianus, non omnino certum est. Cellar. Excerpt. de Vit. Lact.

[g] Superest, ut exhortemur omnes,———ut, contemtis terrestribus & abjectis erroribus, quibus antea tenebamur——— ad cœlestis thesauri præmia dirigamur———Div. Inst. l. vii. cap. ult. p. 730. In hoc statu cum essent humanæ res, misertus est nostri Deus———revelavit se nobis,———ut errore prioris vitæ abjecto,———legem divinam, tradente ipso Domino, sumeremus; quâ lege universi, quibus irretiti fuimus, errores, cum vanis & impiis superstitionibus, tollerentur. Epit. cap. iii. p. 739. Leyd. cap. lx. p. 129. ed. Pfaff.

[h] Trecenti sunt anni, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo cœpimus esse Christiani, & terrarum in orbe censeri. Arnob. l. i. p. 9. in.

[i] —cognoscere ministrum ejus, ac nuntium quem legavit in terram; quo dicente liberati ab errore, quo implicati tenebamur, formatique ad veri Dei cultum, justitiam disceremus. De Irâ Dei, Cap. 2. p. 766.

[k] Ita semper dementabat, Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ coæquare. De M. Pers. cap. 7.

[l] Vid. Eus. H. E. l. viii. cap. 6. & libr. de M. P. cap. 15.

[m] Fateor quippe tibi, eos, quos mihi jam pridem Lactantii dederas libros, ideo non libenter lego, quia & plurimæ epistolæ ejus usque ad mille spatia versuum tenduntur, & raro de nostro dogmate disputant; quo fit, ut & legenti fastidium generet longitudo: & si qua brevia sunt, scholasticis magis sint apta, quam nobis, de metris & regionum situ, & philosophiâ disputantibus, [aliter disputantia]. Damas. Pap. ad Hier. T. ii. p. 561. Ed. Bened.

[n] Hoc quoque Symposium lusi de carmine inepto.
Sic me Sicca docet, Siccâ deliro magistrâ.
Annua Saturni dum tempora festa redirent.
Symp. Prol.

[o] —Nec enim quidquam in ejus ænigmatibus inest, quod sapiat ethnicismum: tantum abest, ut probet ethnicismum. Heuman. Præf. ad Lact. Symp. Sect. 14. p. xxv.

[p] Nam si Lactantius ex ethnicis tenebris ad lucem Christianæ sapientiæ emersisset, videtur summum hoc Numinis beneficium alicubi librorum suorum commemoraturus fuisse prædicaturusque———pristinæ religionis, si diversam a Christianis prius habuisset, memoriam, tot invitantibus occasionibus, nec debuit supprimere, nec, quæ pietas ejus fuit, voluit. Heumann ib. p. xxiv. & xxv.

to Christianity, in his own works, or in any ancient writers who have mentioned him; I rather think, (though without being positive,) that he was from the beginning educated in the Christian religion. Nourry [a] was of the same opinion: and herein I thought I had the honour to agree likewise with Dr. Heumann, who has [b] lately given us a very valuable edition of Lactantius, and been [c] long before acquainted with his works. But in his preface [d] to that edition, he has let fall some expressions on the other side; as if he had altered his opinion, or forgot what he had well and largely argued [e] formerly.

II. We have seen in Jerom a catalogue of the works of Lactantius: the catalogues in Honorius of Autun and Trithemius are very little different.

1. The last-mentioned writer adds, that [f] beside the books enumerated by him, it was said, that Lactantius had written not a few more, but he had not seen them.

2. Lactantius himself in his [g] Institutions, and in [h] his book Of the Wrath of God, mentions a design to write against all heresies; which we do not know that he ever did, being perhaps prevented by death. I thought it proper, however, to take notice of it in this place, as a proof of our author's zeal for truth, with which he was greatly enamoured, (as some other expressions also of his elsewhere [i] shew,) and his readiness to employ his time in the defence of it.

3. And at the beginning of the seventh book of his Institutions, he promises [k] somewhat against the Jews, which we have not, unless it be in the latter part of that very book.

4. Two of the three books first mentioned by Jerom, the Itinerary and Grammaticus, seem to be irrecoverably lost. And it has been generally thought, that the third, the Symposium, or Banquet, was lost likewise. But Dr. Heumann, who not very long since published an edition of a work with that title, asserts its genuineness. It is a collection of a hundred tristich epigrams, with a prologue. I do not dispute the favourable judgment, which the learned editor forms of this work. But I shall have no occasion to quote it at present.

5. All our author's book of Epistles are entirely lost. Pope Damascus, as [l] before shewn, did not read them with pleasure, and seems to have set but little value upon them; nevertheless some learned moderns [m] regret the loss of them.

According to the passage before cited from Jerom's Catalogue, there were only two books of Epistles to Demetrian. Nevertheless, in [n] another place Jerom quotes the eighth book of Lactantius's Epistles to Demetrian. I fancy the reason is this; there were in all eight books of Epistles, and those to Demetrian were placed last in the collection. Quoting therefore the second book to Demetrian, he calls it the eighth to him; meaning, however, no more than the eighth book of this writer's epistles, which book was to Demetrian.

6. We still have the treatise Of the Workmanship of God, addressed to Demetrian, whom [o] he had taught rhetoric. Demetrian [p] seems to have been a man of fortune, and to have had then some public employment. Lactantius commends him: but he likewise admonisheth him to [q] be upon his guard against the snares of his prosperous condition. And yet it must have been a time of persecution. For with regard to himself, he speaks of the difficulty both of his own [r]

[a] Nourr. Diss. in Lact. cap. i. p. 578.

[b] Gottingæ MDCCXXXVI.

[c] The Symposium of Lactantius, with a long preface, was published by Dr. Heumann at HANOVER, in the year 1722.

[d] Cum enim nec philosophus esset, nec diu sacris versatus in literis, (a puero enim sacra coluerat illa cum suis parentibus, quæ postea exsecrabatur, illatâ menti suæ luce divinæ sapientiæ:) ne satis quidem perceperat ecclesiæ doctrinas, &c. Heuman. Præf. ad opp. Lactant. p. ante f. quart.

[e] Several of his passages are alleged above at note [o] and [p].

[f] Alia insuper non pauca scripsisse dicitur. Sed in manus nostras non venerunt. Trithem. cap. 56.

[g] Postea plenius & uberius contra omnes mendaciorum sectas proprio separatoque opere pugnabimus. Inst. l. iv. c. ult. in fin.

[h] ——& refutabimus postea diligentius, cum respondere ad omnes sectas coperimus, quæ veritatem, dum disputant, perdiderunt. De Irâ Dei. c. 2. p. 767.

[i] Nullus enim suavior animo cibus est, quam cognitio veritatis, cujus asserendæ, atque illustrandæ septem volumina destinavimus, l. i. c. 1. p. 9.

[k] Sed erit nobis contra Judæos separata materia, in quâ illos erroris & sceleris revincemus. Inst. l. vii. c. 1. ad fin.

[l] See p. 260.

[m] Utinam eas epistolas tempus rerum edax nobis non invidisset. Nos libenter legeremus. Basn. Ann. 320. n. iv.

[n] ——quod & Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit. In Galat. c. iv. p. 268.

[o] Nam, si te in literis nihil aliud quam linguam instruentibus auditorem satis strenuum præbuisti; quanto magis in his veris, & ad vitam pertinentibus, docilior esse debebis? De Op. Dei, c. i. p. 829.

[p] Nam, licet te publicæ rei necessitas a veris & justis operibus avertat; tamen fieri non potest, quin subinde in cœlum aspiciat mens sibi conscia recti, ibid.

[q] Ego quidem iætor, omnia tibi, quæ pro bonis habentur, prospere fluere: vereor enim——Ideoque te moneo, repetens iterumque monebo, ne oblectamenta ista terræ pro magnis aut veris bonis habere te credas, ibid.

[r] Apud quem nunc profiteor, nullâ me necessitate vel rei, vel temporis impediri, quo minus aliquid excudam. De Op. Dei, cap. i. p. 829.

circumstances, and of the times: and he says, that [a] the devil then acted as a roaring lion. Tillemont thinks, that [b] this was the first of our author's public labours in the service of religion, because he here expresseth a resolution to employ his time for the future in the defence of truth. But that argument is but barely probable, since Lactantius expresseth himself much after the same manner again in the introduction to his Divine Institutions.

7. As those Institutions against the Gentiles, in seven books, are the principal work of Lactantius, we should be glad to settle the time of writing and publishing them. As we now have them, they are inscribed to Constantine. And it is thought that he refers to the Licinian persecution, which began in the year 319. They were not therefore published before the year 320. So say [c] Basnage and [d] Pagi, whose arguments I have briefly placed in the margin, for the sake of such readers as may not have their works at hand. Du Pin says, that [e] Lactantius wrote his Institutions in the time of Licinius's persecution, which began in 320, and that [f] he undertook that work about the year of Christ 320, if his numbers are rightly printed, which I think cannot be properly said. For it is not a work which could be composed in a short time; and we have proofs of his designing it [g] at the very beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. Tillemont says, that [h] in the condition we now have it, it seems not to have been published before the year 321; and therefore it might be the fruit of the time that Lactantius spent with Crispus in Gaul. Nourry's [i] opinion concerning the time of this work is very little different from theirs: (though in one place he says, that [k] the Institutions were composed a little after the year 311.) He observes, that [l] Lactantius seems not to have been in Bithynia, when he composed this work; therefore he might be in Gaul with Crispus, who was not placed under his tuition, before the year 318. He too supposeth, that [m] Lactantius in this work speaks of the Licinian persecution. He does not insist upon the passage in the inscription of the Institutions to Constantine, which is wanting in some manuscripts, but upon some other passages in other parts of that work: where, however, I must own, I cannot yet discern a reference to any persecution, different from that of Dioclesian.

Cave was rather of opinion that [n] Lactantius composed the Institutions in the time of this last-mentioned persecution. And I beg leave to enlarge in support of his opinion. This work was occasioned [o] by the writings of two heathens of note, who published their pieces against the Christians at the very beginning of the persecution under Dioclesian, as Lactantius expressly assures us. It seems not reasonable to think, that a design, formed by him in 302, or 303, should not be executed before 320. And in several passages of his Institutions, he speaks as [p] if the

[a] Nam & ille colluctator & adversarius noster, scis, quam sit astutus, & idem ipse violentus, sicuti nunc videmus, ib. p. 830.

[b] See Tillem. as before, p. 349, and Lact. de Op. Dei, Cap. ult.

[c] ——quem hoc anno [320.] Divinarum Institutionum libros Constantino nuncupâsse existimamus. Ardente quidem Licinianâ persecutione editos esse, verbis monemur auctoris: [Inst. l. i. cap. 1.] Nam malis qui adversus justos in aliis terrarum partibus sæviunt, quanto serius, tanto vehementius idem Omnipotens mercedem sceleris exsolvet, &c. Basn. Ann. 320. n. iv.

[d] Sæviebat itaque tunc Licinii persecutio, quando Lactantius opus illud Constantino dicavit, ideoque non anno 316, ut credidit Baronius, sed post annum 319, in lucem emissum. Pag. in Bar. Ann. 315. n. vii. vid. & 316. n. vi.

[e] —il a donc écrit du temps de la persécution de l' empereur Licinius, qui a commencé en 320. Du Pin. Bib. T. i. p. 209.

[f] Il entreprit ensuite les sept livres des Institutions vers l'an 320 de Jésus Christ. Id. ib. p. 205.

[g] Vid. Inst. l. v. cap. 2. p. 460. & c. 4. p. 470.

[h] Tillem. T. 6. P. i. p. 349.

[i] Lactantius igitur non ante hunc annum 319, Divinarum Institutionum libros edidit. Nonne autem roboris ac firmamenti aliquid huic posteriori opinioni inde accedit, quod Lactantius significare videtur se ex Bithyniâ——prius secessisse, quam——hos libros emisisset in lucem? Non enim prorsus inepte colligi inde potest eos ab illo compositos, postquam se contulisset in Gallias, atque ibi Crispus in ejus traditus fuisset disciplinam. At id anno 318, aut paulo post contigit. Nourry App. T. ii. p. 632. A. B.

[k] Si verior sit secunda opinio, certe Lactantius, qui paulo post annum 311, Divinas Institutiones composuit—ib. p. 628. B.

[l] Inst. l. v. c. xi. p. 490. The words will be cited below at Note [m].

[m] Et certe Lactantius Diocletiani in Christianos sævientis immanem crudelitatem——depinxit. Lib. v. Inst. cap. xi. p. 490. & seqq. Ast alia his plane similia aut prorsus eadem, adhuc cum hos libros exararet, inflicta sic alibi memorat: Cultores Dei summi, hoc est, justos homines, torquent, interficiunt, &c. ib. cap. i. p. 456. Vid. & cap. 12. p. 493. l. vi. c. 17. p. 603. Nourry ubi supr. p. 631.

[n] Scripti sunt hi libri sub Diocletiani persecutione, quod ipse Lactantius, l. v. c. 2, 4. satis aperte testatur: non, quod multi volunt, sub Licinianâ. Inscriptiones enim ad Constantinum M. quæ in librorum 1, 2, 4, & 5, fronte comparent, nec antiquiores editiones, nec melioris notæ codices MSS. agnoscunt; ideoque ab alienâ manu fluxisse censendæ sunt. Aliter a stylo Lactantiano non multum abhorrent. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 162.

[o] Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur, duo exstiterunt ibidem, qui jacenti atque abjectæ veritati, nescio utrum superbius an importunius, insultarent. Inst. l. v. c. 2. p. 460. Ii ergo, de quibus dixi, cum, præsente me ac dolente, sacrilegas suas literas explicâssent; & illorum superbâ impietate stimulatus,——suscepi hoc munus——ib. c. 4. p. 470.

[p] Hæc enim populus noster patitur omnia, errantium pra-

Christians then suffered under a general persecution, all over the world; whereas the Licinian persecution was in the east only.

Lactantius does indeed speak of some sufferings in the persecution of Dioclesian as [a] past. Which however, I think, is not strange: for though he formed the design of this work at the beginning of that persecution, and carried it on as he had opportunity in those difficult times; the persecution might be coming to an end, or be quite concluded before his work was finished and published. By which means he certainly would be able to reflect upon, and take notice of divers events in several parts of the world, during that long scene of affliction and distress.

And when I read the Institutions, I am disposed to consider them, as a work composed, for the most part at least, under [b] the persecution of Dioclesian; though perhaps they were not published till after it was over. It is likely, that others in reading this work, experience the like sentiments. For some have supposed, that [c] there were two editions of this work; that is, one before that which we now have, with the inscriptions to Constantine: and others, supported by the authority of a good number of manuscript copies, think those [d] inscriptions not genuine.

Before I proceed, I would observe one thing more; that it is not likely, the long argument against persecution, in the fifth book of the Institutions, should be written after Dioclesian's persecution was over. And the last chapter of that book seems to shew, that [e] as yet there was no Christian emperor: that the persecuting princes were still living, and that their persecutions were not yet come to an end. And in the Epitome of the same work there are expressions, intimating, that [f] some of those persecuting princes, or chief instruments in Dioclesian's persecution, had died miserably, whilst one or more of them still survived: which might lead us to think, that the Epitome itself was composed not later than the year 311, 312, or 313.

As for the mention which is made of the Arians in one [g] place, it was an easy addition. But it is difficult to defend the genuineness of that clause upon [h] any supposition concerning the date of the Institutions.

vitate. Ecce in eo est errore civitas, vel potius orbis ipse totus, ut bonos & justos viros, tamquam malos & impios, persequatur, excruciet, damnet, occidat, ib. l. v. c. 12. p. 493. Spectatæ sunt enim, spectanturque adhuc per orbem, pœnæ cultorum Dei, in quibus excruciandis nova & inusitata tormenta excogitata sunt, l. vi. c. 17. p. 603.

[a] Quæ autem per totum orbem singuli gesserint, enarrare impossibile est. Quis enim voluminum numeros capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelitatis? Acceptâ enim potestate, pro suis viribus quisque sævivit, ib. l. v. c. 11. p. 490.

[b] Si vobis sapientes videmur, imitamini: si stulti, contemnite, aut etiam ridete, si libet.——Quid laceratis? quid affligitis? l. v. c. 12. sub in. Cur enim tam crudeliter sæviant, nisi quia metuunt, ne, in dies invalescente justitia, cum diis suis araneosis relinquantur? eod. cap. sub fin.

[c] Dici etiam potest, Lactantium bis hoc opus edidisse, (quod idem Tertulliani Apologetico factum esse constat) prius ante regnum Constantini, iterum eo rerum potito. Heumann. ad Inst. l. i. c. 1. p. 6.

Sane Lactantius libros Divinarum Institutionum scripsit furente persecutione, in ipsis ejus initiis, ut ex capite secundo & quarto libri quinti colligitur: sed non emisit, impeditus videlicet & rei & temporis necessitate.——At, quum data esset pax——Itaque tum Lactantius Divinarum Institutionum libros, in quibus loca quædam sparsim reperiuntur, quæ manifesto constat scripta esse post bellum sedatum atque extinctum, recensuit, pleraque addidit, in primis vero ea quæ in initiis librorum & in epilogo dicuntur ad Constantinum, quæ perperam nonnulli judicant notha esse & suppositita.——Sed haud dubie duæ antiquitus fuere Divinarum Institutionum editiones.——Qui vero priore editione usi sunt, ea profecto non habuerunt quæ postea de Constantino addita sunt. Baluz. annot. ad lib. de M. P. sub in. Et Conf. Tillem. ubi supr. p. 349. & 466. &c. Vid. & Thomas. not. ad Inst. l. i. c. 1. p. 6. edit. Heumanni.

[d] Inclusa de Constantino ad num. 17, absunt a pluribus MSS. quinque Vaticanis, & duobus Bononiensibus, Mich. Thomasio teste: ab Anglicanis aliquot, & primo Lipsiensi. Habent Gothanus, reliqui Lipsienses, alii codices. Damnat Josephus Isæus non unâ ratione, quasi non congruentia temporibus. Tuetur Stephanus Baluzius——& tristibus temporibus scriptas Institutiones putat, lætioribus autem emendatas, auctas, & Constantino dedicatas. Cellar. ad eund. loc. ap. Heumann ed. p. 6.

[e] Quidquid vero adversum nos mali principes moliuntur, fieri ipse permittit. Et tamen injustissimi persecutores, quibus Dei nomen contumeliæ ac ludibrio fuit, non se putent impune laturos, quia indignationis adversus nos ejus quasi ministri fuerunt. Punientur enim judicio Dei, qui accepta potestate supra humanum modum fuerint abusi.——Quapropter non sperent sacrilegæ animæ, contemtos & inultos fore, quos sic obterunt. Inst. l. v. c. 23.

[f] ——nec re nec verbo pugnamus; sed mites & taciti, & patientes perferimus omnia——Habemus enim fiduciam in Deo, a quo expectamus secuturam protinus ultionem. Nec est inanis ista fiducia; siquidem eorum omnium, qui hoc facinus ausi sunt, miserabiles exitus partim cognovimus, partim videmus. Epit. c. 53. p. 150. ed. Davids.

[g] Cum enim Phryges, aut—— Marcionitæ aut Anthropiani, aut Ariani, seu quilibet alii nominantur. Inst. l. iv. c. 30. p. 449.

[h] Mais en quelque temps qu'on dise qu' a écrit Lactance, il est bien difficile de croire qu'il ait pû parler des Ariens comme d'hérétiques déclarés; ce qu'on ne peut presque pas dire avoir été avant le concile de Nicée, & après toutes les persécutions. Il seroit même assez aisé de montrer par la lettre de Constantin à S. Alexandre & à Arius, que jusqu' à la fin de l' ann. 323. l' hérésie d'Arius n' avoit encore fait que peu ou point de bruit dans l'Occident. De sorte que pour soutenir que le mot d' *Ariani* est veritablement de Lactance,——il faudoit rapporter ce qu'il dit de la persécution qui duroit encore alors en quelques endroits, non à celle de Licinius, mais à celle de Sapor, &c. Tillem. Note iv. sur Lactance. Mem. T. 6. P. i. p. 469. So Tillemont. However they who are desirous of seeing somewhat on the other side may consult Dr. Heumann's note upon the passage of Lactantius, where the Arians are mentioned.

After all, how much soever I have desired it, I do not imagine that I have clearly fixed the time of writing and publishing this work; but yet I was willing to set before my readers a state of the question. And I persuade myself, that in the year 306, Lactantius had begun the work, the design of which was formed in 303. I therefore choose to consider him as flourishing in the quality of a Christian writer about the year 306.

This work Lactantius intended not only as an answer to the two authors before taken notice of, but [a] as a general answer, and full confutation of all others, who already had, or hereafter might oppose the Christian doctrine.

It is a noble work, and has received just praises from [b] Jerom. I put in the margin a passage of [c] Lactantius, which that author refers to. Nevertheless, perhaps this work would have been more curious and entertaining to us now, if he had inserted more particularly the objections of those two writers, that were the first occasion of it. But Lactantius despised them too much to do them that honour. And, as before observed, he intended his work should contain a general confutation of all objectors and adversaries whatever.

8. We have also the Epitome of the Divine Institutions, inscribed by Lactantius to his brother Pentadius; which was imperfect at the beginning in St. Jerom's copy, and was so likewise in ours, until it was found in the library of the king of Sardinia at Turin, by Dr. Christopher Matthew Pfaff, and published by him entire, or nearly so, at Paris in 1712, to the great joy of the learned world. A curious account of the manuscript, and the fortunate discovery of it, may be read in Dr. Pfaff's Preliminary Dissertation, and in Mr. La Roche's [d] Memoirs of Literature. This abridgment is an useful book, containing in it some things not to be found in the Institutions themselves.

9. The book of the Wrath or Anger of God, is likewise still extant. It is particularly commended by [e] Jerom, as a learned and elegant piece, and a complete treatise upon the subject.

10. Beside these there is a well-known book of the Deaths of Persecutors, which was first published by Stephen Baluze in the second volume of his Miscellanea, in the year 1679. But this has not been so universally reckoned genuine, as the beginning of the Epitome, published by Dr. Pfaff.

It is however a very valuable work, containing a short account of the sufferings of Christians under several of the Roman emperors, from the death and resurrection of Christ to Dioclesian: and then a particular history of the persecution raised by that emperor, and the causes and springs of it; as likewise the miserable deaths of the chief instruments therein. Here we learn divers remarkable facts, recorded no where else.

It would be tedious to observe particularly all that might be said relating to the dispute concerning the author of this work. I therefore refer to [f] Baluze, [g] Fabricius, [h] Heumann, and [i] some others, for the arguments, that it is a work of Lactantius, and to [k] Nourry on the other side.

Fabricius, in particular, thinks Nourry's reasons for robbing Lactantius of this piece to be of little weight; far from being sufficient ground for introducing a new author, named Lucius Cecilius, unknown to all antiquity. However, as I am obliged to deliver my opinion, I shall support it with a few observations, referring to Nourry for the rest.

[a] ——suscepi hoc opus, ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accusatores justitiæ vindicarem: non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant; sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt aut effecerunt, uno simul impetu profligarem. Inst. l. v. c. 4. p. 470.

[b] Firmianus quoque noster, in præclaro Institutionum suarum opere, Y literæ meminit; & de dextris ac sinistris, hoc est, de virtutibus & vitiis plenissime disputat. Hieron. Comm. in Ecc. cap. x. T. 2. p. 770. Quis mihi interdicere potest, ne legam Institutionum ejus libros, quibus contra gentes scripsit fortissime? Id. ad Pamm. & Oc. Ep. 41. al. 65. T. 4. p. 345.

[c] Omnis hæc de duabus viis disputatio ad frugalitatem ac luxuriam spectat. Dicunt enim humanæ vitæ cursum Y literæ esse similem, quod unusquisque hominum, cum primum adolescentiæ limen attigerit, & in eum locum venerit, "partes ubi se via findit in ambas;" hæreat nutabundus, ac nesciat in quam se partem inclinet. Si ducem nactus fuerit, qui dirigat ad meliora titubantem, &c. Inst. l. vi. c. 3. p. 550, 551.

[d] Vol. v. p. 184, and 395, &c. in the second edition.

[e] Firmianus noster librum de Irâ Dei docto pariter & eloquenti sermone conscripsit, quem qui legerit, puto ei ad iræ intellectum satis abundeque posse sufficere. Hieron Comm. in Ephes. cap. iv. ver. 26. p. 373.

[f] Baluz. Miscell. l. ii. p. 351, 352, & in not. ad libr. de M. P. p. 7, 8, &c. edit. Ultraj. 1693.

[g] Fabric. not. [b] & [g] ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 80, in Biblioth. Ecc. p. 165, 166. Vid. & ejusd. Bibl. Lact. Vol. iii. p. 403, 404.

[h] Vid. Heumann. App. i. ad symp. Lact. & ejus. Præf. ad Lactant. Opp.

[i] Dan Maichelli Introduct. ad Hist. Lit. p. 187, &c. Cantabr. 1721, & Journal. Literaire. Tom. 7. P. i. p. 1—29, à la Haye, 1715.

[k] Diss. in L. Cecil. de M. P. Paris. 1710, & in App. ad Bib. P. P. p. 1642, &c.

The book, published by Baluze, is ascribed [a] in the Colbertine manuscript, the only one of it in being, to Lucius Cecilius. It is not easy to conceive, why the transcriber of this book should not have added Firmianus Lactantius, if it is his. And the forenames, Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius, are very rarely given to Lactantius. Fabricius [b] mentions only one author, Bernardinus de Bustis, of the fifteenth century, and two manuscripts; one of the books commonly ascribed to Lactantius, the other of his book, Of the Workmanship of God; in which Lactantius is called at length Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. Methinks, this [c] is not sufficient ground for giving those two names to this learned ancient; when he is called only Firmianus Lactantius, or Firmianus, or Lactantius singly, by Jerom, Eucherius, [d] Augustine, [e] Apollinaris Sidonius, Honorius of Autun, Trithemius. Not to say any thing of Freculph's and Ado's Chronicles, though they also use the same way of writing. And moreover, in almost all the manuscript copies of his works, or of some part of them (as is owned) he is called only Firmianus Lactantius.

Then the title of the book, published by Baluze, is different from that of Lactantius in Jerom. It is intitled, Of the Deaths of Persecutors: but that mentioned by Jerom is, Of the Persecution: so likewise in Honorius and Trithemius, without any variation. This appears to me considerable. If Lactantius's book had been intitled, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, it would have been so described by Jerom. If it had obtained that title, and had been ever so called in a few ages after, either in manuscripts, or in learned writers who quoted it; it is reasonable to suppose that so late writers as Honorius and Trithemius, one of the twelfth, the other of the fifteenth century, would have mentioned it by that title alone; or else would have mentioned the two titles together.

This book, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, is inscribed to [f] Donatus, a confessor, who had suffered six years imprisonment, and other hardships for the sake of Christianity, in Diocletian's persecution. And the book of Lactantius concerning the Wrath of God, is dedicated to one Donatus, a friend of his. This therefore has been reckoned an argument, that Lactantius must be the author of the book, of which we are speaking. But I should rather think it an argument on the other side: for as [g] Tillemont observes, (though he makes no doubt of its being a genuine work of Lactantius,) the book, Of the Wrath of God, was written after the Institutions, and consequently after the persecution. But yet Lactantius does not there call Donatus an illustrious confessor. He [h] even speaks to him, as to a novice, 'who needed to be instructed and 'fortified, lest he should be misled by the authority of the wise men of the world.'

Finally, not to mention other things, the style of this book appears to me far from equalling that of Lactantius. Nevertheless [i] Baluze, and others are of a different opinion. Every one must judge for himself: but for my own part, I cannot here discern the style of Lactantius; nor does [k] Pfaff, nor [l] yet Dr. Heumann, though he maintains the genuineness of the book.

As for the words and phrases found both in this book, and in the undisputed writings of Lactantius, which have been observed by Columbus in his notes upon this book, and have been since put together, and insisted on by La Croze, the author of a Dissertation, or Letter, printed

[a] Lucii Cæcilii. Incipit liber ad Donatum Confessorem de Mortibus Persecutorum.

[b] ——licet in Sermonibus Bernardini de Bustis nominatus Lucius Cæcilius Firmianus, teste Bernardo Moneto. T. 4. Menagiorum p. 85. Fabr. ubi supr. in Bib. Ecc. p. 165. Cum denique Lactantium & in Sermonibus Bernardini de Bustis, quos paulo ante memorabam, & in Codice Colbertino 507, & Codice Taurinensi libri de Opificio Dei, quem inspexit Pfaffius, Lucium Cœlium Lactantium appellari, non possit negari. Id. ib. p. 166. Conf. Baluz. Misc. T. ii. p. 352.

[c] Ausim & hoc dicere, Firmianum Lactantium Lucii Cæcilii nomine numquam appellatum fuisse, quod nullâ quidem probatione indigere videtur, utpote nullâ antiquioris MS. Codicis auctoritate nixum. Pfaff. Diss. Præl. sect. 12. p. 16. Quid si dixerim, nec Lucium Cœlium nomen esse ad F. Lactantium pertinens; sed a recentioribus solum librariis, nimis sæpius, ut par est, sapientibus, additum? Id. ib. sect. 13, p. 17. [d] De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 23.

[e] ——instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius. Sidon. lib. iv. Ep. 3. p. 92.

[f] Novies enim tormentis cruciatibusque variis subjectus, novies adversarium gloriosâ confessione vicisti, &c. de M. P. c. 16. Tunc apertis carceribus, Donate carissime, cum cæteris confessoribus e custodiâ liberatus es, cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit, ib. c. 35. Vid. & cap. i.

[g] Mem. Ec. T. 6. P. i. p. 352.

[h] Quorum error, quia maximus est, & ad evertendum vitæ humanæ statum spectat, coarguendus est a nobis, ne ipse fallaris, impulsus auctoritate hominum, qui se putant esse sapientes. Lact. De Ira Dei. Cap. i. p. 764.

[i] Nam & stylus omnino Lactantianus est, ut facile periti istarum rerum agnoscent. Baluz. Misc. ib. p. 315.

[k] Non hic eam eloquentiæ dicendique vim, non eum orationis florem, verborumque copiam inveneris, quæ passim in Epitome apparet; cum e contrario Lucii Cæcilii stylus sit inæqualis, lentus, & mediocris. Pfaff. ib. sect. xi. p. 15.

[l] Illud ad ultimum celare meos lectores nolo, nondum videri mihi librum hunc satis emendavisse & exasciâsse Lactantium——Ac hanc ipsam esse causam existimo, cur hujus libri stylus non ubique æquet elegantiam cæterorum Lactantii librorum.——Nec ex oratione solum negligentiore apparet, primam quasi delineationem libri, non librum satis perpolitum, nos habere; sed ex ipsâ quoque tractatione, quæ passim multum obscuritatis habet, &c. Heuman. in Præf. ad Lact.

in the [a] Literary Journal at the Hague, to prove the genuineness of this piece; I think that argument more specious than solid. For it is not at all strange, that the same words and phrases should occur in two different authors of the same age, and even contemporaries: especially when one of them was a celebrated master of rhetoric, and the politest writer, and the most learned man of his time among the Latins. Many might imitate, though they did not equal him. Add to all this, that the subjects of Lactantius and of this author often coincide: they are both zealous Christians, and engaged in the defence of their religion; they have both occasion to speak of the death, and resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and of the affairs of Christians from their first original in the world, and particularly of the persecution that happened in their own time, and the chief agents in it. But though both use some of the same words and phrases, the style of the author of the Deaths of Persecutors is not the style of Lactantius, but much inferior to it, so far as I am able to judge.

Nourry is not the only person who has denied, or doubted, of the genuineness of this book. The famous Christopher Cellarius [b] speaks doubtfully of the matter, in his Brief Account of the Life of Lactantius, prefixed to the edition of his works, published in 1698, and therefore long before Nourry wrote his Dissertation, which was first printed at Paris in the year 1710, and since in his Apparatus in 1715. I learn also from Dr. Heumann, that [c] Mr. Walsh, another learned German editor of Lactantius, does not without hesitation ascribe this work to his author. The editors of cardinal Noris's works think, the [d] author of this book a different writer from Lactantius, though certainly contemporary with him. And they have proposed some very good observations in favour of their opinion. Dr. Pfaff, in his Preliminary Dissertation to the Epitome of Lactantius,[e] expresses his approbation of Nourry's arguments. Le Clerc too, was fully satisfied with [f] Nourry's reasons. The writer of Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, ancient and modern, published at London in 1732, says, that [g] 'he is inclined to agree with those who think, 'that the author of this book is not Lactantius.' Signor Maffei, referring to this book, does not quote it as [h] certainly written by Lactantius. The late learned John Davis, who published an edition of our author's Epitome, does [i] not positively assert him to be the writer of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors. The same may be observed of [k] Mr. Turretin. However, such a thing as this is not to be decided by authorities; nor do I think the reasons that have been alleged by me to be conclusive and demonstrative: but they appear to be of some weight; and therefore I choose not to quote this, as a work of Lactantius, until I am better satisfied about it.

11. I need not say any thing particularly of the poems de Phœnice, de Pascha, de Passione Domini, which have been thought by some to belong to our author, and are joined with his works in most editions. They are not mentioned by Jerom, and are now generally supposed to have been without good reason ascribed to Lactantius.

12. The editions of Lactantius are very numerous. Du Pin has referred to a good many of them: but a more full and copious catalogue may be seen in [l] Fabricius: Nourry likewise has an article [m] of the editions of Lactantius. And Dr. Heumann has inserted an account of them in the preface to his own edition, formerly mentioned: which appears to me very valuable for the correctness of it, as well as on other accounts. But I wish that learned man had put out our author in a quarto volume: he might then have made use of a larger letter, and might have added some things, which are omitted for want of room.

13. I somewhat wonder, that no learned editor of Lactantius has published his works accord-

[a] Journal Literaire, T. 7. P. i. p. 25, &c. à la Haye. 1715.

[b] De Mortibus Persecutorum liber, nuper repertus, si Lactantii est, ut fere viri doctissimi consentiunt. Cellar. Exc. de Vita Lact.

[c] Adjungo,———Cl. Walchium, qui & ipse in suis ad novissimam Lactantii operum editionem Prolegomenis, cap. v. p. 38, dubitavit, an liber ille sit genuinus Lactantii fetus. Heuman. in App. i. ad Lact. Symp. sect. 4, p. 215.

[d] Libri autem inscriptio, de Mortibus Persecutorum, diversum opus indicat ab illo, quod ab Hieronymo Lactantio tribuitur cum titulo De Persecutione. Etenim Lactantius historiam suppliciorum, quæ Christiani a persecutoribus passi sunt, concinnâsse videtur: Lucius autem Cæcilius contexuit historiam suppliciorum, quibus ipsi Christianorum persecutores mulctati sunt.——Hæ conjectationes, tametsi non omnino demonstrent, convincunt tamen probabilius alium a Lactantio esse L. Cæcilium hujus libelli auctorem———Sed quicumque sit hujus libri scriptor, dum constet eum fuisse Lactantio supparem, parum interest. Ap. Noris. Opp. T. iv. p. 36, 37.

[e] Vid. Pfaff. Diss. n. xii. p. 16.

[f] ———marques certaines, comme il me semble, aussi bien qu' au P. Le Nourry, que cet ouvrage n'est point de Lactance. Bib. A. & M. T. iii. p. 438.

[g] See those Observations, Vol. ii. p. 232.

[h] ———e dell' altre buona ragione si può dedurre da Lattanzio, se di lui è il libro Delle Morti de' Persecutori. Maff. Veron. Illustrat. P. i. p. 149.

[i] Hanc rem fuse monstravit aut noster, aut quisquis est auctor libri de Mortibus Persecutorum, &c. Davis. Annot. in Epit. cap. 53. p. 150.

[k] Lactantius, vel quisquis alius est auctor libri non pridem emissi, de M. Persecutorum, Turret. Comp. Hist. Ec. p. 29.

[l] Bib. Lat. V. iii. p. 394, &c. Hamb. 1722.

[m] Vid. Ap. T. ii. p. 651, &c.

ing to the order of time, the present order being manifestly preposterous. The Symposium should come first, if its genuineness can be admitted; otherwise it must be placed at the end: then the book, Of the Workmanship of God; next the Institutions, and their Epitome; after that the book, Of the Wrath, or Anger of God. The book, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, should by all means stand last, because its genuineness is not universally acknowledged, and because it is a thing of quite a different nature from all the other remaining works of Lactantius. They (excepting the Banquet of Symposium,) are all argumentative, this historical.

Nor do I well know, why in all late editions there are no summaries, or brief contents of the several chapters. There are such things in the edition of Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons, in 1541, and in an edition [a] at Geneva, above an hundred years since. When they began to be omitted, or for what reasons, I cannot tell.

I have mentioned these things, leaving it to the learned to judge of them, as they think fit. But though there have been so many editions of Lactantius, Le Clerc said in 1719, that [b] he did not know of one good edition of this writer, the most elegant of all the Latin fathers.

III. Before I proceed to his testimony to the Scriptures, I shall set before my readers some remarkable things, which I have observed in the writings of this author.

1. Lactantius often speaks of the nature and design of the Christian revelation, as [c] suited to promote the general good of all, of every age, sex, and condition: so that all may attain to just sentiments of God, and be directed and assisted in the way of holiness, and obtain everlasting happiness. And he asserts it to be in the power of the [d] meanest and poorest of men to attain to righteousness.

2. He sometimes glories [e] in the great and happy effects of the Christian doctrine upon the minds and lives of men: rendering the proud humble, the hasty and passionate meek and mild, the lewd chaste, the covetous liberal, and converting the unrighteous and cruel to justice and mercy. For which reason he recommends this divine religion, as [f] the medicine of the soul, effectual for healing all its diseases.

3. Lactantius understood the words in Gen. vi. 3: "Yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years," of the [g] appointed term of human life after the flood.

4. This Latin Christian [h] asserts the freedom of man's will, or his power to do good or evil.

5. Lactantius has not quoted many Christian authors. He has however mentioned [i] Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian, and [k] Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in the second century.

6. Lactantius has made very particular mention of [l] two persons, who in his own time wrote

[a] Genevæ ap. Joann. De Fournes, 1630.

[b] —— de sorte qu'on peut dire, que jusqu' à present nous n'avons point de bonne édition du plus élégant de tous les Pères Latins. Bib. A. & M. T. xi. p. 201.

[c] Nobis autem, qui sacramentum veræ religionis accepimus, cum sit veritas revelata divinitus; cum doctorem sapientiæ ducemque veritatis Deum sequamur; universos, sine ullo discrimine vel sexûs vel ætatis, ad cœleste pabulum convocamus. Inst. l. i. c. 1. p. 8 & 9. Nos autem omnis sexûs & generis & ætatis in hoc cœleste iter inducimus, quia Deus, qui ejus viæ dux est, immortalitatem nulli homini nato negat, l. vi. c. 3. p. 552.

[d] Quasi vero in judicibus solis atque in potestate aliquâ constitutis justitia esse debeat, & non in omnibus. Atqui nullus est hominum, ne infimorum quidem ac mendicorum, in quem justitia cadere non possit. Epit. cap. 55.

[e] Dei autem præcepta, quia & simplicia & vera sunt, quantum valeant in animis hominum, quotidiana experimenta demonstrant. Da mihi virum, qui sit iracundus, maledicus, effrenatus: paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum quam ovem reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem: jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, & pecuniam suam plenis manibus largientem. ——Da libidinosum, adulterum, ganeonem: jam sobrium, castum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, & sanguinis appetentem: jam in veram clementiam furor iste mutabitur. Da injustum, insipientem, peccatorem: continuo & æquus, & prudens, et innocens erit.—Gratis ista fiunt, facile, cito.—Nemo vereatur. Nos aquam non vendimus, nec solem mercede præstamus. l. iii. c. 26. p. 328, 329.

[f] —quibus [vulneribus] nemo alius mederi potest, nisi solus ille, qui gressum claudis, visum cæcis reddidit,——mortuos excitavit. Ille ardorem cupiditatis exstinguet, exstirpabit, libidines, invidiam distrahet, iram mitigabit. Ille reddet veram & perpetuam sanitatem. Appetenda est hæc omnibus medicina, quoniam majori periculo vexatur anima, quam corpus, &c. l. vi. c. 24. p. 636.

[g] —— paulatim per singulas progenies diminuit hominis ætatem, usque in centum & xx annis metam collocavit, quam transgredi non liceret. Inst. l. ii. c. 13. in. Vid. & cap. 12. ad fin. Nam post diluvium paulatim vita hominum breviata, & ad annos centum viginti redacta est. Epit. cap. 27.

[h] —— sed sola est virtus, sola justitia, quæ potest verum bonum —— judicari; quia nec datur cuiquam, nec aufertur. Inst. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401.

Duæ vitæ homini attributæ sunt, una temporalis,——altera sempiterna——Illam primam nescientes accepimus, hanc secundam scientes. Virtuti enim, non naturæ datur.—— Iccirco hanc præsentem dedit, ut illam veram & perpetuam aut vitiis amittamus, aut virtute mereamur.——In illâ vero spiritali, quam per nos ipsi acquirimus, summum bonum continetur.—Nam nihil interesset inter justum & injustum, siquidem omnis homo natus immortalis fieret. Ergo immortalitas non sequela naturæ, sed merces præmiumque virtutis est. Inst. l. vii. c. 5. p. 663, 664.

Idcirco nobis Deus virtutem justitiamque proponit, ut æternum illud præmium nostris laboribus assequamur. Epit. cap. 35.

[i] Vid. Inst. l. v. c. 1 & 4.

[k] Theophilus in libro de temporibus ad Autolycum scripto ait, l. i. c. 23. sub in.

[l] Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem,

Eusebius in his Chronicle, or rather Jerom, (who[a] in his translation of that work of Eusebius inserted divers things of his own, especially relating to the Roman history and Latin authors,) says, 'that[b] Crispus was instructed in Latin by Lactantius, the most learned man of his time, 'but so poor in this world, that for the most part he wanted necessaries.'

Cave says, that[c] Lactantius flourished chiefly in the year 303, and onwards; which is not much amiss: for though Lactantius lived partly in the third, and partly in the fourth century of the Christian æra, and must have been a man of note for polite literature before the year 300; yet it is likely, that most of his remaining pieces, particularly the Divine Institutions, his principal work, were not written till after the year 303.

This author's name is now generally written Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. But whether the names Lucius and Cœlius, or Cæcilius, belong to him, may be questioned; they not being given him by any of the ancient writers who lived near his time: and they are generally wanting in the manuscript copies of his works, and[d] in the most early printed editions. In this manner divers learned men[e] argue upon this point: whilst some others contend, that[f] his name is rightly written as above.

The native country of Lactantius is not certainly known. Some have conjectured, that[g] he was born at Firmum, now Fermo, in Italy, and that from thence he was called Firmianus. But it is more generally reckoned, that[h] he was an African: his education under Arnobius, who taught rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, is an argument of some weight: and it is confirmed by the Itinerary of Lactantius from Africa to Nicomedia, which, probably, contained a description of his own journey from Africa to Nicomedia, when he was sent for by Dioclesian.

The original of the names[i] Firmianus and[k] Lactantius, has been largely considered by Dr. Heumann, to whom I refer.

A good part of the history of our author, before taken from Jerom, may be confirmed from himself. For he speaks of[l] his being invited to Nicomedia, and of his teaching rhetoric there, when the church of the Christians in that city was destroyed, at the beginning of the persecution. He also intimates[m] his having been long employed as a professor of rhetoric, and his great diligence in the pursuit of eloquence: which he did not repent of, because he hoped it might be of use in the defence of true religion.

In his later works he refers to the more early. In his Divine Institutions he refers to[n] the Workmanship of God, inscribed to his scholar Demetrian, and written not long before. In his book of the Wrath of God, he several times makes mention of[o] the Divine Institutions. I need

[a] Sciendum etenim, me esse & interpretis et scriptoris ex parte officio usum, quia & Græca fidelissime expressi, & nonnulla, quæ intermissa videbantur, adjeci, in Romanâ maxime historiâ, quam Eusebius, hujus conditor libri, non tam ignorâsse, ut pote eruditissimus, quam Græce scribens parum suis necessariam perstrinxisse, mihi videtur. Hier. Præf. in Chr. p. 4. f.

[b] Quorum Crispum Lactantius Latinis literis erudivit, vir omnium suo tempore eruditissimus, sed adeo in hac vitâ pauper, ut plerumque etiam necessariis indiguerit. Chron. p. 180. f.

[c] —— claruit præcipue ann. 303. & deinceps. H. L. T. i. p. 161.

[d] Vid. Montf. Diar. Ital. p. 256.

[e] Vid. Chr. M. Pfaff. Diss. Prælim. ad Epit. Inst. Div. Sect. 12 & 13.

[f] Vid. Heuman. Pr. ad Lact. Symp. sect. 16. p. xxviii. & sect. 22. p. xxxv.

[g] Patriam habuit Italiam, forsan Firmo, quod agri Piceni oppidum est ad oram maris Hadriatici, oriundus, Cav. ubi supra, p. 161. Firmianus cognominatur a Firmo, agri Piceni oppido. Cellar. Excerpt. de Vit. Lact.

[h] Vid. Baluz. Annot. ad Lact. de M. P. Tillem. Mem. Ec. Lactance, T. 6. P. i. p. 340. & note 1. Vid. & Heumann Pr. ad Symp. sect. 18 & 19. p. xxix——xxxi.

[i] Cæterum vulgata est opinio, Lactantium cognomen Firmiani accepisse a patriâ Firmo, agri Piceni oppido. Sed hic quidem error facile confutatur. Primum enim ostendemus inferius, Firmianum fuisse proprium Lactantii nomen, neque adeo a patriâ inditum. Heum. ib. sect. 18. p. xxx.——Unde igitur, inquies, Firmiani nomen? Fuisse hoc proprium virorum nomen illo ævo non infrequens, facile sibi persuadebit, qui consideravit, plura veteribus nomina fuisse propria a *firmo* deducta. Non enim solum ipsum nomen Firmus factum est nomen proprium, sed etiam Firmius, Firmicus, Firminus, Firmilianus, Firmianus, &c. Id. ib. sect. 20. p. xxxii.

[k] Superest Lactantii nomen, quod communiter creditur ei inditum fuisse a lacteo flumine eloquentiæ. Sed & hæc sententia, & simul altera illa de patriâ ejus Firmo, satis refellitur silentio Hieronymi. Is enim, cum in catalogo suo, tum alibi, ubi Lactantii mentionem facit, perspicue ostendit, utrumque nomen, & Lactantii & Firmiani, ipsius fuisse proprium; ut multum errent, qui ea pro cognominibus habent a patriâ & eloquentiâ impositis——Quomodo enim a *lactans* derivatum est nomen Lactantii, sic a *prudens, vincens, constans,* — habemus nomina vulgo nota Prudentii, Vincentii, Constantii, Fulgentii, Innocentii, Vigilantii. Id. ib. sect. 21. p. xxxiii.

[l] Ego cum in Bythyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur— Inst. l. v. c. 2. sub in.

[m] Multum tamen exercitatio illa fictarum litium contulit, ut nunc majori copiâ & facultate dicendi causam veritatis peroremus. Ib. l. i. c. 1. p. 5.

[n] ——quam [materiam] ego nunc iccirco prætereo, quia nuper proprium de eâ librum ad Demetriadem auditorem meum scripsi. Inst. l. ii. c. 10. p. 199.

[o] Sed imperitiam horum jam coarguimus in secundo Divinarum Institutionum libro. De Irâ Dei cap. 2. p. 766. Vid. ib. p. 767. et cap. 11. p. 793. & cap. 17. p. 809.

not add, that these last are also taken notice of in the Epitome, or abridgment of them. And whereas Jerom, among the works of Lactantius, reckons two books to Asclepiades, we find [a] Asclepiades mentioned by Lactantius in his Institutions. And we perceive, that Asclepiades had dedicated to him a book, which he commends. In his Institutions Lactantius also declares his intention [b] to write a distinct treatise upon the subject, Of the Wrath of God: which he afterwards did, as has been seen.

He also seems [c] to intimate his poverty, unless the words are capable of another sense, and mean only his many employments, by which he was fully engaged; or rather the difficulties of the time in which he lived, by reason of the persecution of cruel tyrants, as [d] Nourry understands the expression.

That extreme poverty of our author, which St. Jerom mentions, if Lactantius does not, may be thought to be a reflection upon Constantine, that he should have made no better provision for his eldest son's preceptor. But Du Pin and Tillemont are of opinion, that it [e] was a voluntary poverty. What Jerom therefore writes of that matter is to be esteemed a grand and magnificent commendation. 'A [f] man must be virtuous in a high degree, to live miserably at court, 'want necessaries in the midst of abundance, and taste no pleasures in the company of such as 'wallow in them.'

But I see no proof, that Lactantius was destitute of necessaries, whilst he was employed in teaching Crispus; though it happens, that Jerom has mentioned those two things together. And what he says is, that for the most part Lactantius was poor. Therefore he was not always so: there was a time, when he had enough, and perhaps abundance: and he might enjoy it too with moderation. That time, we may suppose to have been, when he was in the service of Constantine; the rest of his life he lived in mean circumstances.

Jerom has informed us, that Lactantius had not many scholars, whilst he taught rhetoric at Nicomedia; for which cause he betook himself to writing, which likewise, is no very profitable employment.

When we observe from his works, that Lactantius was a great reader; and consider, that books in manuscript must have been very costly; we can easily conceive, how the furniture of his library might keep him low for the most part.

Lactantius then may be reckoned to have been poor, and sometimes almost destitute, until he was invited to Constantine's court. And since his pupil Crispus was put to death by his father, it is likely, he was not much taken notice of afterwards. This, if I mistake not, is agreeable to St. Jerom's account, that Lactantius plerumque, for the most part, the greatest part of his life, was so poor, as to want even necessaries. But those expressions, in my opinion, give no countenance at all to the supposition of a chosen and voluntary poverty. Trithemius seems to have understood [g] the case, as I have represented it. And Nourry is clearly of opinion, that [h] what is said by Jerom of our author's poverty, does not relate to the time when he had Crispus under his care.

We are not acquainted with the circumstances of this writer's family. The Epitome is inscribed to his brother [i] Pentadius: but in what sense Pentadius was his brother, does not clearly [k] appear. Nor do we know any thing more of the life of Lactantius, than the particulars already mentioned; his education under Arnobius, his teaching rhetoric at Nicomedia, (where he certainly was at the beginning of the persecution under Dioclesian: where likewise, or in its neighbourhood, he [l] seems to have stayed some while after that persecution was begun), his

[a] Optime igitur Asclepiades noster de Providentiâ summi Dei disserens in eo libro, quem scripsit ad me. Inst. l. vii. c. 4. p. 660.

[b] Seponatur interim locus hic nobis de irâ Dei disserendi; quod & uberior est materia, & opere proprio latius exsequenda. Inst. l. ii. c. 17. sub fin.

[c] Quam minime sim quietus, etiam in summis necessitatibus, ex hoc libello poteris existimare. De Irâ Dei, cap. 1. in.

[d] Summarum autem difficultatum nomine designare videtur horrendam tyrannorum crudelitatem, quâ in Christianos incredibilem plane in modum sæviebant. Nourr. App. T. 2. p. 582. B.

[e] Du Pin. Bibl. T. i. p. 205. Tillem. Mem. T. 6. P. i. p. 345, 346.

[f] Du Pin, as before.

[g] Rhetoricam primum Nicomediæ, deinde Romæ, sub Diocletiano, ab eo vocatus, gloriose docuit; ubi cum penuriâ discipulorum ad paupertatem devenisset, ad extremum Cæsaris Crispi filii Constantini præceptor, jam senex, in Galliâ factus est. Trithem. de scr. Ec. cap. 56.

[h] Sed hanc paupertatem aliis haud dubie temporibus passus est, quam cum Crispum, Constantini M. filium, discipulum habuit. Nourr. ib. p. 382. B.

[i] ——tamen horum tibi epitomen fieri, Pentadi frater, desideras. Lact. Ep. cap. 1.

[k] Vid. ib. Pfaff. Annot.

[l] Vidi ego in Bithyniâ præsidem gaudio mirabiliter elatum, ——quod unus, qui per biennium magnâ virtute restiterat, postremo cedere visus esset, l. v. c. 11. p. 491.

ness, and the pursuit of truth; and zeal for religion and virtue, are without support and encouragement.

(11.) It is, he thinks, agreeable [a] to the divine beneficence, and other perfections, to reward virtue.

(12.) Again: The [b] sum, says he, of all we have said, is this: the world was therefore made, that we might be born. We therefore are born, that we might serve God our creator, and the creator of the whole world. We therefore know him, that we might worship him. We therefore worship him, that we may obtain immortality, as a recompence for all the labours and fatigues of religion and virtue in this world. And we therefore obtain the reward of immortality, that being made like unto the angels, we may for ever serve the God and Father of all. And if there are no rewards and punishments hereafter, man and the whole world would have been made in vain.

(13.) Finally, 'Immortality,' he [c] says, 'is the chief good. For obtaining this we were 'originally made. This human nature desires, and reaches after. And virtue advanceth us to it.'

13. Lactantius [d] did not deny the eternity of hell-torments.

14. He often asserts the great value of repentance.

(1.) He maintains, that [e] whenever sinners repent, they are pardoned.

(2.) Sincere [f] piety, repentance, humility, and confessions of sins, he says, are propitiatory sacrifices, with which God is well pleased. Such worshippers God receives as his children, and will bestow upon them eternal life.

(3.) He thinks it altogether strange, that [g] God should be disposed to punish, and not to pardon and reward.

(4.) Inferior judges, he [h] says, may not be always able to pardon, when they are inclined to it. But it is the prerogative of the supreme Judge, to pardon, whenever he sees cause.

(5.) If we, as he farther argues, are [i] reconciled to our rebellious children, with whom we had been greatly offended, upon their amendment; why should we make any doubt, whether God our Father may be appeased by repentance?

(6.) The [k] divine displeasure against men, he thinks, ceases immediately upon their repentance and amendment.

[a] Item plurimi, quibus persuasum est Deo placere justitiam, ——eum venerantur——Ergo est, propter quod Deus & debeat gratificari. Nam si nihil est tam conveniens Deo, quam beneficentia, nihil autem tam alienum, quam ut sit ingratus, necesse est, ut officiis optimorum sancteque viventium præstet aliquid, & vicem reddat, ne subeat ingrati culpam, quæ est etiam homini criminosa. De Irâ Dei, c. 16. p. 805.

[b] Nunc totam orationem brevi circumscriptione signemus. Idcirco mundus factus est, ut nascamur. Ideo nascimur, ut agnoscamus factorem mundi ac nostri. Ideo agnoscimus, ut colamus. Ideo colimus, ut immortalitatem pro laborum mercede capiamus, quoniam maximis laboribus cultus Dei constat. Ideo præmio immortalitatis afficimur, ut similes angelis effecti summo patri ac domino in perpetuum serviamus, & simus æternum Dei regnum. —— Si nihil post mortem sumus, quid potest esse tam supervacuum, tam inane, tam vanum, quam humana res est, quam mundus ipse? l. vii. c. 6. in.

[c] Unum est igitur summum bonum immortalitas; ad quam capiendam & formati a principio & nati sumus. Et ad hanc tendimus: hanc spectat humana natura: ad hanc nos provehit virtus, L. vii. c. 8. in.

[d] —— Si autem corpus vicerit animam,——sit in tenebris sempiternis & in morte. Cujus non ea vis est, ut injustas animas extinguat omnino, sed ut puniat in æternum. Eam pœnam secundam mortem nominamus, quæ est & ipsa perpetua, sicut & immortalitas. Primam sic definimus:——Mors est corporis animæque seductio. Secunda vero sic: Mors est æterni doloris perpessio. Vel ita: Mors est animarum pro meritis ad æterna supplicia damnatio, l. ii. c. 12. p. 206, 207. Vid. & l. vii. c. 10. p. 679.

[e] —— Nec patitur conditio fragilitatis, esse quemquam sine maculâ. Ultimum ergo remedium illud est, ut confugiamus ad pœnitentiam: quæ non minimum locum inter virtutes habet, quia sui correctio est: ut cum re aut verbo lapsi fuerimus, statim resipiscamus, ac nos deliquisse fateamur, oremusque a Deo veniam, quam pro suâ misericordiâ non negabit nisi permanentibus in errore, &c. Epit. cap. 67. in.

[f] Humilitas enim cara & amabilis Deo est, qui cum magis suscipiat peccatorem confitentem, quam justum superbum, quanto magis justum suscipiet confitentem, eumque in regnis cœlestibus faciet pro humilitate sublimem? Hæc sunt, quæ debet cultor Dei exhibere: hæ sunt victimæ, hoc sacrificium placabile, hic verus est cultus.——Summa illa majestas hoc cultore lætatur: hunc, ut filium, suscipit, eique donum immortalitatis impertit. Ibid.

[g] Primum illud nemo de Deo dixit umquam, irasci eum tantummodo, et gratia non moveri. De Irâ Dei, c. 3. Vid. et c. 2. sub fin. & Inst. l. 2. c. 17.

[h] Judex peccati veniam dare non potest, quia voluntati servit alienæ: Deus autem potest, quia est legis suæ ipse disceptator & judex; quam cum poneret, non utique ademit sibi omnem potestatem, sed habet ignoscendi licentiam. De Ira Dei, c. 19. ad fin.

[i] Licet plane. Nam si liberos nostros, cum delictorum suorum cernimus pœnitere, correctos esse arbitramur, & abdicatos rejectosque rursus tamen suscipimus, fovemus, amplectimur; cur desperemus clementiam Dei patris pœnitendo posse placari? Inst. l. vi. cap. 24. sub in.

[k] —— Nam si prorsus immortalis fuisset ira ejus, non esset satisfactionis aut gratiæ post delictum locus.——Deus itaque non thure, non hostiâ, non pretiosis muneribus,——sed morum emendatione placatur: &, qui peccare desinit, iram Dei mortalem facit. De Ira Dei, c. 21. in fin.

(7.) This [a] doctrine, he says, is taught by the holy and inspired prophets of God, though he forbears to allege them particularly. However, in another place, arguing upon this subject, he manifestly refers to Ezek. xxxiii. 12—16, and says, that [b] repentance intirely obliterates the iniquity, or guilt, of him who had sinned.

(8.) All which arguments and reasonings of Lactantius seem to be founded upon the supposition, that, as he says, true [c] virtue alone recommends men to the divine acceptance: and that God desires nothing of men, but sincere virtue, or true holiness. Indeed, our author was [d] a great admirer of virtue and has [e] most earnestly recommended the practice of it to Christians.

15. I think, we should not omit to take some notice of what Lactantius says of the ends and views of Christ's coming, and particularly of his death.

(1.) God sent his son, he says, to [f] call the Gentiles: however, without excluding the Jews. For he was first sent to them; and they rejecting him, he brought in the Gentiles to the privileges of the church of God. Again, Christ [g] was sent to teach all nations under heaven the knowledge and worship of the one only true God: to [h] convert men from vain and impious superstitions, to the knowledge and worship of the true God, and also from folly to wisdom, from sin to holiness.

(2.) Righteousness [i] being in a manner lost in the earth, God sent this great messenger to instruct mortal men in the rules of righteousness: that he might be as a living law, to raise up a new name and temple, and spread true religion all over the world by his doctrine and example.

(3.) Christ [k] came to be a teacher and a pattern of virtue; to teach righteousness and patience, not only by words, but also by deeds.

(4.) Christ died and rose again, to [l] assist men in overcoming death, and give them also hopes of rising again, and obtaining the reward of immortality.

(5.) When [m] God determined to save man, he sent his Son, as a master of virtue, to teach the

[a] Prophetæ universi, divino spiritu pleni, nihil aliud, quam de gratiâ Dei erga justos, & de irâ ejus adversus impios loquuntur. Ib. c. 22.

[b] Sicut enim nihil prodest male viventi ante actæ vitæ probitas,——ita nihil officiunt peccata vetera correcto, quia superveniens justitia labem vitæ prioris abolevit. l. vi. c. 24. p. 631.

[c] Nihil enim sancta & singularis illa majestas aliud ab homine desiderat, quam solam innocentiam: quam si quis obtulerit Deo, satis religiose litavit. l. vi. c. 1. p. 539.

Sit humilis, misericors, beneficus, mitis, humanus——Ille homo sanus, ille justus, ille perfectus est.——Hic cultor est veri Dei. Ib. c. 24. p. 636.

Nulla igitur alia religio est vera, nisi quæ virtute ac justitiâ constat. Ib. c. 25. p. 639.

Quod si Deo patri ac domino hac assiduitate, hoc obsequio, hac devotione servierit, consummata & perfecta justitia est; quam qui tenuerit, hic, ut ante testati sumus, Deo paruit; hic religioni atque suo officio satisfecit. Ib. c. 25. in fin.

[d] Nec enim potest aliquid in rebus terrenis esse venerabile, cœloque dignum: sed sola est virtus, sola justitia, quæ potest verum bonum, & cœleste, & perpetuum judicari, quia nec datur cuiquam, nec aufertur. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401.

Ut appareat, solam esse justitiam, quæ vitam homini pariat æternam; & solum Deum, qui æternæ vitæ præmium largiatur. l. vii. c. 14. p. 692.

[e] Nos tantummodo laboremus, ut ab hominibus nihil in nobis, nisi sola justitia puniatur. Demus operam totis viribus, ut mereamur a Deo simul & ultionem passionis & præmium. l. v. c. 23. fin. Vid. & de Ira Dei, cap. ult. prop. fin.

[f] Nec adjecit ulterius prophetas mittere ad populum contumacem, sed filium suum misit, ut gentes universas ad gratiam Dei convocaret. Nec illos tamen ab spe salutis exclusit. Epit. c. 43. Sed illum filium suum primogenitum delabi jussit e cœlis, ut religionem sanctam Dei transferret ad gentes, doceretque justitiam. Inst. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380.

[g] Idcirco enim missus est a Deo patre, ut universis gentibus, quæ sub cœlo sunt, singularis & veri Dei sanctum mysterium revelaret. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385.

[h] Filium suum legavit ad homines, ut eos converteret ab impiis & vanis cultibus ad cognoscendum & colendum verum Deum; item, ut eorum mentes a stultitiâ ad sapientiam, ab iniquitate ad justitiæ jura, traduceret. l. iv. c. 14. p. 395.

[i] Nam, cum justitia nulla esset in terrâ, doctorem misit, quasi vivam legem, ut nomen ac templum novum conderet, ut verum ac pium cultum per omnem terram verbis & exemplo seminaret. l. iv. c. 25. sub in.

[k] Summus igitur Deus, ac parens omnium, cum religionem transferre voluisset, doctorem justitiæ misit e cœlo, ut novis cultoribus novam legem in eo, vel per eum, daret. Inst. l. iv. c. 13. in.

Jussit igitur eum summus pater descendere in terram, & humanum corpus induere; ut, subjectus passionibus carnis, virtutem ac patientiam non solum verbis, sed etiam factis, doceret. Epit. c. 43.

Exemplis igitur opus est, ut ea, quæ præcipiuntur, habeant firmitatem——Christus itaque, cum doctor virtutis ad homines mitteretur, utique ut doctrina ejus perfecta esset, & docere & facere debuerat, ib. c. 50.

Ergo, (ut cœperam dicere,) cum statuisset Deus doctorem virtutis mittere ad homines, renasci eum denuo in carne præcepit, & ipsi homini similem fieri, cui dux, & comes, & magister esset futurus. Inst. l. iv. c. 11. p. 382. Vid. ib. cap. 24.

[l] ——ut esset necesse, appropinquante sæculi termino, Dei filium descendere in terram:——verumtamen non in virtute angeli,——sed in figurâ hominis, & conditione mortali, ut, cum magisterio functus fuisset, traderetur in manus impiorum, mortemque susciperet, ut ea quoque per virtutem domita resurgeret, & homini, quem induerat,——& spem vincendæ mortis afferret, & ad præmia immortalitatis admitteret, l. iv. c. 10. sub in.

[m] Deus namque, sicut superius exposui, cum statuisset hominem liberare, magistrum virtutis legavit in terram: qui & præceptis salutaribus formaret homines ad innocentiam, & operibus factisque præsentibus justitia vim [f. viam] panderet, quâ gradiens homo, & doctorem suum sequens, ad vitam æternam perveniret. Is igitur corporatus est, & veste carnis indutus, ut homini, ad quem docendum venerat, virtutis & exempla & incitamenta præberet. Sed, cum in omnibus vitæ officiis justitiæ specimen præbuisset, ut doloris quoque patien-

doctrine of righteousness, and to be an example of it, that men following him might obtain eternal life. He was also to deliver men from an excessive fear of death, and enable them to endure it with courage and patience. Christ lived in a mean condition, and underwent the ignominious death of the cross, that he might be a complete example of virtue, and of patience under sufferings: and that he might more especially lead and encourage such as are poor and mean in this [a] world.

(6.) In a word, Christ came, and was made like unto man, lived, and died, and rose again, that he might clearly teach the precepts of virtue, and afford [b] the best motives to the practice of it, and effectually help frail man [c] to conquer the desires of the flesh, and the fears of present evil, and to overcome all the temptations of this life, and thus obtain a happy immortality.

So Lactantius.

16. As Christ came to spread true religion all over the world, so Lactantius does [d] often bear testimony to the great progress which the Christian doctrine had then made.

And he particularly says, that [e] there had been, and then were, many Jews, who believed in Jesus.

17. He has very agreeably represented [f] the fortitude and constancy of Christian people, not only of men, but of women and children likewise, under the greatest sufferings for their religion.

18. Lactantius has strenuously asserted the right of [g] private judgment for every man in things of religion. And he openly calls upon all men to exert their intellectual powers in the search of truth, and to use their own reason about a matter of so great importance as religion, without relying upon the wisdom and understanding of other men, as if they had no reason of their own.

Mr. Mosheim [h] has quoted that passage of our author with approbation, and thereby, as well on many other accounts, entitled himself to the respect and esteem of all lovers of liberty and good sense. This is very different from the sentiment of another celebrated modern, who [i]

tiam, mortisque contemtum, quibus perfecta & consummata sit virtus, traderet homini, venit in manus impiæ nationis—— sustinuit ergo cruciatus, & verbera, & spinas. Postremo etiam mortem suscipere non recusavit, ut homo illo duce catenatam mortem cum suis terroribus triumpharet—— cur potissimum cruce? cur infami genere supplicii, quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente, videatur indignum? Primum, quod is, qui humilis advenerat, ut humilibus & infimis opem ferret, & omnibus spem salutis ostenderet, eo genere afficiendus fuit, quo humiles & infimi solent: ne quis esset omnino, qui eum non posset imitari. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435, 436.

[a] Nam, cum ad hoc missus esset, ut humillimis quibusque viam panderet ad salutem, se ipse humilem fecit, ut eos liberaret. Suscepit ergo id genus mortis, quod solet humilibus irrogari, ut omnibus facultas daretur imitandi. Epit. cap. 51.

[b] Ut homini virtutis & exempla & incitamenta præberet. Vid. not. [k]

[c] Ideo carne se induit, ut, desideriis carnis edomitis, doceret, non necessitatis esse peccare, sed propositi ac voluntatis. Una enim nobis & magna & præcipua cum carne luctatio est, cujus infinitæ cupiditates premunt animam——quibus [illecebris] ut repugnare possemus, Deus nobis viam superandæ carnis & aperuit & ostendit. Quâ virtus perfecta & omnibus numeris absoluta coronam vincentibus, & mercedem nobis immortalitatis, impertit. l. iv. cap. 25 in fin.

[d] Denique nulla gens tam inhumana est, nulla regio tam remota, cui aut passio ejus aut sublimitas majestatis ignota sit, l. iv. c. 26. p. 437.

——cum omnes gentes & omnes linguæ nomen ejus venerantur, majestatem confitentur, doctrinam sequuntur, virtutem imitantur, l. iv. c. 12. sub fin.

Cum vero ab ortu solis usque ad occasum lex divina suscepta sit, & omnis sexus, omnis ætas, & gens, & regio unis ac paribus animis Deo serviant, l. v. c. 13. p. 494.

Decet eos suscipere defensionem deorum suorum, ne, si nostra invaluerint, (ut quotidie invalescunt) cum delubris acludibriis suis deserantur, l. v. c. 19. p. 518. et passim.

[e] Sed tamen——ad eos ipsos eum misit,—ut—& daret illis liberam facultatem sequendi Deum,—quod plurimi eorum faciunt atque fecerunt, l. iv. c. 11. sub fin.

[f] Latrones & robusti corporis viri ejusmodi lacerationes perferre nequeunt: exclamant, & gemitus edunt. Vincuntur enim dolore, quia deest illis inspirata patientia. Nostri autem, ut de viris taceam, pueri & mulierculæ tortores suos taciti vincunt; et exprimere illis gemitum nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, & Mutio glorientur aut Regulo:—Ecce sexus infirmus, & fragilis ætas, dilacerari se toto corpore utique perpetitur, non necessitate, quia licet vitare, si vellent: sed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc est vera virtus. l. v. c. 13. p. 495, 496.

[g] Quare oportet in eâ re maxime, in quâ vitæ ratio versatur, sibi quemque confidere, suoque judicio, ac propriis sensibus niti ad investigandam & perpendendam veritatem, quam, credentem alienis erroribus, decipi, tamquam ipsum rationis expertem. Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam, ut & inaudita investigare possent, & audita perpendere. Nec quia nos illi tempore antecesserunt, sapientiâ quoque antecesserunt: quæ si omnibus æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non potest. Illibabilis est, tamquam lux & claritas solis: quia, ut sol oculorum, sic sapientia lumen est cordis humani. Quare, cum sapere, id est, veritatem quærere, omnibus sit innatum, sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit, quod majorum nomine posito, non putant fieri posse, aut ut ipsi plus sapiant, quia minores vocantur, aut illi desipuerint, quia majores nominantur. Inst. l. ii. c. 7. init.

[h] Abjicienda igitur triplex hæc servitus, mensque prorsus in libertatem vindicanda. Cesset hominum studium, quos, licet sanctos, eximiosque, homines tamen fuisse recordemur erroribus obnoxios. Pulchre & prorsus ad hanc rem accommodate Lactantius Divinarum Institutionum, l. ii, c. 7. Dedit omnibus Deus. &c. Jo. Laurent. Mosh. Institut. Hist. Christ. Majores in Præpar. v. 20. p. 23. Helmstad. 1739.

[i] Cum quis eo devenit, ut fidei dogmata ex sui judicii arbitrio defiuiat,—nihil mirum, si frequenter aberret: omnia

forbids men the use of their reason in things of religion, and requires them to acquiesce in the church, and take her interpretations of scripture as divine: and censures Eusebius of Cæsarea in particular, for explaining scripture according to the best of his own judgment. Such is the precious liberty of a certain church! such her goodness, to rob us of our understandings, or at least to deny us the use of them! For if Eusebius, a bishop within three hundred years after our Lord's ascension, may not judge for himself, how vain must be all our pretensions to such a privilege! But why cannot we understand the scriptures as readily as the decisions of the church? And how came she to engross reason to herself, which, as Lactantius says, is given to every man for his direction and assistance, and is no more to be monopolized than the light of the sun? However, for certain, we have seen, that this doctrine of the church was unknown to Eusebius and Lactantius, the most learned men of their times, one among the Greeks, the other among the Latins.

19. Lactantius argues excellently against persecution.

(1.) He esteems it the greatest absurdity that can be conceived, for [a] any to impose on others a worship contrary to their conscience, or to deny men the liberty to choose their own religion.

(2.) It is not, he says, zeal [b] for religion, but a love of power, that makes men persecutors. For religion is the freest thing in the world: nor can it be promoted by force and violence. Compulsion may make men hypocrites, but it cannot make them religious.

Tertullian had before spoken in the like [c] manner.

(3.) Such is the nature of religion, that [d] it can be upheld by reason and persuasion only, not by power and authority. If you introduce force and violence, religion is destroyed; for, without the free consent of the mind there can be no religion. By [e] attempting to secure religion by force, you make what should be a school of virtue, a butchery, or place of execution. Truth and compulsion, religion and cruelty, are incompatible, and can have no fellowship with each other. The [f] heathens therefore he argues, as they were mistaken in religion itself, so likewise in the manner of defending it.

(4.) It is, he says, a [g] sign of a bad cause, to defend it by violence. If it were good in itself, reason and mildness would be the best means to secure it.

(5.) If the [h] gods are able, let them defend themselves. Methods of cruelty are unreasonable in all respects: they [i] cannot be acceptable to the Deity, if he has any excellence. If [k] such

quippe sunt incerta, cum semel ab ecclesiæ statutis discessum est. Nam cum arcana deitatis & religionis, ab humano sensu remotissima, numen ipsum tradiderit, nonnisi ejusdem numinis ope & afflatu ea possunt explicari ac recte percipi. Ac cum uni ecclesiæ earundem rerum arbitrium Deus permiserit, ipsi soli eadem explananti se adfuturum pollicitus est. Nihil itaque insolens est, si Eusebius, qui plerumque scripturam & ecclesiæ dogmata ex sensu & opinione suâ æstimare ausus est, in multis lapsus sit. Montfauc. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Psalm. cap. 7. p. 29.

[a] Quis enim tam insolens, tam elatus est, qui me vetet oculos in cœlum tollere? Quis imponat mihi necessitatem vel colendi quod nolim, vel quod velim non colendi? Quid jam nobis ulterius relinquetur, si etiam hoc, quod voluntate fieri oportet, libido extorquet aliena? Inst. l. v. c. 13. p. 496. f.

[b] Sed quis audiet? cum homines furiosi & impotentes minui dominationem suam putent, si sit aliquid in rebus humanis liberum. Atqui religio sola est, in qua libertas domicilium collocavit. Res est enim præter cæteras voluntaria. Nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsan simulare, non potest velle. Epit. cap. 54. Vid. ib. c. 55.

[c] Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem. Apol. c. 24. Sēd nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. Ad Scap. cap. 2.

[d] Non est opus vi & injuriâ, quia religio cogi non potest. Verbis potius, quam verberibus, res agenda est, ut sit voluntas. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 518, &c.

[e] Longe diversa sunt carnificina & pietas. Nec potest aut veritas cum vi, aut justitia cum crudelitate, conjungi. l. v. c. 18. p. 519.

[f] Sed, ut in ipsâ religione, sic in defensionis genere, fallun-

tur. Defendenda enim religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo: non sævitiâ, sed patientiâ: non scelere, sed fide: nam, si sanguine, si tormentis, si malo religionem defendere velis, jam non defendetur illa, sed polluetur, atque violabitur. Nihil est enim tam voluntarium, quam religio: in quâ si animus sacrificantis aversus est, jam sublata, jam nulla est. l. v. cap. 20. p. 520.

[g] Defendenda enim religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo——non sævitiâ sed patientiâ. Illa enim malorum sunt, hæc bonorum. Et necesse est bonum in religione versari, non malum. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 520. Ex quo intelligi datur, quam non sit bonum deos colere; quoniam bono potius adducendi homines ad bonum fuerant, non malo: sed quia illud malum est, etiam officium ejus bono caret. Ib. cap. 20. p. 525. Vid. & Epit. cap. 53.

[h] Sed hæc se facere dicunt, ut deos suos defendant. Primum, si dii sunt, & habent aliquid potestatis & numinis, defensione hominis patrocinioque non indigent, sed seipsos utique defendunt. Epit. c. 53, in.

[i] Vellem scire, cum invitos adigunt ad sacrificium, quid secum habeant rationis, aut cui præstent, quod faciunt. Si diis, non est ille cultus, nec acceptabile sacrificium, quod sit ingratis. Ep. c. 53.

[k] Libet igitur ex his quærere, cui potissimum præstare se putent, cogendo invitos ad sacrificium, Ipsisne quos cogunt? ——Cur ergo tam crudeliter vexant, cruciant, debilitant, si salvos volunt?———An vero diis præstant? At non est sacrificium, quod exprimitur invito.—— Si dii sunt isti, qui sic coluntur, vel propter hoc solum colendi non sunt, quod sic coli volunt: digni scilicet detestatione hominum, quibus lacrymis, cum gemitu, cum sanguine de membris omnibus fluente, libatur. Inst. l. v. cap. 20. p. 524.

methods are approved by the gods, that alone is a sufficient reason, why they should not be worshipped. And [a] they must be disagreeable and offensive to those, on whom they are practised with pretence of good-will. For how can I esteem it a kindness to be forced out of an opinion, which I took upon reason and choice?

(6.) Lactantius likewise maintains, that [b] it is no just reason, why men should be persecuted, because they desert or oppose ancient and established religions. For there can be no prescription against truth; and every man has an unalienable right to search after truth, and to profess it, when he has acquired the knowledge of it.

(7.) He vindicates Christians against the charge of obstinacy, as by other considerations, so [c] likewise by retorting upon their heathen adversaries and persecutors a charge of credulity and ignorance, cruelty and inhumanity.

(8.) Though I have already transcribed from this author so much relating to this point, I know not how to forbear referring in the margin to a fine passage of his, concerning the universal equality of [d] mankind.

(9.) He imputes the heathen persecutions not only to a love of power, as before seen, but likewise to the [e] apprehensions for the downfal of their own religion, occasioned by the vast and continual increase and progress of Christianity.

(10.) But whatever they designed, Lactantius affirms, that [f] the Christians never were diminished by persecution; and that [g] the persecutions they endured, did many ways contribute to their increase. Many there were who could not but dislike that religion which inspired cruelty: some began to suspect that there must be somewhat wrong in those sacrifices, to which men could not be compelled. And they were induced to inquire into those principles, for which great numbers of persons of all nations, of each sex, of every age and condition, cheerfully underwent such grievous sufferings.

(11.) Thus has Lactantius shewn, that compulsion is not acceptable, nor honourable to the Deity: that it is not a real kindness to those on whom it is exercised: that it is a sign of a bad cause, and contrary to the nature of religion, which is above all things free, and must be a man's own choice: and that it is impossible, that true religion should be served and advanced by force and violence. He likewise maintains, that antiquity and human authority can never amount to prescription against truth and freedom of inquiry.

(12.) Indeed Lactantius has in his remaining works, particularly his Institutions and their Epitome, fully confuted every pretence for persecution. And if his book Of Persecution mentioned by Jerom, were still in being, I persuade myself, we should have had some more fine thoughts upon this subject, which we now want.

20. Our author does likewise disclaim all persecution in the name of all Christians in general, as unworthy of the goodness of their cause.

[a] Si autem ipsis, quos cogunt: cur malo invitas?——Quæ stultitia est consulere velle nolenti? Cur pro beneficio imputes, quod mihi maleficium est?——Non est [bonum,] quod velis errori meo succurrere, quem judicio ac voluntate suscepi. Epit. cap. 53. sub fin. Et vid. supr. not. [k] init.

[b] Sed recte ac merito puniri eos aiunt, qui publicas religiones a majoribus traditas exsecrantur. Quid, si majores illi stulti fuerunt in suscipiendis religionibus vanis,——præscribetur nobis, quo minus vera & meliora sectemur? Cur nobis auferimus libertatem, & quasi addicti alienis servimus erroribus? Liceat sapere, liceat inquirere veritatem. Epit. cap. 55. init. At enim puniendi sunt, qui destruunt religiones, &c. Inst. l. v. c. 20. p. 525.

[c] Sed, inhærentes persuasioni vulgari, libenter errant, & stultitiæ suæ favent. A quibus si persuasionis ejus rationem requiras, nullam possunt reddere, sed ad majorum judicia confugiant, quod illi sapientes fuerint, illi probaverint illi scierint, quid esset optimum.——O mira & cæca dementia! In iis putatur mala mens esse, qui fidem servare conantur, in carnificibus autem bona. In iisne mala mens est, qui contra fas omne lacerantur? an potius in iis, qui ea faciunt in corporibus innocentum, quæ nec sævissimi latrones, nec iratissimi hostes, nec immanissimi barbari, aliquando fecerunt. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 517.

[d] Æquitatem dico,——se cum cæteris coæquandi, quam Cicero æquabilitatem vocat. Deus enim, qui homines generat & inspirat, omnes æquos, id est, pares, esse voluit; eamdem conditionem vivendi omnibus posuit? omnes ad sapientiam genuit; omnibus immortalitatem spopondit.——Nemo apud Deum servus est, nemo dominus, l. v. c. 14. p. 501.

[e] Cur enim tam crudeliter sæviant, nisi quia metuunt, ne, in dies invalescente justitiâ, cum diis suis araneosis [al. cariosis. Vid. Heum. in loc.] relinquantur? Inst. l. v. c. 12. sub fin.

[f] Cum autem noster numerus semper deorum cultoribus augeatur, nunquam vero ne in ipsâ quidem persecutione minuatur—ib. c. 13. init. Et quoniam vi nihil possunt, (augetur enim religio Dei, quanto magis premitur) ratione potius & hortamentis agant, l. v. c. 19. p. 518.

[g] Nec, cum videat vulgus dilacerari homines variis tormentorum generibus, & inter fatigatos carnifices invictam tenere patientiam, existimant, id quod res est, nec consensum tam multorum, nec perseverantiam morientium vanam esse.—l. v. c. 13. p. 495. Et alia causa est, cur adversum nos persecutiones fieri sinat: ut populus Dei augeatur. Nec est difficile monstrare, cur, aut quomodo id fiat. Primum, fugantur a deorum cultibus plurimi, odio crudelitatis. Qui enim talia sacrificia non horreant? Deinde placet quibusdam virtus ac fides ipsa. Nonnulli suspicantur, deorum cultum non sine causâ malum putari a tam multis hominibus, ut emori malint, quam id facere, quod alii faciunt, ut vivant. Aliqui cupiunt

(1.) We [a] do not desire that men should worship our God, unless they were willing, though he be the Creator of the whole world. We teach, says [b] he, we argue, we demonstrate; but we do not allure by worldly considerations: yet none leave us, being retained by bands of truth and love. It [c] is not by human authority that things are decided among us, but by the word of God alone.

(2.) This is glorious, when it can be truly said of the professors of any religion: and it ought by all means to be truly said of the professors of the true religion. It is likely it may be said of those who hold religion in its perfection and purity: for it may be argued, that wherever there is persecution, there some things are maintained, which are contrary to reason, and are no parts of true religion. Where therefore persecution is at a great height, there, very probably, religion is in a low estate.

IV. I must take some particular notice of errors ascribed to Lactantius. They are very [d] numerous. Gallæus has placed a large catalogue of them at the end of his edition.

1. Some have charged Lactantius with Manichæism. Several passages in his works are suspected of this error: some learned men are of opinion, that those passages are not genuine. For which reason, in late editions, they are generally placed at the bottom of the pages among the notes. In the edition of Gryphius, before-mentioned, those passages stand in the text; but they are marked with a small star before and after them. The learned Dr. Heumann, in his notes upon one of those passages, declares himself in favour of their [e] genuineness. And I readily acquiesce in his judgment upon them: but I do not discern Manichæism in those passages, nor in any other part of Lactantius.

Dr. Heumann, the last editor of Lactantius, has renewed the charge of Manichæism against our author, which I wonder at. But the authority of so learned a writer will oblige me to speak to a point which I once hoped to pass over with little or no notice.

Dr. Heumann says, that [f] Manichæism spread in Africa, the native country of Lactantius, and Augustine was once in that sentiment.

But Lactantius is almost a hundred years older than Augustine. It is likely, that Lactantius left Africa, before Manichæism had got any footing there. It cannot be shewn, that Manichæism was at all known in the Roman empire till near the end of the third century: and then, it is probable, for some good while had few followers. Lactantius, I apprehend, must have formed his sentiments, both in philosophy and divinity, before he could possibly be acquainted with that doctrine from Persia, if ever he was at all acquainted with it: which I very much question, for I cannot perceive in all his works any traces of such knowledge.

Moreover Lactantius expresseth himself differently upon all the peculiarities of that sect. He asserts [g] creation out of [h] nothing, and [i] that God made matter itself: which every one knows

scire, quidnam sit illud bonum, quod ad mortem usque defenditur; quod omnibus, quæ in hac vitâ jucunda sunt, & cara, præfertur.—Hæ tot causæ in unum collatæ magnam Deo multitudinem acquirunt. l. v. c. 22. ad fin.

[a] At nos contra non expetimus, ut Deum nostrum, qui est omnium creator, velit, nolit, colat aliquis invitus: nec si non coluerit, irascimur. l. v. c. 20. p. 524.

[b] Imitentur nos, ut rationem rei totius exponant. Non enim allicimus, ut ipsi objectant, sed docemus, probamus, ostendimus. Itaque nemo a nobis retinetur invitus. Inutilis est enim Deo, qui devotione ac fide caret. Et tamen nemo discedit, ipsâ veritate retinente. l. v. cap. 19. p. 519.

[c] Quæ omnia non asseveratione propriâ, (nec enim valet quidquam mortalis hominis auctoritas) sed divinis aliquibus testimoniis, confirment, sicuti nos facimus. Ib. p. 518.

[d] Tantus vero est eorum numerus, ut vix unquam alius scriptor tam sæpe in paucis libris errâsse videatur. Aliqui enim centum & septuaginta illius errata olim numerabant; alii ea postmodum ad quatuor supra nonaginta, alii vero ad minorem numerum redegerunt. Nourr. App. T. 2. p. 643. A.

[e] Additamentum a Cellario hic subjectum in nullo bonorum codicum reperiri scribit Thomasius. Nec in ullis veterum mearum editionum id offendi. Tamen credo, Lactantium ejus esse auctorem. Nec assentior Thomasio, qui profectum esse id putat a Manichæo quopiam. Nam primo nihil in hoc additamento docetur, quod non idem in superioribus docuerit Lactantius.——Apparet hinc, castrationem, quam vocant, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum non esse rem novam; sed jam olim fuisse, qui, quæ deteriora tenebrisque digna ipsis videbantur, inde rescinderent. Heuman. not. ad Inst. l. vii. c. 5. p. 627. Vid. ejusdem not. ad cap. 19. De Opif. Dei, p. 828.

[f] Quo minus jam abhorreo a credendo, militâsse Lactantium aliquando in castris Manetis sive Manichæi, frustraque consumsisse omnem operam Thomasium illum Hispanum in abstergendâ ei hac labe. Vigebat scilicet eo tempore hæc hæresis in Africâ, Lactantii patriâ; & Augustinus quoque ibi aliquid hauserat ex hac disciplinâ. Heum. in Præf. ad Lactant.

[g] At si concipiat animo, quanta sit divini hujus operis immensitas, cum antea nihil esset, tamen virtute & consilio Dei ex nihilo esse conflatam. Inst. l. i. c. 3. p. 14. Nemo quærat, ex quibus ista materiis tam magna, tam mirifica opera Deus fecerit. Omnia enim fecit ex nihilo. Nec audiendi sunt poëtæ, qui aiunt chaos in principio fuisse ——Quibus facile est respondere, potestatem Dei non intelligentibus, quem credunt nihil efficere posse, nisi ex materiâ subjacente ac paratâ; in quo errore etiam philosophi fuerunt.——l. ii. c. 8. p. 179, 180.

[h] Lactantius is reckoned by Beausobre among those early Christian writers, who taught creation out of nothing. See Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 165, and 234.

[i] Deus vero facit sibi ipse materiam, quia potest.——Quid

to be different from the Manichees, who held the eternity of matter. And he says, that [a] it is God alone, who is not made, or is eternal. His account likewise of [b] the formation of man, particularly, [c] the sexes, is entirely different from that of the Manichees. He scruples not to affirm, that [d] their strong propensities, and ardent affection for each other, are the constitution of divine providence. And he says, that [e] God made soul and body, and that all we have is from him. Lactantius also says, that [f] God made the devil: who was at first good, but fell from perfection. The Manichees always and entirely rejected the Jewish scriptures of the Old Testament. But Lactantius heartily received them, and quotes them frequently, as will be seen hereafter. He calls them [g] sacred and divine: he considers their [h] prophets as men inspired by the one true God. He speaks of idolatry prevailing every where, except [i] with the Hebrews; among whom alone, he says, true religion was upheld for a long time. He calls the Jewish religion [k] divine. The Jews [l] he considers as the ancestors of the Christians: and he believes, that [m] the Jewish prophets spake of Christ, and foretold many things concerning him. He [n] lays a vast stress upon the predictions of the prophets relating to Jesus. He also believes, that [o] Jesus Christ was clothed in flesh, and that [p] he was born and [q] died: of Christ's humanity, and his [r] having all the sinless infirmities of the human nature, Lactantius speaks in the most expressive terms than can be used. All which things are contrary to the Manichæan doctrine; as is well known to the learned, and may be perceived from the accounts formerly given of it.

Indeed, one can scarce forbear to suspect, that some learned men, who charge Lactantius with Manichæism, have not thoroughly informed themselves about the principles of that sect. For instance, some have said in their remarks upon one of the fore-mentioned suspected passages in Lactantius, that [s] the writer teaches Manichæism, because he makes God to be the author both

vero mirum, si, facturus mundum, Deus, prius materiam, de quâ faceret, præparavit, & præparavit ex eo, quod non erat? l. ii. c. 8. p. 182. Materia vero semper fuisse non potest, quia mutationem caperet, si fuisset, &c. Ib. p. 184. in.

[a] Solus igitur Deus est, qui factus non est. l. ii. c. 8. p. 184.

[b] Hominem finxit ex ipsâ terrâ, quam illi a principio in habitaculum præparavit; id est, spiritum suum terreno corpore induit & involvit. l. vii. c. 5. p. 663.

[c] Cum ergo marem ad similitudinem suam primum finxisset, tum etiam feminam configuravit ad ipsius hominis effigiem, ut duo inter se permisti sexus propagare sobolem possent, & omnem terram multitudine opplere. l. ii. c. 12. in. Vid. & cap. 10. ib. & de Opif. Dei, cap. 10.

[d] Cum excogitâsset Deus duorum sexuum rationem, attribuit iis, ut se invicem appeterent, & conjunctione gauderent. ——Quæ cupiditas & appetentia in homine vehementior & acrior invenitur. l. vi. c. 23. p. 625. Sed divina lex ita duos in matrimonium——pari jure conjungit.——Nec aliam ob causam Deus, cum cæteras animantes suscepto fetu maribus repugnare voluisset, solam omnium mulierem patientem viri fecit; scilicet, ne, feminis repugnantibus, libido cogeret viros aliud appetere.—Ib. p. 628. Ut libidinem producendæ sobolis gratiâ dedit.—De Ira Dei. cap. 18. p. 813.

[e] Deus ergo veri patris officio functus est. Ipse corpus effinxit, ipse animam, quâ spiramus, infudit. Illius est totum, quidquid sumus. Inst. l. ii. cap. 11. sub fin.

[f] Deinde fecit alterum, in quo indoles divinæ stirpis permansit——suoque arbitrio, quod a Deo illi liberum datum fuerat, contrarium sibi nomen adscivit.—— Hunc ergo, ex bono per se malum effectum, Græci Διάβολον appellant. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 178.

[g] Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse—etiam iis fortasse sit notum, qui divinas literas non attigerunt. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

[h] Prophetæ—unum Deum prædicant, quippe qui unius Dei spiritu pleni. Inst. l. i. c. 4. p. 17. Vid. & l. iv. c. 5. & c. 11. in. & passim.

[i] Nam cum primum scelerati atque impii Deorum cultus—irrepserunt, tum penes solos Hebræos religio Dei mansit. Epit. c. 43. p. 111. edit. Davis.

[k] Ipsius autem—posteri Hebræi dicti, penes quos religio Dei resedit, l. ii. c. 13. p. 214. Cum Sæpe Judæi—a divinâ lege desciscerent. l. iv. c. 11. in.

[l] Majores nostri, qui erant principes Hebræorum, &c. l. iv. c. 10. p. 374. Nam, cum posset populo suo & opes & regna largiri, sicut dederat ante Judæis, quorum nos successores ac posteri sumus;—idcirco eum voluit sub alienâ ditione atque imperio degere, ne in luxuriam laberetur,——sicut illi majores nostri.—l. v. c. 22. p. 522.

[m] Hanc ergo dispensationem ne quis ignoret, docebimus, prædicta esse omnia, quæ in Christo videmus completa.—Quæ omnia cum probavero eorum ipsorum literis, qui Deum suum mortali corpore utentem violaverunt.—l. iv. c. 10. p. 374.

[n] Fecit miracula. Magum putâssemus, ut & vos nuncupatis, & Judæi tunc putaverunt, si non illa ipsa facturum Christum prophetæ omnes uno spiritu prædicâssent. l. v. c. 3. p. 469. Vid. & Epit. c. 45.

[o] Is igitur corporatus est, & veste carnis indutus. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435. f.

[p] ——renasci eum in carne præcepit, & ipsi homini similem fieri, l. iv. c. 11. p. 382. In primis enim testificamur, illum bis esse natum, primum in spiritu, postea in carne, l. iv. c. 8. in. Descendens itaque de cœlo sanctus ille spiritus Dei sanctam virginem, cujus utero se insinuaret, elegit. At illa divino spiritu hausto repleta, concepit, &, sine ullo attactu viri, repente virginalis uterus intumuit. l. iv. c. 12. p. 383. Vid. Epit. c. 43. in. & f. & c. 44.

[q] Verumtamen non in virtute angeli,——sed in figurâ hominis & conditione mortali; ut, cum magisterio, functus fuisset, traderetur in manus impiorum, mortemque susciperet. l. iv. c. 10. in. Discant igitur homines & intelligant, quare Deus summus, cum legatum suum mitteret,——mortali voluerit eum carne indui, & cruciatu affici, & morte mulctari. l. iv. c. 25. Vid. & Epit. cap. 50. & passim.

[r] ——Sed, si corpus hominis non induisset, non potuisset facere quæ docebat, id est, non irasci, non cupere divitias, non libidine inflammari, dolorem non timere, mortem contemnere. Epit. cap. 50.

[s] Neque etiam ullo modo admittenda, quippe quæ multos errores continet. Primo docet Manichæum errorem, nempe Deum creâsse duo principia, unum boni, alterum mali. Vid. Gallæi not. in Lact. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 179. Eadem fuit opinio Isæi, qui in notis suis observat impium illud dogma nunquam alibi clarius adstrui.——In eo autem mortiferum aliquod Manichæorum virus versute & subtiliter insinuari,

of good and evil. But allowing the writer not to have expressed himself exactly and properly upon that head, I presume here is no Manichæism: for they held two eternal principles, one good, the other evil. And Lactantius always maintains, that [a] there is one cause and origin of all things, even God: and opposes [b] the doctrine of two eternal principles. I think, that [c] Dr. Pfaff has well answered that objection.

[d] Gallæus acquits Lactantius of this error; partly, because Jerom, and other ancient writers, never say any thing of it; which appears to me a good reason: partly, because he thinks the passages before taken notice of to be spurious.

2. It is well known, that [e] Lactantius did not believe that there are antipodes. We of this time cannot but wonder he should be so positive upon that head, and ridicule an opinion which is now universally received, and was then known, and proposed by some. Otherwise there had been no occasion to argue against it.

3. He went into the common notion of that time, concerning the fall of many of the [f] angels.

4. It is also well known, that [g] Lactantius expected a terrestrial reign of Christ for a thousand years before the general judgment. Jerom has ridiculed his Millenarian notions, which are chiefly enlarged upon in the seventh and last book of the Divine Institutions. Jerom took the same freedom with Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus, and other Christian writers, who had the like sentiment.

This happy period our author thought to be very near, and that it could not be deferred [i] ore than two hundred years.

5. Jerom has more than once remarked upon Lactantius, that [k] in his epistles, especially those to Demetrian, he denies the personality of the Holy Ghost: referring him, as the Jews erroneously do, to the Father or the Son. Jerom says, that [l] in his time this was a common opinion with many, who did not understand the scriptures.

6. In other places Jerom vindicates Lactantius [m] from an opinion concerning the origin of the soul, imputed to him by some.

7. Gallæus observes, that [n] Lactantius says little or nothing of Christ's priestly office. I do

inde colligi potest, quod illius auctor aperte pronuntiat Deum fecisse bonum & malum. Nourr. App T. ii. p 638. E.

[a] Unus igitur est princeps & origo rerum Deus. De Ira Dei, c. xi p. 794.

[b] Dua igitur constituuntur æterna, & quidem inter se contraria: quod fieri sine discordiâ & pernicie non potest.—Ergo fieri non potest, quin æterni natura sit simplex; ut inde omnia, velut ex fonte descenderint. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 182, 183.

[c] Quæ cum ita sint, non tamen vetustissimis hæreticis Manichæis, qui paulo ante tempora Lactantii nati sunt, annumerandus est Lactantius. Hi enim duo principia coæterna statuere, bonum & malum. Lactantius vero malum ab æterno non fuisse asserit, sed originem sumsisse in tempore confirmat. Pfaff. Diss. Præl. n. 21. p. 27.

[d] Fuere, qui Manichæismi quoque Lactantium accusare non dubitârunt. Sed quia nec Hieronymus, nec quisquam alius veterum, hunc in Lactantio errorem animadvertit; quia item vetusti codices non habent ea, &c. Gall. ap. Lact. p. 901. m.

[e] Quid illi, qui esse contrarios vestigiis nostris Antipodas putant? Num aliquid loquuntur? Aut est quisquam tam ineptus, qui credat, esse homines, quorum vestigia sint superiora, quam capita? aut ibi, quæ apud nos jacent, inversa pendere? fruges & arbores deorsum versus crescere? pluvias & nives & grandines sursum versus cadere in terram. Inst. l. iii. c. 24. in. De Antipodis quoque sine risu nec audiri nec dici potest. Asseritur tamen, quasi aliquid serium, ut credamus esse homines, qui vestigiis nostris habent adversa vestigia. Epit. cap. 39.

[f] Vid. Inst. l. ii. c. 14. Epit. c. 27.

[g] Non quod ille regnum hoc terrenum fuerit adeptus, cujus capiendi nondum tempus advenit, sed quod cœleste & sempiternum. Inst. l. iv. c. 7. sub fin.

Nam cum ita sit a Deo constitutum, ut idem Christus bis adveniat in terram; semel, ut unum Deum gentibus nuntiet, deinde, rursus, ut regnet. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385.

Necesse est, ut in fine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur e terrâ, & regnet per annos mille justitia, sitque tranquillitas, & requies a laboribus.——l. vii. c. 14. p. 695. Vid. quæ ibidem sequuntur, & c 15, 16, &c.

[h] Neque enim juxta Judaïcas fabulas—gemmatam & auream de cœlo expectamus Jerusalem——Quod & multi nostrorum, & præcipue Tertulliani liber——de spe fidelium, ——& Lactantii institutionum volumen septimum pollicetur, & Victorini Pitabionensis episcopi crebræ expositiones. Hieron. in Ezek. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952.

[i] Jam superius ostendi, completis annorum sex millibus mutationem istam fieri oportere, & jam propinquare summum illum conclusionis diem.——Quando tamen compleatur hæc summa, docent ii, qui de temporibus scripserunt.——Qui licet varient, & aliquantum numeri eorum summa dissentiat, omnis tamen exspectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum. l. vii. c. 25. p. 726.

[k] Lactantius in epistolis suis, & maxime in epistolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritûs Sancti negat substantiam; & errore Judaïco dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, & sanctificationem utriusque personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari. Hieron. ad Pamm. & Oc. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 345.

[l] Hoc ideo, quia multi per imperitiam scripturarum (quod & Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit) asserunt, Spiritum Sanctum sæpe Patrem, sæpe Filium nominari. Et, cum perspicue in Trinitate credamus, tertiam personam auferentes, non substantiam ejus volunt esse, sed nomen. In Galat. c. iv. v. 6. p. 268.

[m] Quantum memoria suggerit, nisi tamen fallor, nescio me legisse Lactantium δυσπειρομενην animam dicere, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 399. Conf. l. ii. p. 395. & l. iii. p. 465.

[n] Quod de præcipuo Christo incarnati officio, sacerdotali nimirum, tacuit: & ideo tantum Christum humanam naturam assumsisse contendit,—— ut universis gentibus, quæ sub cœlo sunt, singularis & veri Dei sanctum mysterium revelaret,

not remember, that Jerom has any where taken notice of this: but it is likely enough to be true; and that Lactantius did not consider Christ's death, in the modern way, as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, or a satisfaction made to divine justice for the sins of the human race. This may be argued from his passages before transcribed, concerning the value of repentance, and the ends of Christ's death.

But then many other ancient Christians will come in for their share in this charge. For according to Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in the preface to his Clavis Scripturæ, or Key to the Scriptures, 'The [a] Christian writers, who lived soon after Christ and his apostles, discoursed like 'philosophers, of the law and its moral precepts, and of the nature of virtue and vice: but they 'were totally ignorant of man's natural corruption, and the mysteries of the gospel and Christ's 'benefits.' 'His countryman St. Jerom,' he says, 'was well [b] skilled in the languages, and en-'deavoured to explain the scriptures by versions and commentaries. But after all he was able to 'do very little, being ignorant of the human disease, and of Christ the physician: and wanting 'both the key of scripture, and the lamb of God to open to him.'

The same Flacius, or some other learned writer of his time, in the preface to the Centuriæ Magdeburgenses, observes of Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea: 'That [c] it is a very low and imperfect 'description, which he gives of a Christian; making him only a man, who by the knowledge of 'Christ and his doctrine, is brought to the worship of the one true God, and the practice of 'sobriety, righteousness, patience, and other virtues. But he has not a word about regeneration, 'or imputed righteousness.'

Poor, ignorant, primitive Christians! I wonder how they could find the way to heaven! They lived near the times of Christ and his apostles. They highly valued, and diligently read the holy scriptures, and some wrote commentaries upon them; but yet, it seems, they knew little or nothing of their religion; though they embraced and professed it with the manifest hazard of all earthly good things, and many of them laid down their lives rather than renounce it. Truly we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy; but I wish, that we did more excel in those virtues which they, and the scriptures likewise, I think, recommend, as the distinguishing properties of a Christian. And I am not a little apprehensive, that many things, which now make a fair shew among us, and in which we mightily pride ourselves, will in the end prove weeds only, on which the owner of the ground sets no value.

The early Christians, after the apostles, were not infallible. I do not represent them as such. They had their errors; but we should be sensible, that we also are liable to err. And possibly, they had in some respects a juster notion of true religion than we have. Grotius in his notes upon [d] Rom. vii. 19, expresseth himself very differently from Flacius concerning the Christians of the first three centuries.

V. We saw in the preceding chapter one of [e] St. Jerom's commendations of the works of Lactantius. And here, as we have gone along, we have observed his judgment upon several pieces in particular. In another place, that learned ancient speaks of our author in this manner: 'Lactantius [f] flows like a river of Tullian eloquence. I wish he had been as able to defend our 'religion, as to confute others.' Apollinaris Sidonius likewise allows Lactantius [g] to have had

& unum illis Deum nunciaret——denique ut exempla virtutis homini præbere posset. Quæ omnia quam sint frigida, principe incarnationis Christi fine omisso, nemo non videt. Gall. Synth. Doct. Lact. p. 899.

[a] Olim, mox post apostolos, plerique scriptores ad philosophicas de lege ac præceptis moralibus, & virtutibus vitiisque, disputationes proruerunt; ignari prorsus nativæ corruptionis hominis, & evangelii mysteriorum, & beneficiorum Christi. M. Fl. Ill. in Pr. ad Clav. Scr. S. p. 7. f.

[b] Unus popularis meus Hieronymus linguarum egregie peritus fuit; conatusque est sacras literas tum versionibus tum explicationibus illustrare. Sed reverâ & morbi humani, et medici Christi ignarus, destitutusque tum clave scripturarum aperiente, nempe discrimine legis & evangelii, tum etiam apertore aut janitore ejus agno Dei, parum præstare potuit. Id. ib. p. 8. in.

[c] Ut enim de aliis nihil dicamus, Eusebius certe Christianum hominem, l. i. c. 4, ita definit, ut, si absit cognitio Christi, quam ei tamen, sed obscure, tribuit, prorsus videatur ethnico more virum honestum——describere. Ait enim, Christianum esse virum, qui per Christi cognitionem ac doctrinam, animi moderatione, & justitiâ, continentiâque vitæ, & virtutis fortitudine, ac pietatis confessione erga verum ac solum omnium Deum excellit. Ista primum nimis generaliter dicuntur. Deinde nihil de regeneratione.—Neque obscure significat, ad id tali homini notitiam Christi ejusque doctrinam solum prodesse, ut virtutibus possit excellere. Nihil de remissione peccatorum, atque imputatâ justitiâ per fidem in Christum dicit, quæ est quasi ipsissima Christiani hominis forma. In Præf. ad Hist. Eccl. Magdeb. p. i.

[d] Deo laus sit, quod optimi, id est, trium primorum sæculorum Christiani, hunc locum sic ut oportet intellexerint; dictante illo spiritu, per quem vita ipsorum dirigebatur. Grot. ad Rom. vii. 19. [e] See p. 244.

[f] Lactantius, quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ, utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49. al. 13.

[g] Instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius, adstruit ut Augustinus. Sidon. Ep. l. iv. ep. 3. p. 9.

an excellent talent at confuting error. For certain, the former is the more difficult of the two: and it is agreeable to a well known saying of Cicero himself, who had so great strength and capacity of mind; 'I [a] wish,' says he, 'I could as easily find out truth, as confute error.'

Trithemius says, that [b] Lactantius was well skilled in secular learning, and not a little conversant in the divine scriptures, and next to Cicero the most eloquent of all men.

It may not be amiss, to take some notice likewise of the judgments of moderns upon this writer.

Dr. Heumann, in his preface to his edition of the works of Lactantius, gives his character at large. He [c] was pious, learned, and eloquent. But there are observable in him several faults and defects. He was no critic, nor philosopher, and but a poor divine.

His want of critical skill is supposed to be [d] apparent from his quoting the Sibylline oracles, and works of Hydaspes, and Hermes Trismegistus, as genuine and authentic.

That he was a poor reasoner, and but an indifferent philosopher, is [e] inferred from his arguments against antipodes, and from his reasoning upon some other occasions.

Lastly, he [f] was a miserable divine. For he speaks differently from the sound doctrine of the church concerning the Trinity, and several other points.

Bull says, that [g] sometimes Lactantius speaks orthodoxly of the Son. This matter has been carefully examined by [h] Petavius, and [i] Nourry, to whom I refer.

However, Bull says, that [k] Lactantius had very little knowledge of the Christian doctrine. And it is very common for learned moderns to speak [l] in that manner of this writer, and Arnobius. Mr. Warburton says, 'that [m] though Lactantius knew but little of Christianity, yet he 'was exquisitely well skilled in the strong and weak side of philosophy.'

Lactantius had very different thoughts of himself; and reckoned, that he was able to defend truth, and particularly the [n] true Christian religion, in such a manner as to recommend it to learned and unlearned, and remove the difficulties and objections of both: as he intimates at the beginning of his Divine Institutions. And he intended that work, as [o] a full and general answer to all, who already had, or ever should oppose the Christian doctrine.

Nor does it appear, that he was conceited of himself: but his [p] confidence was founded in the goodness of his cause, which he thought to have such evidence of truth, that he could not but succeed in the defence of it. And when he wrote his book Of the Workmanship of God, one of his first performances in the service of religion, he supposed himself capable [q] to instruct other Christians.

Mr. Warburton thinks, that [r] Lactantius, when he confutes the established heathen religion,

[a] Nota Ciceronis vox est: Utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa convincere. l. ii. c. 3. sub fin.

[b] ——Vir in secularibus literis abundanter doctus, & in divinis scripturis notabiliter institutus, ita ut in arte dicendi post Ciceronem facile obtinuerit principatum. De Scr. Ec. cap. 56.

[c] Virtutes ipsius tres cognovi, pietatem, variam doctrinam, eloquentiam: quarum prima vel sola commendare valet horum librorum lectionem. Apparebit certe cuivis lectori bono, vere pium, Christianâque virtute non tinctum, sed imbutum, fuisse Lactantium. Heum. Pr. sub fin.

[d] Tria item animadverti ejus vitia. Primum scilicet caruit facultate criticâ, acerrime ob id notatus a Thomâ Reinesio in libro de Sibyllinis Oraculis. Id. ib.

[e] Deinde permediocris fuit noster Lactantius philosophus. Ecquis hodie non rideat ejus de Antipodibus disputationem——? ibid.

[f] Postremo fatendum ingenue, fuisse Lactantium perminutum theologum.———Ne satis quidem perceperat ecclesiæ doctrinas; recteque sibi de Christo, de Trinitate, deque aliis rebus docere videbatur, cum multa traderet a sensu veræ ecclesiæ alienissima. Ibid.

[g] Nam Filium Dei unius esse cum Patre substantiæ, unumque Deum totum Patris continere & capere, clare affirmat. En loca diserta. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. c. 14. n. 4. p. 152. al. 170.

[h] Vid. Petav. Dogm. l. i. c. v. n. 6, 7.

[i] App. T. ii. p. 779, &c.

[k] Erat scriptor ille pene rudis disciplinæ Christianæ, & in rhetoricâ melius quam in theologiâ versatus. Ib. p. 152. al. 170. Rhetor ille erat, non theologus; neque inter ecclesiæ doctores locum unquam obtinuit. ib. p. 218. al. 247.

[l] See Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation, Vol. i. p. 3.

[m] As before, p 394. Again: 'Lactantius having set up 'for a defender of Christianity.' p. 393.

[n] ——eaque [veritas] vel contemtui doctis est, quia idoneis assertoribus eget; vel odio indoctis, ŏb insitam sibi austeritatem ——succurrendum esse his erroribus credidi; ut & docti ad veram sapientiam dirigantur, & indocti ad veram religionem, l. i. c. 1. p. 4.

[o] Suscepi hoc opus,——non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant,——sed ut omnes qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profligarem. l. v. c. 4. p. 470. Vid. & l. vi. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 1.

[p] Verum ego non eloquentiâ, sed veritatis fiduciâ suscepi hoc opus, fortasse majus quam ut possit meis viribus sustineri; quod tamen, etiamsi ego defecerim, Deo, cujus est hoc munus, adjuvante, veritas ipsa complebit. &c. l. iii. c. 1. p. 234. Quod erat officium suscepti muneris, divino spiritu instruente, ac suffragante ipsâ veritate complevimus. l. vi. c. 1. in.

[q] ——apud quem [Demetrianum] nunc profiteor, nullâ me necessitate, vel rei vel temporis, impediri, quo minus aliquid excudam, quo philosophi nostræ sectæ, quam tuemur, instructiores, doctioresque in posterum fiant. De Op. Dei, c. 1 sub in.

[r] 'The eloquent Apologist——giving, in his Divine Insti- 'tutions, the last stroke to expiring Paganism, where he con-

spares the priests; but in exposing their philosophy, he is not so tender of the sophists. Nevertheless, I do not perceive, that Lactantius had any regard for heathen priests. And I apprehend, he so concludes his second book, as to shew that the [a] philosophers of his time were reputed by him the most formidable adversaries; so far as they were respected, and were in the wrong. This seems to be the reason why he argued so much against them. For a like reason Augustine, as he himself assures us, chiefly argued against the [b] Platonists.

Du Pin says, 'That [c] Lactantius is justly esteemed the Christian Cicero for his style, and 'greatly surpasseth him in his thoughts.' For certain, so it ought to be: this is honourable to the Christian religion. And I presume, that those learned moderns, who are pleased to depreciate Lactantius, as if he had little knowledge of the Christian religion, will allow as much. I shall here refer to a passage of our author, correcting a moral sentiment of Cicero; where that great heathen moralist and philosopher seems to say, 'We [d] should relieve deserving persons. 'And, says Lactantius, undeserving likewise.'

Some have said, that Lactantius took delight in opposing Cicero. However, it was not because he had not a high esteem for Cicero, as is manifest; but rather, it is likely, because there was no other person so considerable: and [e] if he was mistaken, it was not to be expected, that any other heathen should have better notions.

Certainly Lactantius is to be respected upon many accounts. The time in which he lived secures him a kind of veneration. He saw the quiet and peaceful state of the church, before Dioclesian's persecution; he was also witness of that dreadful scene, and afterwards saw the flourishing condition of Christians under Constantine. His eminent abilities recommended him to the esteem of two great emperors, of different religions. His uncommon honesty and simplicity, and earnest zeal for the Christian religion, and all truth in general, appear in his works: where also his learning is very conspicuous. But we had seen more proofs of this, if his Epistles, and other works now lost, had come down to us. He had, as it seems, a certain vehemence and impetuosity of natural temper, not uncommon in Africans, which upon some occasions hindered his considering and weighing what might be said on both sides of a question. At the same time, possibly, we are indebted to that fire, which supported him in the fatigues of acquiring knowledge, and then communicating it to others.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in the article of Lactantius, who, I think, must have been an honour and ornament to the Christian profession in his day; who employed his fine parts and extensive learning in the service of religion, without worldly views of any kind; whose works have had so many readers, and of which there have been so many editions, since the first discovery of the art of printing. It may be supposed, that a part of this writer's reputation is owing to the charms and beauty of his style: but the matter of his works is also a just recommendation. And indeed if authors desire to be read, they should aim at perspicuity at least, if not also at some neatness and elegance of expression; and not rely altogether on the importance of their argument. Cicero himself, with all his fine sentiments, upon things of great consequence, and notwithstanding his high station in the Roman commonwealth, would scarce have been universally read and admired, if his style had been rough, obscure and perplexed.

VI. Lactantius, as formerly [f] seen, blamed Cyprian for citing scripture in a work addressed to a heathen. But the fault which he imputes to Cyprian, I think, must be supposed to have consisted chiefly in quoting not only the Old, but likewise the New Testament, and that [g]

'futes the national religion, spares, as much as possible, the 'priests: but in exposing their philosophy, is not so tender of 'their sophists. For these last having no public character, 'the state was not concerned to have them managed.' Dedication of Div. Leg. V. i. p. 30.

[a] Peracta est igitur, ni fallor, magna et difficilis suscepti operis portio. —— Nunc vero major nobis ac difficilior cum philosophis proposita luctatio est, l. ii. c. 19.

[b] Ideo quippe hos potissimum elegi, quorum de uno Deo qui fecit cœlum & terram, quanto melius senserunt, tanto cæteris gloriosiores & illustriores habentur. De Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 12. Elegimus enim Platonicos, omnium philosophorum merito nobilissimos. Ib. l. x. c. 1. n. 1.

[c] Il merite à bon droit le nom de Cicéron Chrêtien.—— Quoiqu' il en soit, il est certain, que Lactance surpasse de beaucoup Cicéron pour les pensées, parceque les matières de la religion dont il traite sont infiniment au dessus des maximes de la doctrine des philosophes Bib. T. i. p. 208.

[d] Et sæpe idoneis hominibus egentibus de re familiari impertiendum. Quid est idoneis?——Non enim idoneis hominibus largiendum est, sed, quantum potest, non idoneis, &c. l. vi. c. 11. p. 582.

[e] Eodem ductus errore Seneca. Quis enim veram viam teneret, errante Cicerone? l. iii. c. 15.

[f] See p. 253.

[g] —— loquente Domino & dicente: Ne dederitis sanctum canibus.——Cypr. ad Demetr. p. 185. Ipsum denique audi loquentem, ipsum voce divinâ instruentem nos pariter & monentem: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis. Id. p. 187.

expressly. For Lactantius himself in his Institutions, and elsewhere, openly appeals sometimes to the writings of the ancient prophets; and quotes the books of the Old Testament almost as freely, as he does Cicero, or Plato, or Hydaspes, or any other heathen author whatever.

1. We saw before, in part, this writer's regard for the Jewish scriptures, when we vindicated him from the charge of Manichæism. It is fit, that we should now shew it more distinctly, and likewise observe what notice he has taken of the scriptures of the New Testament.

(1.) Lactantius says: 'All [a] scripture is divided into two Testaments; that which preceded 'the coming and passion of the Lord, called the Old Testament, consisting of the law and the 'prophets; and that which has been written since the resurrection of Christ, and is called the 'New Testament. The Jews use the Old, we the New: but they are not different; for the 'New is the accomplishment of the Old, and in both is the same testator, Christ.'

(2.) Lactantius has expressly quoted many books of the Old Testament, and the Psalms and some others very often.

(3.) He relates from the books of Moses [b] the history of the creation, the fall of man, the flood, and likewise the history of the Jews, their going down into Egypt, and their return thence: and afterwards from the other books of the Old Testament, their government by judges, and then by kings, till the Babylonish captivity, as also their deliverance thence, and their return to their own land.

(4.) Several books of Moses are [c] quoted by him, and [d] the book of Joshua, and [e] the books of the Kings. He quotes the book of Nehemiah by [f] the title of Esdras: probably, because it was reckoned the second book of Esdras; or because what he quotes was supposed to be spoken by Esdras. See Nehem. ch. ix. particularly ver. 26.

(5.) He often quotes the Psalms of David, and sometimes the Proverbs of Solomon. He likewise considers the book of Wisdom, as a writing of Solomon. I put in the margin [g] passages, which shew these several particulars.

(6.) Lactantius has quoted several of the prophets by name; as [h] Isaiah, who was sawn asunder by the Jews, and [i] Jeremiah, and [k] Daniel.

(7.) Citing Hosea, he calls him [l] the first of the twelve prophets; which shews, they were all received by him: and indeed divers others of them are quoted by him, as [m] Amos, [n] Micah, [o] Zechariah, whom he calls the last of the prophets, and [p] Malachi.

(8.) What Lactantius says of Zechariah's being the last of the prophets, is an argument, that he did not receive any Jewish books, as canonical, which were written, or allowed to be written, after those of the twelve prophets.

[a] Verum scriptura omnis in duo testamenta divisa est. Illud, quod adventum Domini passionemque antecessit, id est, Lex & Prophetæ, vetus dicitur. Ea vero, quæ post resurrectionem ejus scripta sunt, novum testamentum nominatur. Judæi veteri utuntur, nos novo. Sed tamen diversa non sunt, quia nova veteris adimpletio est, & in utroque idem testator est Christus. Inst. l. iv. c. 20. p. 420.

[b] Vid. Inst. l. ii. c. 9, 10—13. l. iv. c. 10.

[c] Sed & ipse Moses—in Deuteronomio sic scriptum reliquit. Inst. l. iv. c. 17. p. 404. De quâ tamen apertius ipse Moses in Deuteronomio ita prædicavit.—Idem rursus in Numeris, l. iv. c. 18. p. 413, 414. Item Moses in Numeris: Orietur stella ex Jacob. Epit. c. 44. fin.

[d] Item Jesus Nave successor ejus. l. iv. c. 17. p. 405.

[e] Item Helias in libro Βασιλικων tertio. L. iv. c. 11. p. 380. Item in Βασιλικων libro secundo, Propheta Nathan missus est ad David. ib. c. 13. p. 390.

[f] Hesdras etiam propheta, qui fuit ejusdem Cyri temporibus, a quo Judæi sunt restituti, sic loquitur. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380.

[g] Hunc prophetæ divino spiritu pleni prædicaverunt: quorum præcipue Salomon in libro Sapientiæ, item pater ejus cœlestium scriptor hymnorum, ambo clarissimi reges, qui Trojani belli tempora clxxx. annis antecesserunt. Epit. c. 42.

Nam & David in principio Psalmorum suorum—beatum esse ait.——Et Salomon in libro Sapientiæ,——Inst. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401, 402.

Videlicet ipse est Dei filius, qui per Salomonem, sapientissimum regem, divino spiritu plenum, locutus est ea quæ subjeci: Deus condidit me in initio viarum suarum. l. iv. c. 6. p. 365.

Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse, & eosdem prophetas, etiam iis fortasse sit notum, qui divinas literas non attigerunt, quorum alter.—Hujus pater divinorum scriptor hymnorum in Psalmo xxxii. sic ait. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

[h] Esaïas enim, quem ipsi Judæi serrâ consectum crudelissime necaverunt, ita dicit. l. iv. c. 11. p. 381.

[i] Dicit enim propheta Hieremias. ib. p. 379. & passim.

[k] Daniel quoque similia prælocutus est. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385. Vid. ib. c. 21. sub in. & alibi.

[l] Oseas quoque, primus xii. prophetarum. l. iv. c. 19. p. 419.

[m] Quâ de re Amos propheta testatur. l. iv. c. 19. p. 416.

[n] Micheas enim novam legem daturum denuntiat. l. iv. c. 17. sub in.

[o] Quare——etiam singulorum prophetarum tempora colligi possunt: quorum sane ultimus Zacharias fuit, quem constat, sub Dario rege, secundo anno ejus, octavo mense, cecinisse. l. iv. c. 5. p. 361, 362.

[p] Sicut Malachias propheta indicat dicens. l. iv. c. 11. p. 381.

(9.) He often speaks very honourably of the Jewish prophets: the fourth chapter of the first book of the Institutions is all in their favour. He argues after this manner: 'That [a] they were 'not enthusiasts, nor yet impostors or deceivers, but sincere men, and real prophets, is manifest 'from the consistence of their discourses, from the actual accomplishment of their predictions, 'from the excellence of their doctrine, and their self-denying course of life. And some of them 'were kings and princes, who are not apt to be swayed by mean ends and views.'

(10.) He says, the [b] prophets were inspired, and they taught the worship of one God only. Again, They were sent, that [c] they might teach men just sentiments concerning the divine glory and majesty. They [d] were also sent to reprove and reform mankind, and to [e] foretell things to come, particularly concerning the Christ: that when he appeared, men might believe in him.

(11.) He frequently asserts [f] the antiquity of the Jewish prophets.

(12.) He observes, that [g] the prophets often declare, in what kings reigns they lived and prophesied.

(13.) He calls their scriptures [h] sacred and divine.

2. We are not, for the reason before hinted, to expect the like plain citations of the New Testament. Nevertheless, it may be discerned, that he received most of the books in that collection, as scripture, or writings of authority. But his reserved manner will oblige to a greater prolixity in making this out, than otherwise would have been necessary.

(1.) In the passage produced not long [i] ago, we saw distinct mention made by him of the New, as well as the Old Testament.

(2.) I would likewise here refer to, and transcribe in the margin, as a general passage concerning the New Testament, what Lactantius says of one of those persons, who at the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution wrote against the Christians. Lactantius informs us, 'that [k] this writer 'endeavoured to shew the falsehood of the sacred scriptures, collecting out of them passages, 'which seemed to contradict each other; and that, such a number of them, that it might be 'suspected he had himself some time been a Christian.—But he especially abuses Peter and Paul, 'and the other disciples, as propagators of falsehood: though as that writer says, they were igno-'rant and unlearned, and some of them earned their livelihood by fishing.'

It is plain, that Lactantius here speaks of Christian scriptures, or the books of the New Testament. But I say no more of this passage at present, because another opportunity may offer to take more particular notice of it.

(3.) Lactantius relates our Saviour's conception [l] in the womb of a virgin by the power of the

[a] Atqui impleta esse, implerique quotidie, illorum vaticinia videmus. Et in unam sententiam congruens divinatio docet, non fuisse furiosos. Quis enim mentis emotæ, non modo futura præcinere, sed etiam cohærentia loqui possit? Quid ab his tam longe alienum, quam ratio fallendi, cum cæteros ab omni fraude cohiberent?——Præterea voluntas fingendi ac mentiendi eorum est, qui opes appetunt, qui lucra desiderant; quæ res procul ab illis sanctis viris abfuit.——Et hi non modo quæstum nullum habuerunt, sed etiam cruciatus atque mortem.——Quid? quod aliqui eorum principes, aut etiam reges, fuerunt, in quos cadere suspicio cupiditatis ac fraudis non potest. l. i. c. 4.

[b] Prophetæ, qui fuerunt admodum multi, unum Deum prædicant, unum loquuntur; quippe qui unius Dei spiritu pleni.—l. i. c. 4. in.

[c] Idcirco enim a Deo mittebantur, ut præcones essent majestatis ejus, & correctores pravitatis humanæ. l. i. c. 4. in.

[d] Propterea Deus prophetas ad eos misit, divino spiritu adimpletos, qui illis peccata exprobrarent, & pœnitentiam indicerent. Epit. c. 43. Vid. & Inst. l. iv. c. 11. in.

[e] Ideo prophetas ante præmisit, qui de adventu ejus prædicarent, ut, cum facta essent in eo quæcumque prædicata sunt, tunc ab hominibus & Dei Filius & Deus crederetur. Epit. cap. 49.

[f] —— quorum sane ultimus Zacharias fuit.—Quæ omnia eo profero, ut errorem suum sentiant, qui scripturam sanctam coarguere nituntur, tamquam novam & recens fictam.—— l. iv. c. 5. sub. in. Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse, & eosdem prophetas——quorum alter, qui posterius regnavit, Trojanæ urbis excidium centum & quadraginta annis antecessit. l. iv. c. 8, p. 372. Vid. Epit. c. 42.—initium facientes a prophetâ Moÿse, qui Trojanum bellum nongentis fere annis antecessit. l. iv. c. 5. p. 359.

[g] Testati sunt enim, sub quo quisque rege divini spiritûs fuerit passus instinctum. l. iv. c. 5. p. 359.

[h] Sicut sacræ literæ docent. l. ii. c. 12. p. 210. quod divinis literis proditum. ib. ut sanctæ literæ docent. ib. p. 212. Vid. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

[i] See p. 281.

[k] Composuit enim libellos duos, non contra Christianos, ——sed ad Christianos——in quibus ita falsitatem scripturæ sacræ arguere conatus est, tamquam sibi esset tota contraria. Nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eâdem disciplinâ fuisse videatur.——Præcipue tamen Paulum, Petrumque laceravit, cæterosque discipulos, tamquam fallaciæ seminatores, quos eosdem tamen rudes & indoctos fuisse testatus est. Nam quosdam eorum piscatorio artificio fecisse quæstum. l. v. c. 2.

[l] Descendens itaque de cœlo sanctus ille spiritus Dei sanctam virginem, cujus utero se insinuaret, eligit. At illa divino spiritu hausto repleta concepit, & sine ullo attactu viri repente virginalis uterus intumuit.——Item propheta Esaïas cujus verba sunt hæc: Propter hoc dabit Deus ipse vobis signum, & vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel. l. iv. c. 12. p. 383.

Apud Esaïam sic: Ecce virgo accipiet in uterum, & pariet filium, & vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod significat Nobiscum Deus. Epit. c 44. p. 115. Ed. Davis.

Holy Ghost. And he applies to that event the words of Isa. vii. 14. both in his Institutions, and in his Epitome, as St. Matthew does, ch. i. 23.

(4.) He seems also to refer to Matt. i. 21. in the Epitome, when he says, 'That[a] our Lord 'has among men two names, Jesus, which signifies Saviour, and Christ, which is the same as 'King, or anointed. He is called Saviour, because he is health and salvation to all that through 'him believe in God.' He speaks to the like purpose in the[b] Institutions.

(5.) He relates our Lord's baptism by John in the river Jordan. 'Then,' says[c] he, 'was heard 'a voice from heaven, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." And the Spirit of 'God descended upon him in the shape of a white dove. From that time he began to work 'great miracles; which are so many, that one book is not sufficient to contain them. I shall 'rehearse them,' says he, 'briefly, and in general, without names of persons, or places. In this 'enumeration of our Lord's miracles he mentions his healing all sorts of diseases by his word 'only, and immediately; that they carried their beds, who before were carried by others: that 'the blind were enabled by him to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk: 'that he healed those who were all over leprous, and also raised the dead, as out of a sleep: that 'the Jews, who saw these things, maliciously ascribed them to dæmons. [See Matt. xii. 24.] 'He particularly relates our Lord's feeding five thousand in a desert place with five loaves and 'two fishes; and that when all had been refreshed and satisfied, there were twelve baskets filled 'with the fragments that remained. He then relates our Lord's going up to a mountain, and 'ordering the disciples to take shipping, and go over to the other side of the sea before him. 'And says, that when they were in the midst of the sea, tossed with a tempest, Christ came to 'them, walking upon the sea, as upon dry land. And at another time, when he was asleep in 'the ship, and the wind was extremely boisterous, being awakened out of sleep, he quieted the 'winds and the waves, and there was a great calm.'

(6.) Here he starts an objection. 'Perhaps[d] our sacred scriptures do not speak truth, when 'they ascribe to Jesus such power and command over the wind, the seas, and all kinds of dis-'eases.'

This shews, that the gospels, from whence he takes the history of these facts, were esteemed sacred by him, and all Christians in general.

(7.) Afterwards[e] he relates largely the history of our Lord's last sufferings: 'how he was

[a] Ab hominibus tamen duobus vocabulis nuncupatur, Jesus, quod est Salvator, & Christus, quod est Rex: Salvator ideo, quia est sanatio & salus omnium, qui per eum credunt in Deum: Christus vero, &c. Epit. c. 42. in fin. p. 108. Vid. Davis. Not.

[b] Jesus quippe inter homines nominatur. Nam Christus non proprium nomen est.——Erat Judæis ante præceptum, ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent ii, qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium, vel ad regnum,——&c. l. iv. c. 7. p. 367.

[c] Cum primum cœpit adolescere, tinctus est a Joanne prophetâ in Jordane flumine.—Tunc vox audita de cœlo est: Filius meus es tu, Ego hodie genui te.——Et descendit super eum Spiritus Dei, formatus in speciem columbæ candidæ. Exinde maximas virtutes cœpit operari.——Quæ opera tam multa sunt, ut unus liber ad complectenda omnia satis non sit. Enumerabo igitur illa breviter, & generatim, sine ullâ personarum ac locorum designatione.——Quod quâcumque iter faceret, ægros, ac debiles, & omni morborum genere laborantes, uno verbo, unoque momento reddebat incolumes, adeo ut membris omnibus capti, receptis repente viribus roborati, ipsi lectulos suos portabant, in quibus fuerant paulo ante delati: claudis vero, ac pedum vitio afflictis, non modo gradiendi, sed etiam currendi dabat facultatem. Tunc quorum cæca lumina in altissimis tenebris erant, eorum oculos in pristinum restituebat aspectum. Mutorum quoque linguas in eloquium, sermonemque solvebat. Item surdorum patefactis auribus insinuabat auditum. Pollutos, ac sparsos maculis, repurgabat. Et hæc omnia non manibus aut aliquâ medelâ, sed verbo, ac jussione faciebat.——Nec satis fuit, quod vires imbecillis redderet, quod debilibus integritatem, quod ægris & languentibus sanitatem, nisi etiam mortuos suscitaret, velut e somno solutos, ad vitamque revocaret. Quæ videntes tunc Judæi dæmoniacâ fieri potentiâ arguebant: cum omnia sic futura, ut facta sunt, arcanæ illorum literæ continerent.—— Ob has ejus virtutes & opera divina, cum magnæ illum multitudines sequerentur vel debilium, vel ægrorum, vel eorum qui curandos suos offerre cupiebant, adscendit in montem quemdam desertum, ut ibi adoraret; ubi cum triduo moraretur, ac fame populus laboraret, vocavit discipulos, quærens, quantos secum cibos gestarent. At illi, quinque panes & duos pisces se in perâ habere, dixerunt. Afferri ea jussit, ac multitudinem per quinquagenos distributam discumbere. Quod cum discipuli facerent, frangebat ipse panem minutatim, carnemque piscium comminuebat: & utraque in manibus augebantur. Et cum apponi illa populo discipulis imperâsset, saturata sunt quinque hominum millia, & insuper duodecim cophini de residuis fragminibus impleti. Idem secessurus orandi gratiâ, sicut solebat, in montem, præcepit discipulis, ut naviculam sumerent, seque præcederent. At illi, urgente jam vesperâ profecti, contrario vento laborare cœperunt. Cumque jam medium fretum tenerent, tum pedibus mare ingressus consecutus est eos, tamquam in solido gradiens.——Et rursus, cum obdormisset in navi, & ventus usque ad extremum periculum sævire cœpisset, excitatus e somno, silere ventum protinus jussit, & fluctus, qui maximi ferebantur, conquiescere: statimque sub verbo ejus tranquillitas insecuta est. Inst. l. iv. c. 15. p. 395, 396, 397, 398, 399.

[d] Mentiuntur fortasse literæ sanctæ, docentes, tantam fuisse in eo potestatem, ut imperio suo cogeret ventos obsequi, maria servire, morbos cedere, inferos obedire. ib. p. 399.

[e] Quod cum sciret futurum, & subinde diceret, oportere se pati ac interfici pro salute multorum, secessit tamen cum discipulis suis,——Itaque Judas præmio illectus tradidit eum Judæis. At illi comprehensum, ac Pontio Pilato——oblatum, cruci affigi postulaverunt.——Duxerunt ergo eum flagellis

'betrayed by Judas, prosecuted before Pilate, and condemned: how he was mocked and derided, 'being struck with the palm of the hands, spit on, arrayed with a scarlet robe, and a crown of 'thorns, and then crucified between two robbers. And that[a] as he hung on the cross, he 'cried with a loud voice, and resigned his spirit. And likewise, that at the same time there was 'an earthquake, and the vail of the temple was rent: the sun also was eclipsed, and there was 'darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour. Finally[b] he proceeds to relate our Lord's burial, 'and the military guard at the sepulchre, and his resurrection on the third day, as he had fore-'told.'

(8.) Of all these things he speaks again summarily in the[c] Epitome. And in another chapter of the[d] Institutions he mentions many of our Lord's miracles.

(9.) That whole history just transcribed, is plainly taken from our gospels. And though, perhaps, it is not so easy to distinguish references to St. Mark's gospel, as to the other three, yet I suppose most will allow, that here is good proof of his receiving our four gospels, as authentic histories of Jesus Christ.

(10.) In the Epitome he seems to allude to the parable of the pharisee and the publican, which we have in Luke xviii. 9—14. 'For[e] humility,' says he, 'is dear and acceptable to God. 'And if he rather accepts a confessing sinner, than a proud righteous man; how much more 'will he approve a righteous man, who confesseth his failings, and exalt him in his heavenly king-'dom for his humility!'

(11.) He likewise says, 'that[f] God has commanded us, when we make a feast, to invite 'such as cannot invite us again, and make us a recompense:' referring, I think, to Luke xiv. 12.

(12.) He must be allowed now and then to use expressions allusive to the gospels. He speaks of[g] having the mind, or heart in heaven. Compare Matt. vi. 21. Again: 'That[h] we may be 'able to do all these things, we must despise riches, and lay up to ourselves heavenly treasures, 'where no thief may break through, nor rust corrupt, nor tyrant plunder.' See Matt. vi. 19, 20.

(13.) He may be reckoned likewise to refer to[i] what is in Matt. v. 27—32.

(14.) I believe few can make any doubt but he has an eye to what is in[k] Luke vi. 35, and[l] Luke xvi. 25, and[m] Matt. vi. 1—4, and[n] Matt. xix. 10, 11, 12.

(15.) St. John's gospel is expressly quoted by him in this manner: 'So also[o] John declares, '"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All

verberatum, &, priusquam cruci affigerent, illuserunt. Indutum enim coloris punicei veste, ac spinis coronatum, quasi regem salutaverunt, & dederunt ei cibum fellis, & miscuerunt ei aceti potionem. Post hæc conspuerunt in faciem ejus, & palmis ceciderunt. Cumque ipsi carnifices de vestimentis ejus contenderent, sortiti sunt inter se de tunicâ & pallio.——Tum suspenderunt eum inter duos noxios medium, qui ob latrocinia damnati erant, crucique affixerunt. ib. c. 18. p. 407, 408, 409, 410.

[a] Suspensus igitur atque affixus exclamavit ad Dominum voce magnâ, & ultro spiritum posuit. Et eâdem horâ terræ motus factus est, & velum templi, quod separabat duo tabernacula, scissum est in duas partes; & sol repente subductus est, & ab horâ sextâ usque in nonam tenebræ fuerunt. c. 19. p. 415.

[b] Sed quoniam prædixerat, se tertio die ab inferis resurrecturum, metuentes, ne, a discipulis surrepto & amoto corpore, universi resurrexisse eum crederent, & fieret multo major in plebe confusio; detraxerunt eum cruci, & conclusum in monumento firmiter militari custodiâ circumdederunt. Verum tertio die ante lucem terræ motu facto, repente patefactum est sepulcrum, & custodibus, quos attonitos obstupefecerat pavor, nihil videntibus, integer sepulcro ac vivus egressus,——in sepulcro vero nihil repertum est, nisi exuviæ, quibus involutum corpus incluserant. ib. c. 19. p. 417.

[c] Epit. c. 45, 46, 47. [d] l. iv. c. 26.

[e] Humilitas enim cara & amabilis Deo est, qui cum magis suscipiat peccatorem confitentem, quam justum superbum; quanto magis justum suscipiet confitentem, eumque in regnis cœlestibus faciet pro humilitate sublimem. Epit. c. 17.

[f] Idem Deus præcepit, ut, si quando cœnam paraverimus, eos in convictum adhibeamus, qui revocare non possunt, & vicem reddere, &c. l. vi. c. 12. p. 585.

[g] Quisquis enim aut Deum colendum esse intelligit, aut immortalitatis spem sibi propositam habet, mens ejus in cœlo est. l. iii. c. 27. p. 333.

[h] Ergo, ut hæc omnia, quæ Deo placent, facere possimus, contemnenda est pecunia, & ad cœlestes transferenda thesauros, ubi nec fur effodiat, nec rubigo consumat, nec tyrannus eripiat. Epit. cap. 65.

[i] ——addantur & illa,——adulterum esse, qui a marito dimissam duxerit, & eum, qui præter crimen adulterii uxorem dimiserit, ut alteram ducat.——Præterea non tantum adulterium esse vitandum, sed etiam cogitationem; ne quis adspiciat alienam & animo concupiscat. Adulteram enim fieri mentem, si——l. vi. c. 23. p. 630. Vid. & Epit. c. 66.

[k] Id enim juste, id pie, id humane fit, quod sine spe recipiendi feceris. l. vi. c. 11. p. 583.

[l] Quia jam bonis, quæ maluerunt, potiti sunt. l. vii. c. 11. in.

[m] Nec tamen, si quid boni fecerimus, gloriam captemus ex eo. Monet enim Deus operatorem justitiæ non oportere esse jactantem, ne non——habeatque jam pretium gloriæ, quod captavit, nec præmium cœlestis illius ac divinæ mercedis accipiat. l. vi. c. 18. sub fin.

[n] Quod quidem Deus non ita fieri præcepit, tamquam adstringat.——Si quis hoc, inquit, facere potuerit, habebit eximiam, incomparabilemque mercedem. l vi. c. 23. p. 630.

[o] Joannes quoque ita tradidit: In principio erat Verbum, & Verbum erat apud Deum, & Deus erat Verbum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, & sine ipso factum est nihil. l. iv. c. 8. f.

'things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made.'" John i. 1, 2, 3, which [a] last words are also in the Epitome.

(16.) He refers to John ii. 20, where [b] the Jews speak of their temple having been forty and six years in building. Compare Mark xiv. 58.

(17.) He observes, that [c] the "Father loveth the Son, and giveth him all things:" referring, it is likely, to John iii. 35, and ch. v. 20. And that the Father and the Son are one, referring, probably, to John x. 30. I have transcribed the passage at the bottom of the page.

(18.) He plainly has an eye to those places in St. John's gospel, where [d] Christ speaks of his having power to lay down his life, and to take it up again. See particularly John x. 18.

(19.) It is not unlikely that he refers to the history of our Lord's raising Lazarus in John xi. when he says, that [e] Christ raised some from death, calling them by name. See ver. 43.

3. I apprehend, there is good reason to think, that Lactantius received and made use of the book of the Acts. But since he has not expressly quoted it, I am obliged to transcribe several passages, that my readers may judge for themselves.

(1.) He says, 'that [f] after his resurrection, Christ having given commandment to his disciples, 'concerning preaching the gospel, on a sudden a cloud surrounded him, and carried him up to 'heaven on the fortieth day of his passion.' See Acts i. 3—9.

(2.) The like to which comes over again in the abridgment of the Institutions, and is there expressed in this manner: 'Going [g] therefore into Galilee, after his resurrection, he again 'gathered together his disciples, whom fear had separated, and having given commandment 'concerning the things to be observed by them, and appointed, that the gospel should be 'preached all over the world, he breathed into them the Holy Ghost, [see John xx. 22.] and 'gave them power to work miracles, that they might promote the salvation of men by their 'works, as well as by their words. And at length on the fiftieth day he returned to the Father, 'being taken up in a cloud.'

Here Lactantius says the fiftieth day. Dr. Davies in his notes upon the place says, it should be the fortieth day, and that the number fifty is owing to the fault of the transcriber. There is the more reason, he says, to think so, because in the parallel place in the Institutions, before cited, is forty days, agreeably to Acts i. 3.

(3.) In Acts ii. 27, St. Peter, speaking of our Lord's resurrection, quotes words out of the 16th Psalm, which he applies to that event, as does Lactantius likewise in his [h] Institutions, and [i] Epitome.

(4.) St. Paul says, Acts xiii. 27. "For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which are read every sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him." Lactantius several times [k] expresseth himself as if he had an eye to this text.

[a] ——solus Deus nuncupatus. Omnia enim per ipsum, & sine ipso nihil. Epit. c. 42.

[b] Item, quod dixerat: Si solveritis hoc templum, quod ædificatum est annis 46, ego illud in triduo sine manibus suscitabo. l. iv. c. 18. p. 408.

[c] Qui Filium non agnovit, nec Patrem potuit agnoscere. ——Nec tamen sic habendum est, tamquam duo sint Dii. ——Pater enim ac Filius unum sunt. Cum enim Pater Filium diligat, omniaque ei tribuat, & Filius fideliter obsequatur, nec velit quidquam, nisi quod Pater, & quæ sequuntur. Epit. c. 49.

[d] Nec hoc cuiquam ignorandum est, quod ipse ante de suâ passione prædicans, etiam id notum fecerit, habere se potestatem, cum vellet, deponendi spiritum, & resumendi. l. iv. c. 26. p. 437.

[e] Jacentia mortuorum corpora erexit, eosque nominibus suis inclamatos a morte revocavit. l. iv. c. 26. p. 434.

[f] Ordinato vero discipulis suis evangelio, ac nominis sui prædicatione, circumfudit se repente nubes, eumque in cœlum sustulit, quadragesimo post passionem die. l. iv. c. 21. in.

[g] Profectus igitur in Galilæam post resurrectionem, discipulos suos rursus, quos metus in fugam verterat, congregavit, datisque mandatis, quæ observari vellet, & ordinatâ evangelii prædicatione per totum orbem, inspiravit in eos spiritum sanctum, ac dedit eis potestatem miracula faciendi, ut in salutem hominum tam factis, quam verbis operarentur. Ac tum demum quinquagesimo die remeavit ad Patrem, sublatus in nubem. Epit. c. 47.

[h] Illum autem apud inferos non remansurum, sed die tertio resurrecturum, prophetæ cecinerant. David in Psalmo xvi. Non derelinques animam meam apud inferos, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre interitum. l. iv. c. 19. p. 418.

[i] Ipsum vero resurrecturum die tertio jam olim prophetæ fuerant prolocuti. David in Psalmo xvi. Non derelinques animam meam ad inferos, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Epit. c. 47.

[k] Sicut etiam voces prophetarum, quæ cum——lectæ fuissent a populo Judæorum, nec tamen intellectæ sunt,——l. iv. c. 15. fin.

Cum igitur ea, quæ Deus fieri voluit, quæ per prophetas suos multis sæculis ante prædixit, Christus impleret, ob ea incitati, & divinas literas nescientes, coiverunt, ut Deum suum condemnarent. ib. c. 18. in.

Quid amplius jam de facinoribus Judæorum dici potest, quam excæcatos tum fuisse, atque insanabili furore correptos, qui hæc quotidie legentes neque intellexerunt, neque, quin facerent, cavere potuerunt. ib. c. 19. in.

Harum literarum igitur immemores, quas legebant, &c. Epit. c. 45.

(5.) He may be supposed to refer to [a] St. Paul's argument at Athens, which is in Acts xvii.

(6.) In Acts xiv. 22, Paul and Barnabas teach the disciples, that "we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." To this text it may be thought that [b] Lactantius refers, unless he has an eye to 2 Tim. iii. 12. "Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."

4. There are not in Lactantius many clear allusions, or particular references to epistles of apostles.

(1.) It may be argued however, that he was acquainted with the Acts, and the epistles of the apostles, from [c] the clear manner in which he speaks of the rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles under the gospel. But he quotes only the prophets of the Old Testament, when he speaks of this matter.

(2.) Lactantius often speaks of [d] Christ's coming again to judge the quick and the dead. But that being mentioned in [e] several books of the New Testament, we cannot say to which book, or what text, he particularly refers.

(3.) Speaking of good actions, he says: 'These [f] are works, these are offices of compassion, 'which if a man performs, he offers a true and acceptable sacrifice to God.' Perhaps he refers 'to Rom. xii. 1, 2.

(4.) In another place he may be supposed to have an eye to [g] the prudent and generous conduct, recommended in Rom. xii. 14, and 18—21.

(5.) He says, 'The divine scriptures [h] assure us, that the thoughts of philosophers are foolish:' and [i] 'that philosophy is foolishness with God.' St. Paul says, 1 Cor. i. 20. "Has not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" and ch. iii, 19, 20, "For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."——And again, "the Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain." Which last words are a quotation from Psal. xciv. 11. And compare Col. ii. 8.

(6.) It is likely, that he refers to 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, in words which I put in the [k] margin.

(7.) He says, 'that [l] Christ sits at the right-hand of God, and will subdue his enemies under 'his feet.' A like expression is in 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25, and also in Heb. x. 12, 13. "But this man——sat down on the right-hand of God: from thenceforth expecting, till his enemies be made his footstool."

(8.) He seems to refer to [m] the exhortation in Gal. vi. 2. "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

(9.) I suppose no one will hesitate to allow that he refers to Eph. iv. 26, when he says: 'God [n] has enjoined us not to let the sun go down upon our wrath.'

[a] Non ergo utitur his omnibus, quæ templis, diisque fictilibus inferuntur.——Illis autem, quæ in usum tribuit homini Deus, ipse non indiget,——non indiget templo, non indiget simulacro. Epit. c. 58.——per illum vivimus, per illum in hospitium hujus mundi intravimus——in hujus domo habitamus, hujus familia sumus.——De Ira Dei, c. 23. p. 824, 825.

[b] ——& postea universos, qui eorum disciplinam secuti essent, acerba & nefanda passuros. l. v. c. 3. p. 464. Quæ omnia tolerare ac perpeti necesse est eos, qui veritatem sequuntur. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435.

[c] Exhæredatos autem esse Judæos, quia Christum reprobaverunt, & nos, qui sumus ex gentibus, in eorum locum adoptatos, scripturis adprobatur. Jeremias ita dicit.——Malachias, ——Esaias quoque. Epit. c. 48. Si ergo Judæi a Deo rejecti sunt, sicut sacrarum scripturarum fides indicat; gentes autem, sicut videmus, adscitæ, ac de tenebris hujus vitæ secularis, deque vinculis dæmonum liberatæ.——ib. c. 49. in. Conf. Instit. l. iv. c. 20.

[d] Ultimis enim temporibus statuit de vivis ac mortuis judicare. l. ii. c. 17. sub in. Veniet ergo summi ac maximi Dei filius, ut vivos ac mortuos judicet. l. vii. c. 24. in.

[e] Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.

[f] Hæc sunt opera, hæc officia misericordiæ, quæ si quis obierit, verum & acceptum sacrificium Deo immolabit. Hæc litabilior victima est apud Deum, qui non pecudis sanguine, sed hominis pietate, placatur. Epit. c. 65.

[g] ——Maledicenti bene dicto respondeat.——Quin etiam caveat diligenter, ne quando inimicum suâ culpâ faciat. Et si quis exstiterit tam protervus, qui bono & justo faciat injuriam; clementer & moderate ferat, & ultionem suam non sibi assumat, sed judicio Dei reservet. l. vi. c. 18. p. 609.

[h] Cum enim sit nobis divinis literis traditum, cogitationes philosophorum stultas esse. l. iii. c. 1. p. 235.

[i] ——terrena, & de terrâ ficta contemnant. Philosophiam, quæ apud Deum stultitia est, pro nihilo computent. Epit. c. 52.

[k] Hujus præmii cœlestis ac sempiterni participes esse non possunt, qui fraudibus, rapinis, circumscriptionibus conscientiam suam polluerunt, &c. De Ira Dei, c. 23. sub fin.

[l] Cum igitur ad dexteram Dei sedeat, calcaturus inimicos, qui eum cruciaverunt.——Epit. c. 48. in.

[m] Nos ergo,——quibus solis a Deo veritas revelata, & cœlitus missa sapientia est, faciamus, quæ jubet illuminator noster Deus: sustineamus invicem. l. vi. c. 18. prop. in.

[n] Præcepit Deus, non occidere solem super iram nostram. l. vi. c. 18. sub fin. Non igitur in totum prohibet irasci: ——sed prohibet in irâ permanere.——Deinde rursus, cum irasci quidem, sed tamen non peccare, præcepit, non utique evellit iram radicitus, sed temperavit. Cum ille homines ante solis occasum reconciliari jubeat. De Ira Dei, c. 21. p. 819.

(10.) He says, 'that [a] a good man, following the instructions of the gospel, will not be bitter 'toward his child, or his servant; knowing, that he also has a father and a master.' It is likely, that here is a reference to the admonitions in Eph. vi. 4—9, and Col. iii. 21, 22, 24, and iv. 1.

(11.) Perhaps he refers to Philip. ii. 6—9, when he says, that [b] Christ being sent to open the 'way of salvation to the meanest, he humbled himself, that he might help them. He therefore 'underwent that kind of death, which is wont to be inflicted on mean people, that all might be 'able to imitate him. Hence also he was highly exalted.'

(12.) Perhaps, among other plain references to several things in the Revelation, he may refer to [c] 2 Thess. ii. 4. 9.

(13.) Lactantius has some observations and arguments which are also in the epistle to the Hebrews. Whether he borrowed them thence, is not easy to say.

(14.) In one place he argues after this manner: 'From [d] which reasons it appears, that all the 'prophets declared concerning Christ, that the time would come, when being, as to the body, 'born of the seed of David, he should erect an eternal temple to God, which is called his church, 'and that he should gather all nations to the worship of God. This is the faithful house, the im-'mortal temple. Of which great and eternal temple, because Christ is the builder, it is of necessity 'that he gave it in an everlasting priesthood. Nor is it possible to enter the temple, and obtain 'the sight of God, but by him who erected the temple. David teacheth the same thing in the '110th Psalm, saying, "Before the morning star I begot thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will 'not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek."'

These thoughts of Lactantius may be compared with some texts in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as ch. iii, 3—6. and ch. v. 5, 6. and vii. 21. And besides, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks likewise of Christ having an "unchangeable," or eternal priesthood, ch. vii. 24, and often of our "coming to God through him." See ch. iv. 16. vii. 25.

(15.) Lactantius has an argument [e] extremely resembling that in Heb. viii. 7—13, and quotes the same text of Jeremiah, which is there quoted, as well as some others.

(16.) He says of Christ, in the words of Heb. vii. 3, that [f] he was "without father, and without mother."

(17.) He says, 'that [g] till a testator is dead, a testament can be of no force:' which is also in Heb. ix. 16, 17, but that is an obvious thought.

(18.) He has an argument [h] to patience under afflictions, much resembling that in Heb. xii. 5—10.

(19.) Frederic Spanheim, in his Dissertation concerning the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, alleges not any passages from Lactantius, not [i] expecting in him testimonies to particular books of scripture. Nevertheless he argues it to be probable, that [k] Lactantius received this Epistle, because it was, he says, generally received as Paul's by the Latin Christians after his time.

[a] Non sit asper in filium, neque in servum. Meminerit, quod & ipse patrem habeat & dominum. Epit. c. 64.

[b] Nam cum ad hoc missus esset, ut humillimis quibusque viam panderet, ad salutem, se ipse humilem fecit, ut eos liberaret. Suscepit ergo id genus mortis, quod solet humilibus irrogari, ut omnibus facultas daretur imitandi.—His etiam illud accidit, quod passione ac morte susceptâ sublimem fieri oportebat. Adeo illum crux & re & significatione exaltavit, ut omnibus majestas ejus ac virtus cum ipsâ passione notuerit. Epit. c. 51.

[c] Rex vero ille teterrimus erit quidem, & ipse, sed mendaciorum, propheta. Et seipsum constituet ac vocabit Deum, & se coli jubebit, ut Dei filium. l. vii. c. 17. p. 708.

[d] Quibus ex rebus apparet, prophetas omnes denuntiâsse de Christo, fore aliquando, ut ex genere David corporaliter natus, constitueret æternum templum Deo, quod appellatur ecclesia, & universas gentes ad religionem Dei veram convocaret. Hæc est domus fidelis, hoc immortale templum,——cujus templi & magni & æterni quoniam Christus fabricator fuit, necesse est, habeat in eo sacerdotium sempiternum. Nec potest, nisi per eum qui constituit templum, ad adytum templi, & ad conspectum Dei perveniri. David in Psalmo cx. id ipsum docet, dicens: "Ante luciferum genui te. Juravit Dominus, & non pœnitebit eum: Tu es sacerdos, &c. l. iv. c. 14. in.

[e] Sicut Hieremias propheta testatur: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, & consummabo domui Israel & domui Juda testamentum novum.——Nam quod superius ait, consummaturum se domui Juda testamentum novum; ostendit, vetus illud testamentum, quod per Mosen est datum, non fuisse perfectum: id autem, quod per Christum dari deberet, consummatum fore. l. iv. c. 20. p. 421.

[f] Idcirco etiam Filium nasci oportuit, ut ipse fieret ἀπάτωρ, atque ἀμήτωρ, &c. l. iv. c. 13. p. 387.

[g] ——quia nisi testator mortuus fuerit, nec confirmari testamentum potest, nec sciri, quid in eo scriptum sit; quia clausum & obsignatum est. l. iv. c. 20. p. 420.

[h] Quare nemini mirum debet videri, si pro nostris sæpe delictis castigamur a Deo. Imo vero cum vexamur ac premimur, tum maxime gratias agimus indulgentissimo patri, quod corruptelam nostram non patitur longius procedere, sed plagis ac verberibus emendat. Ex quo intelligimus, esse nos Deo curæ: quoniam, cum peccamus, irascitur. l. v. c. 22. p. 532.

[i] Paulum epistolæ auctorem nec affirmat, nec negat, totus in gentibus confutandis. Spanh. Opp. T. ii. p. 201. n. vi.

[k] Interim epistolam ad Hebræos adscripsisse Paulo, vel ex omnium fere Latinorum, quotquot etiam ex Afris, post Lactantium, scripsere, consensu colligimus. ibid.

5. Doubtless Lactantius admitted the authority of all those catholic Epistles, which were universally received by Christians all along. But it is not easy to perceive in his works references to any of them. However, I shall observe a few particulars.

(1.) 'If [a] any one lack food, let us give it him: if we see any one naked, let us clothe him: 'if any one is oppressed by the powerful, let us rescue him. Let our dwelling be open to 'strangers, and such as have no home: let us not fail to defend and relieve the widow and the 'fatherless. It is a noble act of compassion, to redeem such as have been carried into captivity 'by enemies, as also to visit and comfort the sick and the poor.' See James i. 27, and ch. ii. 13, 14, 15. But it must be owned, that there are also like expressions in other books of the New Testament: as Matt. xxv. 42—44. 1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2.

(2.) St. James says, ch. ii. 19. "The dæmons also believe, and tremble." Lactantius has a like [b] observation.

(3.) St. James, ch. v. 20, speaks of "converting a sinner from the error of his way, and saving a soul from death." Lactantius has like [c] expressions.

(4.) He says, 'that [d] Jesus is health and salvation to all those, who by him do believe in God:' which resembles 1 Pet. i. 21.

(5.) St. Peter says, 1 Ep. v. 8. "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour." Lactantius in an argument to sobriety, calls [e] Satan 'our adversary,' and insists upon his dangerous temptations to intemperance. There are some other places, where [f] he seems to have an eye to that text of St. Peter.

(6.) St. Peter, 2 Ep. i. 14, has these words: "Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has showed me:" which thing is also spoken of John xxi. 18. Lactantius observes, 'that [g] the apostles of Christ did not only suffer death for the 'gospel, but they likewise knew it beforehand, and foretold it.' Whether he refers to that text of St. Peter, or to some text of St. Paul, where he speaks of expecting death, or to both, we cannot certainly say. See 2 Tim. iv. 6.

(7.) Lactantius says, 'He [h] that does not acknowledge the Son, neither can he acknowledge 'the Father.' Which is very agreeable to 1 John ii. 23. But there is somewhat resembling that observation in words of our Lord, John viii. 19, and in xiv. 1—7.

(8.) Speaking of Christians, he says, 'No [i] evil can so affright us, as to hinder us from keeping 'ing the faith that has been delivered to us.' But we cannot be sure that he refers to Jude, verse 3.

6. That Lactantius received and respected the book of the Revelation, is evident from what he writes about Christ's coming to reign a thousand years upon this earth. I refer in the margin to some places in [k] the Institutions, and [l] the Epitome, where he plainly borrows from the Revelation.

(1.) Moreover he expressly cites it. 'The [m] Son of God,' says he, 'has a name known to 'none but himself, and the Father, as John teacheth in the Revelation:' undoubtedly intending Rev. xix. 12. "And he had a name, which no man knew but himself."

(2.) He quotes the book very respectfully, saying, 'The [n] divine scriptures call the future 'everlasting punishment of bad men the second death.' See Rev. ii. 11.

[a] Si quis victu indiget, impertiamus: si quis nudus occurrerit, vestiamus: si quis a potentiore injuriam sustinet, eruamus. Pateat domicilium nostrum peregrinis, vel indigentibus tecto. Pupillis defensio, viduis tutela nostra non desit. Redimere ab hoste captivos magnum misericordiæ opus est. Item ægros pauperes visitare atque fovere. Epit. c. 65.

[b] Nam & angeli Deum metuunt—& dæmones reformidant Deum, quia torquentur ab eo & puniuntur. l. vii. c. 21. prop. in.

[c] Quid igitur? Operamne perdemus? Minime. Nam si lucrari hos a morte, ad quam concitassime tendunt, non potuerimus: si ab illo itinere devio ad vitam lucemque revocare, ——nostros tamen confirmabimus. l. v. c. 1. p. 457.

[d] Salvator ideo, quia est sanatio & salus omnium, qui per eum credunt in Deum. Epit. c. 42. sub fin.

[e] Scit ergo adversarius ille noster, quanta sit vis hujus cupiditatis.——Objicit quippe oculis imitabiles formas, suggerit fomenta, & vitiis pabulum subministrat. l. vi. c. 22. p. 625.

[f] ——ne quando in laqueos adversarii nostri—incidamus. l. iv. c. 30. p. 448. Nam & ille colluctator & adversarius noster, scis, quam sit astutus, & idem ipse violentus, sicuti nunc videmus. De Opif. c. i. p. 830.

[g] Et qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam, morituros esse se, & scierint & prædixerint. l. v. c. 3. p. 464.

[h] Nec sibi de summo Deo vel Judæi vel philosophi blandiantur. Qui Filium non agnovit, nec Patrem potuit agnoscere. Epit. c. 49. prop. in.

[i] Nullus nos metus, nullus terror inflectat, quo minus traditam nobis fidem custodiamus. Epit. c. 66.

[k] Vid. Inst. l. vii. c. 17. [l] Epit. c. 73, 74.

[m] Hujus nomen nulli est notum, nisi ipsi & Patri, sicut docet Johannes in Revelatione. Epit. c. 42. sub fin.

[n] Is vero damnatus æternam luit pœnam, quam divinæ literæ secundam mortem nominant. l. vii. c. 10. p. 679. Eam pœnam secundam mortem nominamus. l. ii. c. 12. p. 206.

We saw before what Lactantius says of all Scripture consisting of the Old and the New Testament. This collection he calls [a] divine scripture, [b] sacred books, [c] scriptures of truth, archives [d] of sacred scripture, word of God, and the like: sometimes by such expressions particularly intending the Old, at other times the New Testament. 'Bring me a man,' says [e] he, 'who is 'passionate, abusive, ungovernable; with a few words of God I will make him as meek as a 'lamb.' He also frequently calls them [f] heavenly scriptures.

(1.) And though Lactantius, for a reason formerly assigned, scrupled to quote the New Testament, as decisive: he doubtless so esteemed it, in like manner as he did the Old, which he frequently quotes, as of authority. 'But [g] why do I strive to prove the immortality of the soul 'by arguments, when we have divine testimonies?' 'For the sacred scriptures and the words 'of the prophets teach it.' And in another place to the like purpose he says, 'he [h] will prove 'the future rewards of virtue by probable arguments of reason, and by testimonies of the divine 'scriptures.' And in many of the passages just cited, and transcribed by me in the margin, the epithets, sacred and divine, are given by him to the scriptures of the New Testament. And referring to the sublime moral directions of the Christian revelation, which are either in the gospels, or the epistles, he not seldom introduces them in this respectful manner: God [i] commands us not to boast of good works done by us, and the like.

(2.) Lactantius more than once intimates, that [k] the celestial scriptures were despised and derided by many heathens, for want of elegance and politeness of style. As for himself, he approves of the style of Scripture, as it is: saying, that [l] it is the effect of wise design. Divine things are delivered to us without artificial ornaments, in the language of the people, that all might understand what God spake to all.

(3.) By which it may be perceived, that Lactantius was not for concealing the scriptures from men of any condition. And indeed he says in another place, 'If [m] any one desires farther 'information upon the point, or does not entirely credit me, let him go to the sacred treasury 'of the celestial scriptures.'

(4.) He has another just observation concerning the concise authority, with which things are usually delivered in scripture. 'It [n] is such as became God, when speaking to men. Many 'reasons and arguments are needless, and would have been improper, and unbecoming the 'divine majesty.' Seneca has a like [o] observation.

[a] Docent autem divinæ literæ non extingui animas, sed aut pro justitiâ præmio affici, aut pœnâ pro sceleribus sempiternâ. l. iii. c. 19. p. 302.

[b] Sed tamen sanctæ literæ docent; in quibus cautum est, illum Dei filium, Dei esse sermonem. l. iv. c. 8. p. 379. Mentiuntur fortasse literæ sanctæ, docentes tantam fuisse in eo potestatem, ut imperio suo cogeret ventos, &c. ib. c. 15. p. 399.

[c] Nullas enim literas veritatis attigerant. l. ii. c. 10. p. 195. Sed videlicet Græci, qui sacras veritatis literas non attigerant. l. iii. c. 16. p. 288.

[d] ——ante diem septimam Calendarum Aprilium Judæi Christum cruci affixerunt. Hic rerum textus, hic ordo in arcanis sanctarum literarum continetur. l. iv. c. 10. p. 379.

[e] See before, p. 267. note [e]

[f] ——quos vera cœlestium literarum doctrina non imbuit. l. iv. c. 22. in. Quidam vero non satis cœlestibus literis eruditi. l. iv. c. 30. p.

[g] Sed quid argumentis colligimus æternas esse animas, quum habeamus testimonia divina? Id enim sacræ literæ & voces prophetarum docent. Epit. c. 71.

[h] Satis & huic parti faciamus, tum testimoniis divinarum literarum; tum etiam probabilibus argumentis.——l. vii. c. i. p. 646.

[i] Idem Deus præcepit, ut si quando cœnam paraverimus. ——l. vi. c. 12. sub in. Monet enim Deus operatorem justitiæ, non oportere esse jactantem.——l. vi. c. 18. prop. in. Quod quidem ita Deus præcepit.——l. vi. c. 23. p. 630.—— faciamus quæ jubet illuminator noster, Deus. l. v. c. 18. prop. in. Præcepit Deus, non occidere solem super iram nostram. ib. sub fin.

[k] Inde est, quod scriptis cœlestibus, quia videntur incompta, non facile credunt, qui aut ipsi sunt diserti, aut diserta legere malunt, nec quærunt vera, sed dulcia.——Ita respuunt veritatem, dum sermonis suavitate capiuntur. Epit. c. 62. Nam hæc in primis causa est, cur apud sapientes & doctos & principes hujus sæculi, scriptura sancta fide careat, quod prophetæ communi ac simplici sermone, ut ad populum, sunt locuti. Contemnuntur itaque ab iis, qui nihil audire vel legere, nisi expolitum ac disertum, volunt——Non credunt ergo divinis, quia fuco carent: sed ne illis quidem, qui ea interpretantur, quia sunt & ipsi aut omnino rudes, aut certe parum docti. l. v. c. 1. p. 458.

[l] Adsueti enim dulcibus & politis sive orationibus sive carminibus divinarum literarum simplicem communemque sermonem pro sordido aspernantur. Num igitur Deus, & mentis & vocis & linguæ artifex, diserte loqui non potest? Immo vero summa providentia carere fuco voluit ea, quæ divina sunt, ut omnes intelligerent ea, quæ ipse omnibus loquebatur. l. vi. c. 21.

[m] —— ut testimoniis utamur, immensum est. Si quis illa desiderat, aut nobis minus credit, adeat ad ipsum sacrarium cœlestium literarum. Epit. c. 70. al. 72. p. 237. ed. Davis.

[n] Quæ quidem tradita sunt breviter, ac nude. Nec enim decebat aliter: ut, cum Deus ad hominem loqueretur, argumentis assereret suas voces, tamquam fides ei non haberetur: sed, ut oportuit, est locutus, quasi rerum omnium maximus judex, cujus non est argumentari, sed pronuntiare. Verum ipse ut Deus. l. iii. c. 1. p. 235.

[o] In hac re dissentio a Possidonio. Non probo, quod Platonis legibus adjecta principia sunt. Legem enim brevem esse oportet, quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emissa

(5.) He has an argument in behalf of the Credibility of the Evangelical History, in answer to one of the heathen authors, who in his time wrote against the Christians: 'This [a] history,' says he, 'is true. For it is intirely uniform, and consistent throughout, though written by illiterate and 'ignorant men. Nor did they invent, for the sake of gain, or any other worldly advantage; for 'they taught and practised the strictest rules of self-denial. They not only died in testimony 'to the doctrine they preached, but they knew before-hand, that they must die for it, and fore-'told their death. And they declared likewise, that all others who received their doctrine, must 'suffer persecution.'

VII. It will be some addition to our trouble, to consider, whether Lactantius quotes any books, which are not a part of the present received canons of the Christians, with the like regard to what he has shewn to those already mentioned.

1. And it must be owned, that he has frequently quoted in his Divine Institutions the Sibylline Verses, or the Poems of the Sibyls, and some writings of the Hydaspes, and Hermes Trismegistus; or, however, writings ascribed to them: and once a book, entitled the Preaching of Peter.

2. The Sibylline verses more especially are quoted by him. He considers them, as containing predictions concerning Christ, and some of them very plain. He makes use of them, as arguments for the truth of the history of things recorded in the sacred Scripture, and believed and taught by Christians. Nevertheless he did not reckon them a part of those books which were of authority with Christians. A few quotations from him may render this evident.

3. 'The Sybil [b] testifies, that man is the work of God. The same is contained in the sacred 'scriptures.' And soon after: 'As [c] the sacred scriptures teach, and likewise the Erythræan 'Sibyl.' Therefore the Sibylline poems were not a part of scripture.

4. Though the Sibyls, according to him, foretold many future things, he does not allow them the title and character of prophets, in the most honourable sense of the word. 'That [d] these 'things,' says he, 'were to come to pass, is declared in the words of the prophets, and in the 'Sibylline poems.' And exactly to the same purpose in the [e] Epitome. Again: 'Epicurus, 'who [f] denied a future state, is confuted not only by the rest of the philosophers, and the com-'mon opinion, but likewise by the answers of oracles, the poems of the Sibyls, and the divine 'words of the prophets.' I put in the margin [g] another like place.

5. Moreover, though Lactantius thought fit to fetch arguments from these writings, in support of the Christian religion against heathens, it can never be suspected, that he allowed them canonical authority, because he ascribed their predictions to the instinct of dæmons. 'The [h] 'prophets,' says he, 'foretold these things by the Spirit of God: the diviners, as Hydaspes, 'Hermes, the Sibyl, by the impulse of dæmons:' that is, evil spirits. For, as Origen assures us, with [i] Christians, all dæmons were so reputed: they did not call any good beings dæmons.

6. That Lactantius calls all those writers vates, or diviners, we have just seen. In the like

divinitus vox sit. Jubeat, non disputet. Nihil videtur mihi frigidius, nihil ineptius, quam lex cum prologo. Senec. Ep. 94. T. ii. p. 446, 447. Amst. 1672.

[a] Abfuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas & astutia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut quis possit indoctus apta inter se & cohærentia fingere, cum philosophorum doctissimi, Plato & Aristoteles, & Epicurus & Zenon, ipsi sibi repugnantia & contraria dixerint? Hæc est enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohærere non possint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera est, quadrat undique, ac sibi tota consentit, & ideo persuadet.——Non igitur quæstûs & commodi gratia religionem istam commenti sunt; quippe & præceptis & re ipsâ vitam secuti sunt, quæ & voluptatibus caret, & omnia, quæ habentur in bonis, spernit: & qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam morituros esse se, & scierint & prædixerint, & postea universos, qui eorum disciplinam secuti essent, acerba & nefanda passuros. l. v. c. 3. in.

[b] Sibylla hominem Dei opus esse testatur.—— Eadem sanctæ literæ continent. l. ii. c. 11. p. 202, 203.

[c] —— sicut sacræ literæ docent, & Sibylla Erythræa.—— ib. c. 12 p. 210.

[d] Hæc autem sic futura fuisse, & prophetarum vocibus, & Sibyllinis carminibus denuntiatum est. l. iv. c. 18. p. 410.

[e] Quæ omnia & in Prophetarum libris, & in carminibus Sibyllinis, prædicta invenimus. Ep. c. 45.

[f] Quid quod idem animas extinguibiles facit? quem refellunt non modo philosophi, & publica persuasio, verum etiam responsa vatum, carmina Sibyllarum, ipsæ denique divinæ voces prophetarum. Epit. c. 36.

[g] Id enim sacræ literæ ac voces Prophetarum docent. Quod si cui parum id videtur, legat carmina Sibyllarum. Apollinis quoque Milesii responsa consideret. Epit. c. 70. al. 71. p. 235. Davis.

[h] Hæc ita futura esse, cum prophetæ omnes ex Dei spiritu, tum etiam vates ex extinctu dæmonum cecinerunt.——Sed & illud non sine dæmonum fraude subtractum est, missum iri a Patre tunc filium Dei,—quod Hermes tamen non dissimulavit.——Sibyllæ quoque non aliter fore ostendunt. l. vii. c. 18.

[i] Κατα μεν ȣν ἡμας, τȣς λεγοντας, παντας δαιμονας ειναι φαυλȣς. Or. contr. Cels. l. viii. T. 1. p. 770. E. F. Benedict.

manner he speaks of them in other [a] places. That under that title and character the Sibyls are included, is most manifest from a [b] passage, which I place at the bottom of the page.

7. His reasons for frequently quoting these writings, and his views therein, appear, I think, in this passage of the seventh book of the Institutions: 'I [c] have proved the immortality of the 'soul by reason. It remains, that I produce testimonies to the same doctrine: nevertheless, I 'shall not now cite the prophets,——but such witnesses rather, as they cannot refuse, who as 'yet know not the truth.' After which he proceeds to allege Hermes Trismegistus, an oracle of Apollo, and the Sibylline poems. He speaks to the like purpose in the first book of the [d] Institutions.

8. I have already several times [e] had occasion to take notice of these Sibylline books, and of the use which Lactantius, in particular, has made of them. I would add here, that Lactantius having shewn what was the number of Sibyls, according [f] to accounts given by Varro, and several other learned heathen authors, informs us, what Sibylline books he made use of and quoted, or supposed he quoted. He says, that the volumes of the Cumæan Sibyl, containing the fates of the Roman empire, are kept secret; but the books of the rest are open to every body. He speaks to this purpose in the [g] Institutions, the [h] Epitome, and [i] the treatise Of the Wrath of God. He says, in [k] the Epitome, that all the Sibylline books, except those of the Cumæan Sibyl, teach one God, Creator, and Governor of the world. In [l] the Institutions he seems to say the same thing of all in general, without exception, particularly the Erythræan Sibyl, in verses brought to Rome from Erythræ, by order of the senate.

9. The Preaching of Peter is but once quoted by Lactantius; it is in this manner: 'After [m] 'his resurrection, Christ opened to his disciples all things which should come to pass, which 'things Peter and Paul preached at Rome. And for the better remembrance, that preaching 'has been written, and remains to this time. In which, besides many other wonderful things, 'they say it would come to pass, that in a short time God would send a king, who would con-'quer the Jews, overthrow their cities, and bring upon them many dreadful afflictions and 'calamities.'

Upon this book I have already had occasion to make divers remarks, in [n] the chapter of Clement of Alexandria, and in the article of [o] the Anonymous Author of the treatise Of Rebaptizing, joined with St. Cyprian's works: to which the reader is referred.

Upon this passage of Lactantius we may now make the following remarks.

[a] Denique, ut taceam de prophetis unius Dei prædicatoribus, poëtæque, & philosophi, & vates testimonium singulari Deo perhibent. Epit. c. 3. prop. in.

[b] Superest de vatibus dicere. Varro decem Sibyllas fuisse tradit. Epit. c. 5. in.

[c] Declaravi, ut opinor, animam non esse solubilem. Superest, citare testes, quorum auctoritate argumenta firmentur. Neque nunc prophetas in testimonium vocabo,——sed eos potius, quibus istos, qui respuunt veritatem, credere sit necesse. Hermes naturam hominis describens.——Polites quidam consuluit Apollinem Milesium, utrum maneat anima post mortem, an resolvatur: & respondit his versibus.——Quid Carmina Sibyllina?—l. vii. c. 13. in. &c.

[d] Sed cum defendamus causam veritatis apud eos, qui oberrantes a veritate falsis religionibus serviunt; quod genus probationis adversum eos magis adhibere debemus, quam ut eos deorum suorum testimoniis revincamus? l. i. c. 6. fin.

[e] See Sibylline Books in the Index.

[f] M. Varro, quo nemo unquam doctior, ne apud Græcos, nedum apud Latinos, in libris rerum divinarum.——Cum de Quindecim Viris loqueretur, Sibyllinos libros ait non fuisse unius Sibyllæ, sed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes feminæ vates Sibyllæ sunt a veteribus appellatæ.—Cæterum Sibyllas decem numero fuisse, easque omnes enumeravit. l. i. c. 6. p. 31. Superest de vatibus dicere. Varro decem Sibyllas fuisse, tradit, primam de Persis,——quartam Cumanam, quintam Erythræam.—Epit. c. 5.

[g] Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina & feruntur & habentur, præterquam Cumææ: cujus libri a Romanis occuluntur. Nec eos ab ullo, nisi a Quindecim Viris, inspectos habent. l. i. c. 6. p. 35, 36.

[h] Ex his omnibus Cumanæ solius tres esse libros, qui Romanorum fata contineant, & habeantur arcani; cæterarum autem fere omnium singulos exstare haberique vulgo, sed eos Sibyllinos velut uno nomine inscribi, nisi quod Erythræa——nomen suum verum posuit in libro, aliarum confusi sunt. Hæ omnes, de quibus dixi, Sibyllæ, præter Cumæam, quam legi nisi a Quindecim viris non licet, unum Deum esse testantur principem, conditorem,—Epit. c. 5.

[i] Verum quia plures, ut ostendi, Sibyllæ a doctissimis auctoribus fuisse traduntur,——Cumææ quidem volumina, quibus Romana fata conscripta sunt, in arcanis habentur: cæterarum tamen fere omnium libelli, quo minus in usu sint omnibus, non vetantur. De Ira Dei, cap. 23. in.

[k] See before note [h].

[l] Omnes igitur hæ Sibyllæ unum Deum prædicant, maxime tamen Erythræa, quæ celebrior inter cæteras ac nobilior habetur. Siquidem Fenestella, diligentissimus scriptor, de quindecemviris dicens, ait: Restituto Capitolio, retulisse ad senatum C. Curionem Cos. ut legati Erythras mitterentur, qui carmina Sibyllæ conquisita Romam deportarent.——In iis ergo versibus, quos legati Romam attulerunt, de uno Deo hæc sunt testimonia. l. i. c. 6. p. 37.

[m] Sed & futura aperuit illis omnia, quæ Petrus & Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt, Et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit: in quâ cum multa alia mira, tum etiam hoc futurum esse dixerunt, ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos, & civitates eorum solo adæquaret, ipsos autem fame sitique obsideret.—l. iv. c. 21. p. 422, 423.

[n] Vol. i. p. 408—410.

[o] P. 39.

(1.) It is probable, that this book contained some account of the preaching both of St. Peter and St. Paul.

(2.) It is likely, that Lactantius did not know who was the author of it.

(3.) There is no reason to conclude from this passage, that the preaching here spoken of, was esteemed by Lactantius, or other Christians at that time, a book of authority, or a part of sacred scripture.

VIII. Nothing remains, but that we briefly sum up this writer's testimony to the scriptures.

We have seen in Lactantius references to the gospels, the Acts of the apostles, and some of the epistles, and to the book of the Revelation, which he expressly quotes as sacred scripture, and written by John. We have likewise observed plain proof of his having a collection of scriptures, consisting of the Old and New Testament; which he esteemed sacred and divine, and of the highest authority. If Lactantius had not purposely restrained himself from quoting Christian scriptures in his arguments with heathens, his testimony would have been much more full and particular. For, notwithstanding the reservedness, which he imposed on himself in that respect, there are in him many allusions and references to them: which seems to shew, that the Christians of that time were so habituated to the language of scripture, that it was not easy for them to avoid the use of it, whenever they discoursed upon things of a religious nature.

His quotations of Sibylline books, and other writings, ascribed to heathen vates or diviners, such as Hydaspes and Hermes Trismegistus, have been just now accounted for. And it has been shewn, that he was far from esteeming them of canonical authority. Nor does it appear, that he placed the Preaching of Peter and Paul in the rank of sacred scripture, though he has once quoted it.

IX. We come now to the author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors: in whom there are no quotations of scripture, and but few references or allusions to it. I shall therefore transcribe but little from him at present.

1. It is manifest that he refers to the Acts of the apostles, and perhaps to the gospels likewise, in the second chapter of his work: 'Near [a] the end of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, as we 'find it written, our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews. When he had risen again on 'the third day, he assembled his disciples, whom the fright of his apprehension had dispersed. 'And continuing with them forty days, he opened their hearts, and explained to them the scrip-'tures, which to that time were obscure and difficult to them. He also gave them instruc-'tions concerning the preaching his doctrine.—When he had so done, he was surrounded by a 'cloud, which withdrawing him from human sight carried him up to heaven. Whereupon his 'disciples, who were then eleven, taking into the room of Judas the traitor Matthias and Paul, 'went abroad throughout the world, and preached the gospel, as the Lord had commanded them.'

2. This writer speaks of the early success of the apostles in preaching the gospel, and the swift progress of the Christian religion in the [b] time of Nero, and afterwards particularly [c] in the times following the reign of Domitian.

3. He speaks [d] of the coming of Antichrist: perhaps he has therein an eye to the book of the Revelation.

4. Finally, he takes notice of the burning [e] of the Christian scriptures in Dioclesian's persecution.

[a] Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est post diem decimum calendarum Aprilis, duobus Geminis Consulibus. Cum resurrexisset die tertio, congregavit discipulos, quos metus comprehensionis ejus in fugam verterat, & diebus quadraginta cum his commoratus, aperuit corda eorum, & scripturas interpretatus est, quæ usque ad id tempus obscuræ & involutæ fuerant. Ordinavitque eos, & instruxit ad prædicationem dogmatis ac doctrinæ suæ.——Quo officio repleto, circumvolvit eum procella nubis, & subtractum oculis hominum rapuit in cœlum. Et inde discipuli, qui tunc erant undecim, assumtis in locum Judæi proditoris Matthiâ & Paulo, dispersi sunt per omnem terram ad evangelium prædicandum, sicut illis magister Dominus imperaverat.——De M. P. c. 2. in.

[b] —— & per annos 25. usque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias & civitates ecclesiæ fundamenta miserunt.——Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ, cum animadverteret, non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, & ad religionem novam, damnatâ vetustate, transire——ib. c. 2.

[c] Rescissis igitur actis tyranni, non modo in statum pristinum ecclesia restituta est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius enituit: secutisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt, nullos inimicorum impetus passa, manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrexit: ut jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus, quo non religio Dei penetrâsset, nulla denique natio tam feris moribus vivens, ut non suscepto Dei cultu ad justitiæ opera mitesceret. cap. 3. fin.

[d] —— ut, quia primus persecutus est, idem etiam novissimus persequatur, & Antichristi præcedat adventum,—— cap. 2.

[e] Qui dies cum illuxisset,——repente adhuc dubiâ luce ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus ac tribunis & rationalibus venit: & revulsis foribus simulacrum Dei quæritur, scripturæ repertæ incenduntur. cap. 12.

CHAP. LXVI.

Of burning the Scriptures, and of Traitors, in the time of Dioclesian's Persecution.

1. EUSEBIUS assures us, that in the imperial edict for Dioclesian's persecution in 303, it was expressly ordered, not only that the Christian churches should be demolished, but also that [a] their scriptures should be burned. And this was one of the affecting scenes of that persecution, that [b] he had seen the sacred and divine scriptures burned in market-places.

2. This order shews, that the heathen people were now sensible of the importance of the scriptures, which the Christians made use of as the grounds of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the support of their steadiness and zeal.

3. The burning [c] of the scriptures is also mentioned by the author Of the Deaths of Persecutors, in his account of this persecution; but he does not speak it so particularly, and so much at large, as might have been expected.

4. Arnobius likewise refers to it, and insists, that [d] there was nothing dishonourable to the Deity in the scriptures of the Christians, that should expose them to such usage from the heathen people: though many writings of their own well deserved to perish in the flames.

5. The first council of Arles, which met in 314, soon after the persecution was over, made a canon, that [e] whoever of the clergy should be convicted by the public acts of betraying to the persecutors the scriptures, or any of the holy vessels, or the names of any of their brethren, should be deposed.

6. This was peculiar to Dioclesian's persecution: at least we do not know of any such order before.

7. The persecution was for a while exceeding hot in Africa, both in Numidia, and in the proconsular province: the two governors of which, Anulinus and Florus, acted with great severity toward the Christians, as Optatus [f] relates. The inquest after the scriptures, and other sacred things, was very strict in that country: the magistrates in the several cities were very active and diligent in their searches: they seized what they could by any means discover, and gave informations, as they saw fit, to the superior officers of their district. And here seems to have been the greatest number of traitors: some bishops, as well as others, were guilty of that crime, which Optatus [g] laments.

8. How the imperial orders were published and executed, may be seen in the [h] Acts of Felix, an African bishop, who suffered martyrdom at the beginning of the persecution, for refusing to

[a] —— τας δε γραφας αφανεις πυρι γενεσθαι προσατιονλα. H. E. l. viii. c. 2. p. 294.

[b] —— τας δε ενθεες και ἱερας γραφας καλα μεσας αγορας πυρι παραδιδομενας αυλοις επειδομεν οφθαλμοις. ib. p. 293. C.

[c] Scripturæ repertæ incenduntur. De M. P. c. 12.

[d] Quod si haberet vos aliqua pro religionibus indignatio, has potius literas, hos exurere debuistis libros. Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari?—Arnob. l. iv. sub fin.

[e] De his qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur, vel vasa dominica, vel nomina fratrum suorum, placuit nobis, ut quicumque eorum ex actis publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis nudis, ab ordine cleri amoveatur. Concil. Arl. i. c. 13.

[f] Alia persecutio, quæ fuit sub Diocletiano & Maximiano; quo tempore fuerunt & impii judices, bellum Christiano nomini inferentes. Ex quibus in Provinciâ Proconsulari fuerat Anulinus, in Numidiâ Florus. Omnibus notum est, quid eorum operata sit artificiosa crudelitas.——Alii cogebantur templa Dei vivi subvertere; alii Christum negare; alii leges divinas incendere; alii thura ponere. Optat. l. iii. c. 8.

[g] In Africâ duo mala & pessima admissa esse constat, unum in traditione, alterum in schismate.—Nam ferme ante annos sexaginta, & quod excurrit, per totam Africam persecutionis est divagata tempestas.——Ipsi apices & principes omnium, aliqui episcopi, illis temporibus, ut damno æternæ vitæ illius incertæ lucis moras brevissimas compararent, instrumenta divinæ legis tradiderunt. Optat. l. i. c. 13.

[h] Diocletiano octies & Maximiano septies Coss.——exivit edictum Imperatorum & Cæsarum super omnem faciem terræ. Et propositum est per colonias & civitates principibus & magistratibus, suo cuique loco, ut libros deificos deferent de manu episcoporum & presbyterorum. Tunc programma positum est in civitate Tiburensi.—Tunc Magnilianus curator jussit ad se perduci per officialem. Cui Magnilianus curator dixit: Da libros, vel membranas quascumque habes. Felix episcopus dixit: Habeo, sed non do. Magnilianus curator dixit. Da libros, ut possint aduri. Felix episcopus dixit: Melius est me igne aduri, quam scripturas deificas; quia bonum est obedire Deo magis quam hominibus. [Act. v. 29.]——Præfectus dixit: Felicem gladio interficite. Et ductus est ad passionis locum.—Felix episcopus, elevans oculos in cœlum, clara voce dixit: Deus, gratias tibi. Quinquaginta & sex annos habeo in hoc seculo. Virginitatem custodivi: Evangelia servavi: fidem et veritatem prædicavi. Ap. Ruinart. p. 355——357.

deliver up the scriptures. I transcribe those Acts in the Margin somewhat largely. They shew the great regard which the Christians of that time had for the sacred scriptures. And the reader may there observe, that the book of the Acts of the apostles was well known, and received in Africa.

9. There are extant 'Acts [a] of the martyrs Saturninus presbyter, Felix, Dativus, Ampelius, 'and others, who on account of the assemblies, and the sacred scriptures, having been examined 'and made confession before Anulinus the proconsul of Africa at Carthage, at divers times, and 'in divers places, shed their precious blood.' These Acts [b] are the work of a Donatist writer; nevertheless they are very curious.

10. These persons were apprehended at their worship, and carried to Carthage in the year 304; where they made a glorious confession, and surmounted all the temptations they met with.

11. The author relates [c] the edict of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian, for burning the scriptures, for demolishing churches, and forbidding the assemblies of divine worship; and bears an honourable testimony to the fidelity and fortitude of the Christians at that time. And he particularly relates the [d] examinations of the persons above-mentioned, and the resolute answers made by them. It will appear likewise, from what I shall transcribe in the margin from this piece, that the Christians of Africa were very assiduous in the assemblies of public worship, and constantly had there readings of scripture.

12. If that writer may be credited, there [e] had been a miraculous appearance in that place, when the bishop Fundanus had delivered up some scriptures, a short time before.

13. The inquiries of the heathen persecutors at that time, were not confined to the scriptures, but they searched likewise for sacred vessels, and seized gold and silver cups, and lamps, and suits of apparel ready made for the use of poor people, as occasions might require. This may be collected from the canon of the council of Arles before quoted, and more particularly from an [f] enumeration of such things, taken from the public Acts or Register of the city of Cirtha, where is an account of things taken with the consent, or by the discovery of Paul, the bishop, and one of the deacons, Silvanus, who therefore are reckoned traitors. Which is also taken notice of by Augustine, in an epistle of his, a part of which I shall transcribe in the [g] margin, for the sake of curious readers.

[a] Ap. Baluz. Miscell. T. ii. p. 56. &c. & Optat. ex edit. Du Pin. p. 150. &c.

[b] Scripta sane sunt ista, quod negari non potest, ab aliquo Donatistâ, sed docto & erudito. Dignaque mihi visa sunt quæ cum Lactantio [De M. P.] conjungerentur, cum ob similitudinem argumenti, tum ob elegantiam sermonis.—— Opus tamen est antiqui scriptoris, & qui non admodum remotus fuit ab ævo Diocletiani. Baluz. Monit. apud Du Pin, ut supra, p. 150.

[c] Temporibus namque Diocletiani & Maximiani bellum diabolus Christianis indixit isto modo, ut sacrosancta Domini testamenta scripturasque divinas ad exurendum peteret, basilicas dominicas subverteret, & ritus cœtusque sanctissimos celebrari Domino prohiberet. Sed non tulit exercitus Dei immane præceptum.——Et quamvis, tradendo gentilibus scripturas dominicas atque testamenta divina profanis ignibus comburenda, a fidei cardine cecidere nonnulli, conservando tamen eas, & pro ipsis libenter suum sanguinem effundendo fortiter fecere quamplurimi. Act. Saturnin. &c. n. ii.

[d] ——Contra quæ confessores Domini, invicti martyres Christi, tamquam ex uno ore dixerunt: Christiani sumus. Non possumus nisi Domini legem sanctam usque ad effusionem sanguinis custodire. Quâ voce percussus inimicus Felici dicebat: Non quæro, utrum Christianus sis: sed an collectam feceris, vel scripturas aliquas habeas.——Respondit: Quasi Christianus sine Dominico possit, aut Dominicus sine Christiano celebrari.——Collectam, inquit, gloriosissime celebravimus, ad scripturas dominicas legendas in dominicum convenimus semper. ibid. n. x.

[e] In isto namque foro jam pro scripturis dominicis dimicaverat cœlum, cum Fundanus civitatis quondam episcopus scripturas dominicas traderet exurendas; quas cum magistratus sacrilegus igni apponeret, subito imber sereno cœlo diffunditur; ignis scripturis sanctis admotus exstinguitur; grandines adhibentur, omnisque ipsa regio, pro scripturis dominicis, elementis furentibus devastabatur. ib. n. iii.

[f] ——Ex actis Munatii Felicis, flaminis perpetui, perpetui curatoris coloniæ Cirtensium. Cum ventum esset ad domum in quâ Christiani conveniebant, Felix flamen, perpetuus curator, Paulo episcopo dixit. Proferte scripturas, & si quid aliud hic habetis. Paulus episcopus dixit: Scripturas lectores habent. Sed nos, quod hic habemus, damus. In brevi sic ——Calices duo aurei, item calices sex argentei, urceola sex argentea,——lucernæ argentææ vii. candelæ breves æneæ cum lucernis suis vii. item lucernæ æneæ xi. cum catenis suis, tunicæ muliebres lxxii. tunicæ viriles, xvi. caligæ viriles, paria xiii. caligæ muliebres, paria xlvii. &c. Acta Purgationis Cæcil. ap. Optat. Du Pin, p. 168.

[g] ——recita illi gesta apud Munatium Felicem, flaminem perpetuum, curatorem tunc civitatis vestræ, Diocletiano octavum, & Maximiano septimum consulibus——quibus liquido constitit Paulum episcopum tradidisse, ut Silvanus tunc ejus subdiaconus fuerit, & cum illo tradiderit proferens instrumenta Dominica, etiam quæ diligentissime fuerant occultata, capitulatam argenteam, & lucernam argenteam.—Ep. 53. n. 4.

CHAP. LXVII.

THE DONATISTS.

I. *Donatus, bishop of Carthage.* II. *A brief history of the Donatists:* 1. *The ground of the controversy between them and the catholics.* 2. *The rise and occasion of the controversy.* 3. *Their numbers.* 4. *Their persecutions.* III. *Donatist writers:* 1. *Anonymous author of the Acts of Saturninus and others.* 2. *Cresconius.* 3. *Gaudentius.* 4. *Macrobius.* 5. *Parmenian.* 6. *Petilian.* 7. *Tichonius.* 8. *Vitellius.* IV. *Their testimony to the scriptures.*

I. Says Jerom, 'Donatus,[a] from whom sprang the Donatists in Africa, in the times of the[b] 'emperors Constantius and Constantine, asserting, that the scriptures had been betrayed to the 'heathen by our people in the time of the persecution, by his plausible speeches deceived almost 'all Africa, especially Numidia. There are extant many small works of his in support of his 'own heresy, and a book Of the Holy Spirit, agreeable to the Arian doctrine.

I shall now transcribe likewise a part of Augustine's article in his book of Heresies concerning the Donatists, with whom certainly he was well acquainted. I put it down here, as it has some account of this Donatus, the second bishop of the party at Carthage, and as a foundation of farther remarks hereafter.

'The[c] Donatians, or Donatists, who at first made a schism, because Cæcilian had been 'ordained bishop of Carthage against their mind, accused him of crimes they could never prove, 'and objected likewise, that he had been ordained by the betrayers of the divine scriptures. And 'by their continued obstinacy turned their schism into heresy. Their notion is, that by means 'of Cæcilian's crimes, whether true, or rather false, as appeared to those who were chosen judges 'of the cause, the church of Christ has perished throughout the world, and subsists only in Africa 'among themselves. Every where else, according to them, the church is lost by communicating 'with unworthy persons. They take upon them to rebaptize catholics.——We have under-'stood, that the first author of this heresy was Donatus of Numidia, who came to Carthage, and 'divided the Christian people under Cæcilian, and getting other bishops of a like disposition to 'join them, ordained Majorinus bishop of that city. Which Majorinus was succeeded by another 'Donatus, who by his eloquence greatly strengthened this heresy; and many think they are 'called Donatists from him. There are writings of his still extant, by which it appears, that he 'did not hold the catholic doctrine of the Trinity. For though he allowed the Son to be of the 'same substance, he thought him inferior to the Father, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Son.

[a] Donatus, a quo Donatiani, per Africam sub Constantio Constantinoque principibus asserens a nostris scripturas in persecutione ethnicis traditas, totam pene Africam, & maxime Numidiam, suâ persuasione decepit. Exstant ejus multa ad suam hæresim pertinentia opuscula, & de Spiritu Sancto liber Ariano dogmati congruens. De V. I. cap. 93.

[b] 'In the times of the emperors Constantius and Constan-'tine.'] Here are various readings. Sophronius the Greek interpreter has only Constantius. In Martianay's edition is 'sub Constante Constantinoque.' But I imagine the right reading to be as above: and that by Constantius Jerom intends Constantine's father; the Donatian controversy having had its foundation in what happened near the beginning of Diocle-sian's persecution, during the reign of Constantius.

[c] Donatiani, vel Donatistæ, sunt, qui primum propter ordinatum contra suam voluntatem Cæcilianum ecclesiæ Carthaginensis episcopum schisma fecerunt: objicientes ei crimina non probata, & maxime quod a traditoribus divinarum scripturarum fuerit ordinatus. Sed, post causam cum eo dictam atque finitam, falsitatis rei deprehensi, pertinaci dissensione firmatâ, in hæresim schisma verterunt: tamquam ecclesia Christi propter crimina Cæciliani, seu vera, seu, quod magis judicibus apparuit, falsa, de toto terrarum orbe perierit, ubi futura promissa est, atque in Africanâ Donati parte remanserit, in aliis terrarum partibus quasi contagione communionis extincta. Audent etiam rebaptizare catholicos.—— Hujus hæresis principem accepimus fuisse Donatum, qui de Numidiâ veniens, & contra Cæcilianum Christianam dividens plebem, adjunctis sibi ejusdem factionis episcopis, Majorinum apud Carthaginem ordinavit episcopum. Cui Majorino Donatus alius in eâdem divisione successit, qui eloquentiâ suâ sic confirmavit hanc hæresim, ut multi existiment, propter ipsum potius eos Donatistas vocari. Exstant scripta ejus, ubi appareat eum etiam non catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam; sed, quamvis ejusdem substantiæ, minorem tamen Patre Filium, & minorem Filio putâsse Spiritum Sanctum. Verum in hunc, quem de Trinitate habuit, ejus errorem, Donatistarum multitudo intenta non fuit. Nec facile in eis quisquam, qui hoc illum sensisse noverit, invenitur. Isti hæretici in urbe Româ Montenses vocantur, quibus hinc ex Africâ solent episcopum mittere; aut hinc illuc Afri episcopi eorum pergere, si forte ibi eum ordinare placuisset.—Aug. Hær. 69.

'But in this he is not generally followed by the Donatists: nor are there many, who are aware, 'that this was his sentiment. These heretics are called Mountaineers at Rome, to whom they 'are wont to send a bishop from Africa, or else some bishops go thither, if they have a mind he 'should be ordained there.'

Augustine has in another place [a] taken notice of Donatus's opinion concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.

II. I do by no means intend to write at large the history of the Donatists; I omit intirely their practice of rebaptizing. I shall only take some notice of the subject matter, or ground and reason of the difference between the catholics and them: and then observe the rise and occasion of this controversy. For other particulars I refer to divers writers, [b] ancient, and [c] modern.

1. At the beginning of his article just transcribed, Augustine mentions two objections of the Donatists against Cæcilian; one taken from crimes which he himself was said to be guilty of, the other is, that he was ordained by traitors. What the crimes were, which they accused Cæcilian himself of, may be seen in a passage of an anonymous Donatist writer, which [d] I put at the bottom of the page. Whence it appears, that they also charged Mensurius, Cæcilian's predecessor, with betraying the scriptures. The whole story is indeed very unlikely: nevertheless it was not forgot [e] by the Donatists in the conference at Carthage in 411.

Cæcilian's faulty ordination was always one [f] pretence. And, if Optatus may be relied upon, the only complaint, which the Donatists at first made against Cæcilian, was, that [g] he had been ordained by Felix of Apthonga, who, they said, delivered up the scriptures to persecutors: whilst the catholics [h] always denied the charge, as groundless.

Augustine, as we have seen, farther assures us, their opinion was, that the church of Christ subsisted in Africa only among themselves; and that every where else the church of Christ was lost and ruined, by communicating with unworthy persons, particularly, with such as adhered to Cæcilian, who had been ordained by traitors.

With what warmth and bitterness they expressed themselves upon this head, appears from [i] a passage of an author of theirs, whom I have quoted more than once; as also from a place of [k] Petilian, in Augustine.

Augustine himself has mentioned a remarkable instance of their disdain of [l] other men, which I suppose may be relied upon.

[a] Ariani Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti diversas substantias esse dicunt. Donatistæ autem non hoc dicunt, sed unam Trinitatis substantiam confitentur. Et si aliqui ipsorum minorem Filium esse dixerunt quam Pater est, ejusdem tamen substantiæ non negârunt.——Nec ipsa cum illis vertitur quæstio, sed de solâ communione infeliciter litigant. Ep. 85. al. 50. cap. 1.

[b] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. vi. p. 391, 392. De Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 66. Optat. de Schism. Donatist. Aug. Opp. T. ix. Ed. Bened. & passim. Philast. H. 83. Theodoret. H. F. l. iv. c. 6.

[c] Vid. H. Vales. de Sch. Donatist. ad calc. Annot. ad Euseb. H. E. Ittig. ad calc. Append. De Hæresiarchis. Leydeck. Hist. Ec. African. Witsii Diss. de Sch. Donat. ap. Misc. Sacr. T. i. p. 742. &c. Vitringa de Commun. Christian. Observ. Sacr. T. i. p. 742. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. H. Norisii Hist. Donatist. ap. Opp. T. iv.

[d] ——Maxime cum etiam Mensurius, Carthaginensis quondam episcopus, recenti scripturarum proditione pollutus, sceleris sui amentiam pejore cœpisset ferociâ publicare. Quippe qui combustorum veniam librorum a martyribus poscere atque implorare debuerat, ut delicta sua majoribus flagitiis cumularet, eo animo sæviebat in martyres, quo divinas trâdiderat leges. Etenim hic, tyranno sævior, carnifice crudelior, idoneum sceleris sui ministrum diaconum suum elegit Cæcilianum. Idemque lora & flagra cum armatis ante fores carceris ponit, ut ab ingressu atque aditu cunctos, qui victum potumque in carcerem martyribus afferebant, gravi affectos injuriâ propulsaret. Et cædebantur a Cæciliano passim qui ad alendos martyres veniebant.——&c. Acta Martyr. Saturnin. & alior. cap. xvii. ap. Du Pin Optat. p. 156.

[e] Tunc Donatistæ aliquantum prælocuti sunt, quod Mensurius, qui fuerat ante Cæcilianum ecclesiæ Carthaginis episcopus, tempore persecutionis tradiderit persecutoribus sanctas scripturas, &c. August. Brev. Collat. D. iii. cap. xiii. n. 25.

[f] Dicunt ordinatorem ejus sanctos libros tradidisse. Aug. Psalm. Contr. Donat. D.

[g] Illo tempore a tot inimicis nihil in eum potuit confingi: sed de ordinatore suo, quod ab iis falso traditor diceretur, meruit infamari. Optat. l. i. c. 19.

[h] Deinde Gesta Proconsularia, ubi Felix diligentissimo examine probatus est innocens. Aug. Ep. 43. al. 162. c. 2. n. 5. Vid. Gesta Purgationis Felicis Aptungitani.

[i] Igitur cum hæc ita sint, quisnam est divini juris peritiâ pollens,—qui judicii Dei memor——separat a stante lapsum, ab integro vulneratum, a justo reum, ab innocente damnatum, a custode legis proditorem, a confessore Christi nominis ejus negatorem——& unum atque idem existimet & ecclesiam martyrum & conventicula traditorum.——Quamobrem fugienda bonis, & vitanda est semper religiosis conspiratio traditorum, hypocritarum domus.——Denique isti falsi sacrorum ritus fictaque mysteria non tam in salutem quam in perniciem miserorum celebrantur, cum erigit altare sacrilegus, celebrat sacramenta profanus, baptizat reus, curat vulneratus,——legit evangelia traditor, hæreditatem cœli promittit divinorum testamentorum exustor. Acta Saturnini, &c. cap. 19. ap. Du Pin Optat. p. 150.

[k] Qui utique spiritus—sanctus in vos venire non potuit, quos non vel pœnitentiæ baptismus abluit: sed pœnitenda, quod verum est, aqua polluit traditoris. Aug. Contr. Lit. Petil. l. ii. c. 36. n. 83.

[l] Usque adeo ex ipso numero sunt, ut nuper in Collatione nostrâ, quod etiam in gestis ipsis legere potestis, cum eis a cognitore esset confessus oblatus, ut sederent nobiscum, re-

But though the Donatists scrupled to communicate with the catholics, because they were traitors of the divine scriptures, the catholics[a] retorted the charge, and called the Donatists the children of traitors, and averred, that they who were the first authors of the separation, were themselves traitors.

2. This shall suffice for a brief account of the ground of this difference, which had its rise after this manner:

Mensurius bishop of Carthage being dead, and Maxentius giving liberty to the Christians in Africa in 311, Cæcilian was chosen in his room, and ordained by Felix of Apthonga, and others. But some being dissatisfied, Majorinus[b] was chosen and ordained by another party afterwards called Donatists, from Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ in Numidia, who was exceeding active in the support of that interest. About this time, therefore, we may date the beginning of this difference.

Soon after that Constantine became master of Africa, upon the defeat of Maxentius, the Donatists sent a request to the emperor, by Anulinus proconsul of Africa, desiring that their cause might be[c] heard and examined by some bishops of Gaul, who had lived under his father Constantius: and not having been persecuted, as other Christians had been in other parts of the world, were free from the charge of betraying the scriptures, and like faults, which many others had been guilty of.

The emperor received this petition in Gaul, and[d] soon sent back orders to Anulinus. He likewise wrote a letter to Miltiades bishop of Rome. The emperor's appointment was, that [e] Majorinus with ten of his friends, and Cæcilian with ten others, favourers of him, should appear at Rome before Miltiades, and three bishops of Gaul. These were Maternus bishop of Cologne, Reticius of Autun, and Marinus of Arles. There were besides in this council fifteen Italian bishops, whose names may be seen in Optatus, making in all nineteen. This hearing was in the year 313, and Cæcilian [f] was acquitted by the unanimous vote of the council.

The Donatists not being yet satisfied, intreated the emperor, that their cause might be taken into farther consideration. In compliance with their request, was appointed the council of Arles, which sat in 314, when a like judgment was again passed.

Still the Donatists were uneasy, and made[g] fresh applications to Constantine, to examine the

spondendum putârunt: Scriptum est nobis, cum talibus non sedere, scilicet ne per contactum subselliorum ad eos velut nostra contagio perveniret. Aug. Serm. 99. cap. 8. Tom. v. p. 524. E.

[a] Ipsi tradiderunt libros, & nos audent accusare.
Aug. Psalm. contr. Donat. B.
Dixerunt majores nostri, & libros fecerunt inde,
Qui tunc causam cognoverunt, quod recens possent probare.
Erant quidam traditores librorum de sanctâ lege, &c. D.
Sed hoc libenter finxerunt, quod se noverunt fecisse. Ib. E.

Quidquid invicem objicimus de traditione codicum divinorum, de thurificatione. Id. De Unit. Ec. cap. ii.

Deinde non post longum tempus iidem ipsi, tot & tales, ad Carthaginem profecti traditores, thurati, ——Majorinum—— post ordinationem Cæciliani ordinaverunt, schisma facientes. Et quoniam traditionis reos principes vestros fuisse monstratum est. Optat. l. i. c. 15.

Si traditoribus non licet, vobis licere non debuit, quorum principes probamus fuisse traditores. Id. ib. cap. 5.

Paulo ante docuimus vestros parentes fuisse traditores & schismaticos; & tu ipsorum hæres.——Omnia igitur, quæ a te in traditores & schismaticos dici potuerunt, vestra sunt. Id. l. i. c. 28.

Nec dicatur ad excusationem, quia traditoribus communicare noluerunt; cum manifestissime probatum sit, eosdem ipsos filios fuisse traditorum. Id. l. iii. c. 8. p. 65. Vid. & l. ii. c. 1. in. & l. v. c. 1. in.

[b] Hoc apud Carthaginem post ordinationem Cæciliani factum esse, nemo est qui nesciat. Optat. l. i. c. 17. Tempestas persecutionis peracta & definita est. Jubente Deo, indulgentiam mittente Maxentio, Christianis libertas est restituta. cap. 18. Et Majorinus, qui lector in diaconio Cæciliani fuerat, domesticus Lucillæ, ipsâ suffragante, episcopus ordinatus est a traditoribus. Ib. cap. 19.

[c] Nam majores vestri——imperatorem Constantium, harum rerum adhuc ignarum, his precibus rogârunt——Constantine, optime imperator, quoniam de genere justo es, cujus pater inter cæteros imperatores persecutionem non exercuit, & ab hoc facinore immunis est Gallia. Nam in Africâ inter nos & cæteros episcopos contentiones sunt. Petimus, ut de Galliâ nobis judices dari præcipiat pietas tua. Optat. l. i. c. 22. Vid. & August. Ep. 88. al. 65.

[d] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 6. & Collat. Carth. D. 3. c. 116. & August. Brev. Col. D. 3. cap. vii & xii.

[e] Et tamen dati sunt judices, Maternus ex Agrippinâ civitate, Reticius ab Augustoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis. Ad urbem Romam ventum est ab his tribus Gallis, & ab aliis quindecim Italis. Optat. l. i. c. 23. His decem & novem considentibus episcopis, causa Donati & Cæciliani in medium missa est. c. 24.

[f] Cæcilianus omnium supra memoratorum sententiis innocens est pronunciatus. Optat. l. i. c. 25.

[g] Deinde diximus, aliquanto post Majorini ordinationem, quem contra Cæcilianum nefario scelere levaverunt——eos petiisse a Constantino tunc imperatore judices episcopos, qui de suis quæstionibus, quæ in Africâ exortæ——arbitrio medio judicarent. Quod postea quam factum est, præsente Cæciliano & illis qui adversus eum navigaverant, judicante Melchiade tunc Romanæ urbis episcopo cum collegis suis, quos ad preces Donatistarum miserat impeçator, in Cæcilianum nihil potuisse, ac per hoc illo in episcopatu confirmato——Quibus peractis rebus cum illi omnes in pertinaciâ——permanerent, post apud Arelatum memoratum imperatorem eamdem causam diligentius examinandam——curâsse. Illos vero ab ecclesiastico judicio provocâsse, ut causam Constantinus audiret. Quo postea quam ventum est, utrâque parte assistente, innocentem Cæcilianum fuisse judicatum, atque illos recessisse superatos, & in eâdem perversitate mansisse. Aug. Ep. 43.

affair himself. Which he consented to, and after all decided, as the ecclesiastical judges had done already. This hearing before the emperor was at [a] Milain in 316. But [b] the Donatists did not acquiesce any more in the judgment now passed than in the former.

Thus the difference was fixed: there was no reconciling the two parties. There was however a famous conference held at Carthage in 411, between the catholics and Donatists: by which, and by the writings of Augustine about that time, the Donatists seem to have been much weakened. Nevertheless, they subsisted in Africa till the end of the sixth century, or [c] later.

3. The Donatists were very numerous; there must have been many of them in Numidia, and the proconsular province of Africa. Augustine intimates, that [d] though there were Donatists in many places, yet in most cities, except those of Numidia, the catholics were much more numerous than they.

At the fore-mentioned conference at Carthage were present 286 catholic bishops: the Donatists counted [e] but 279, and some of them absent. Tychonius [f] speaks of a council of Donatists at Carthage, consisting of 270 bishops, but the time of it is uncertain. Augustine often speaks of a council of theirs, about the year 394, consisting [g] of 310 bishops; and all these 310 were friends of Primianus: if the Maximianists, who were absent, were 100, their number in the whole were 410.

For certain this unhappy difference among the Christians of Africa affords an admonition to all men, to respect and hearken to Solomon's observation, and the council founded upon it; Prov. xvii. 14. "The beginning of strife is, as when one lets out water. Therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with."

4. I forbear to enter into an account of the persecutions suffered by the Donatists. They were restrained by the imperial laws, which sometimes were very severe; but they [h] were rarely executed in their utmost rigour. And the Donatists, who were not free from differences among themselves, often [i] shewed great bitterness toward each other: and in places where they were superior in number, they [k] bore hard upon the catholics.

III. I add a brief account of some Donatist writers.

It ought to be observed, that I have already transcribed Jerom's article of Donatus, bishop of Carthage next after Majorinus: from whom, as some supposed, the party had its denomination.

1. Anonymous [l] author of the Acts of Saturninus, Felix, Dativus, Ampelius, and others; which appear to have been written not long after [m] the beginning of the fourth century.

2. Cresconius, a learned [n] grammarian among the Donatists, wrote a book against the first part of Augustine's confutation of Petilian: which Augustine answered in four books, still extant, written in 406.

al. 162. c. 2. n. 4. Conf. libr. post Collat. cap. 33. Vid. Aug. Ep. 105. al. 166. n. 8. Ep. 129. n. 4. & 185. al. 50. c. 2. n. 6. Ep. 89. n. 3. Et recitatum est judicium Constantini. ——Aug. Brev. Coll. D. 3. c. 19. in. Vid. & Monumenta Vetera ap. Du Pin Optat. p. 182.

[a] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. 316. n. xiv. xv.

[b] Responderunt, etiam imperatorias aures pravis suggestionibus inflatas. Aug. Brev. Coll. D. 3. cap. 19.

[c] Vid. Vales. de Schism. Donat. cap. ult. fin.

[d] Quod enim propterea se universos adesse dixerunt, & eorum numerus appareat, quoniam eos paucos esse adversarii sui sæpe mentiti sunt. Hoc si aliquando a nostris dictum est, de his locis dici verissime potuit, ubi nostrorum coëpiscoporum & clericorum & laïcorum longe major est numerus, & maxime in Proconsulari Provinciâ. Quamquam, exceptâ Numidiâ Consulari, etiam in cæteris provinciis Africanis, nostrorum numero facillime superantur. Aug. Ep. 129. n. E.

[e] Respondit Officium, nomina Donatistarum episcoporum esse ducenta septuaginta novem, annumeratis etiam illis, pro quibus absentibus alii subscripserant. Catholicorum autem omnium præsentium nomina esse constitit ducenta octoginta sex. Aug. Brev. D. 1. cap. 14.

[f] Dicit enim Tychonius, homo, ut dixi, vestræ communionis, a ducentis & septuaginta vestris episcopis concilium Carthagini celebratum. Aug. Ep. 93. al. 48. cap. x. n. 43.

[g] Sed ecce damnaverunt in concilio suo Maximianistas trecenti decem episcopi Donatistæ. Contr. Ep. Petil. l. i. c. 11, n. 18. Sic enim eos describunt trecenti decem plenarii concilii. Contr. Ep. Parmen. l. ii. c. 3. n. 7. Vid. & contr. Crescon. l. iii. c. 52, n. 58. & c. 53, 54. 56. & passim.

[h] Quæ res coëgit tunc primum adversus vos allegari apud Vicarium Serranum legem illam de decem libris auri, quas nullus vestrûm adhuc pendit, & nos crudelitatis arguitis. Contr. Lit. Petil. l. ii. c. 83. n. 184.

[i] Ita cæci & insani, ut cum schismaticos suos Maximianistas per potestates a catholicis imperatoribus missas de basilicis excluserint, & vi magnâ jussionum & auxiliorum cedere sibi compulerint, arguant catholicam, si pro eâ catholici principes tale aliquid fieri præceperit. Contr. Parm. l. i. c. 10. n. 16.

[k] Nonne apud Hipponem, ubi ego sum, non desunt, qui meminerint, Faustinum vestrum regni sui tempore præcipisse, quoniam catholicorum ibi paucitas erat, ut nullus eis panem coqueret? &c. Contr. Petil. l. ii. c. 83. n. 184.

[l] Extant ap. Baluz. Misc. T. ii. p. 56. &c. & Optat. Milev. ex Edit. Du. Pin. p. 150. &c.

[m] Vid. Baluz. Monitum.

[n] Grammaticus etiam quidam Donatista Cresconius, cum invenisset epistolam meam, quâ primas partes, quæ in manus nostras tunc venerant epistolæ Petiliani, redargui, putavit mihi esse respondendum, & hoc ipsum scripsit ad me. Cui operi ejus libris quatuor respondi. Retract. l. ii. c. 26.

3. Gaudentius, [a] bishop of Tamugada in Numidia. He was one of the seven Donatist bishops, chosen to defend their cause at the conference at Carthage in 411. Some time after that conference, the tribune Dulcitius, who was the emperor's commissary for executing the imperial laws against the Donatists, sent an admonition to him, to return to the unity of the catholic church; which Gaudentius answered, first by a short, then by a long letter. Dulcitius having sent those letters to Augustine, he answered them in one book. Gaudentius published a defence of his letters; and Augustine replied in another, or second book.

That is the substance of what Augustine himself writes. By which it appears, that Cave's account of this matter is not quite right: who [b] supposeth Augustine to have written three books against Gaudentius.

Gaudentius seems to have been a man of a violent temper: for [c] he had formed a design to set fire to his church, and therein to burn himself and some others. The only apology that can be made is, that the hard usage the Donatists met with made them desperate, and filled them with a rage, which they were not able to govern.

I have placed Gaudentius as flourishing about the year 411, the time of the fore-mentioned conference; but his letters to Dulcitius, and his answer to Augustine's first book, were not written until some good while after: for Augustine's writings in this controversy are supposed to have been published about the year 420.

4. Says Gennadius, in the chapter next following in his Catalogue that of Vitellius, to be hereafter transcribed: 'Macrobius [d] also, a presbyter among the Donatists, and afterwards their 'secret bishop at Rome, whilst he was yet a presbyter of the church of God, wrote one book 'addressed to confessors and virgins; a work of the moral kind, but very useful, especially for 'preserving chastity. He first flourished among us in Africa, and afterwards among the Dona-'tists, or Mountaineers, at Rome.'

Macrobius was the fourth [e] Donatist bishop, who sat at Rome, and was living when Optatus of Melevi wrote, about 370. Optatus may be relied upon for that. But whether Gennadius be in the right in saying, that Macrobius was first a presbyter among the catholics, may be questioned. Nor is it easy to form a clear conception concerning the occasion, which a catholic presbyter should have about that time to write an exhortation to confessors. Insomuch, that it may be doubted, whether Gennadius did not confound two persons of this name. Tillemont [f] has good remarks upon this account of Gennadius.

There is still extant a piece entitled [g] The Passion of Maximian and Isaac, Donatists: which is generally supposed to [h] have been written by the above-named Donatist bishop Macrobius, in the year 348, or 349.

5. Parmenian succeeded [i] Donatus in the see of Carthage about the [k] year 350. Not long before the year 370, he wrote a book or epistle against the catholics, which was soon after answered by Optatus of Milevi, in a work still extant.

[a] Per idem tempus Dulcitius tribunus & notarius: hic erat exsecutor imperialium jussionum contra Donatistas datarum. Qui cum dedisset literas ad Gaudentium Tamugadensem Donatistam episcopum, unum illorum septem, quos in nostrâ collatione auctores suæ defensionis elegerant, exhortans eum ad unitatem catholicam, & dissuadens incendium, quo se ac suos cum ipsâ, in quâ erat, ecclesiâ consumere minabatur. ——Ille rescripsit epistolas duas, unam brevem——aliam prolixam——Has mihi supra memoratus tribunus existimavit esse mittendas, ut eas potius ipse refellerem: quas ambas uno libro redargui. Qui cum in ejusdem Gaudentii pervenisset manus, rescripsit quod ei visum est, ad meipsum.——Hinc factum est, ut hi nostri ad illum duo libri essent. Aug. Retr. l. ii. c. 59. Conf. Opp. T. ix. sub fin.

[b] Gaudentium, episcopum Tamugadensem, sectæ Donatistæ, qui Dulcitio tribuno, imperatoris apud Africam legato, duas epistolas apologeticas obtulit, ab Augustino totidem libris refutatas: quibus responsionem opposuit Gaudentius, ab Augustino itidem libro tertio eversam. Cav. H. L. De Gaudentio Brixiensi.

[c] Gaudentius,——cum seipsum in ecclesiâ quibusdam sibi adjunctis perditis incendere minabatur. Aug. Contr. Gaud. l. i. c. i. Vid. ejusd. Retract. supr. not.[a]

[d] Macrobius, presbyter & ipse, ut ex scriptis Optati cognovimus, Donatista, & suorum postea in urbe Româ occultus episcopus fuit. Scripsit, cum adhuc in ecclesiâ Dei presbyter fuisset, ad confessores & ad virgines librum unum, moralis quidem, sed valde necessariæ doctrinæ, & præcipue ad custodiendam castitatem aptissimis valde sententiis communitum. Claruit inter nostros primum Africæ, & inter suos, id est Donatianos, sive Montenses, postea Romæ. Gennad. De V. I. cap. v.

[e] Ergo restat, ut fateatur socius vester Macrobius se ibi sedere, ubi aliquando sedit Encolpius.—— Optat. l. ii. c. 4.

[f] Les Donatistes. Note 21.

[g] Apud Du Pin Optat. p. 199. &c.

[h] See Tillem. Donatistes Art. 48.

[i] Non enim Cæcilianus exivit a Majorino avo tuo. Optat. l. i. c. 10.

In tribus libris contra epistolam Parmeniani Donatistarum Carthaginensis episcopi, successoremque Donati. Aug. Retr, l. ii. c. 17.

Dicant, unde natus est Majorinus, aut Donatus, ut per eos nasceretur Parmenianus atque Primianus. Aug. Cont. Parm. l. iii. c. 2. n. 11. Vid. & c. 3. n. 18.

[k] Vid. Du Pin Præf. ad Optat. & Tillem. Les Donatistes Art. L. fin.

Parmenian afterwards wrote another letter against [a] Tichonius a Donatist, who differed in some things from the rest of his party. This letter was answered by Augustine in three books.

It does not appear with certainty when [b] this letter of Parmenian was published: but Augustine's answer was written about the year 400, and Parmenian was then dead. He seems however to have lived to the year [c] 390, and the Donatist interest flourished greatly under him.

6. Petilian, bishop of Cirtha, called also Constantina, in Numidia: who [d] formerly pleaded at the bar as an advocate, wrote a letter to the Donatist clergy, which Augustine soon after answered [e] in three books. He was one of the seven Donatist bishops, appointed to defend their cause at the famous conference at Carthage.

7. Says Gennadius, who wrote near the end of the fifth century, 'Tichonius [f] of Africa, 'well acquainted with the literal sense of scripture, and not ignorant in secular learning, and 'well versed in ecclesiastical affairs, wrote three books concerning intestine divisions, an Exposition of several matters [or a Miscellany,] in which works he mentions some ancient synods 'in defence of his own cause. By all which it appears he was of the Donatist party. He wrote 'also a book of Seven Rules, for attaining the true Meaning of scripture. He likewise wrote a 'Commentary upon the Revelation of John, from the beginning to the end.'

That is a part of Gennadius's article: for the rest I refer to himself.

Augustine in his answer to Parmenian gives Tichonius [g] the character of a man of good sense, and a great deal of eloquence. He was a modern Donatist. But then he [h] is reckoned inconsistent: and he fell under the displeasure of his own party. Parmenian, bishop of Carthage, as we have seen, wrote against him. Du Pin says, he [i] flourished about the year 380. Tillemont's [k] computation is not very different. The book of the Civil War, or Intestine Divisions, may be the book referred to by Augustine, and against which Parmenian wrote. The Seven Rules for finding the true Meaning of Scripture, are [l] still extant.

8. 'Vitellius, of Africa,' says [m] Gennadius, 'defending the schism of the Donatists, wrote a 'book, shewing, that the servants of God are hated by the world. In which, if he had not 'treated us as persecutors, he delivered an excellent doctrine. He also wrote against the 'Gentiles, and against us, as traitors of the divine scriptures in the persecution. He likewise 'wrote several other books, relating to ecclesiastical discipline. He flourished under Constans, 'son of the emperor Constantine, that is, as Cave computes, about the year 344.

As Gennadius's is the only account we have of this author, and none of his writings remain, nothing farther can be added. We may however conclude from hence, that the Donatists were not concerned for the interests of their own party only: but employed themselves likewise in the defence of the common cause of Christianity against its enemies.

IV. The Donatists used the same scriptures that other Christians did: as is often owned by their catholic adversaries, [n] Optatus and [o] Augustine.

[a] Nunc autem quoniam incidit in manus nostras Parmeniani, quondam episcopi eorum, quædam epistola, quæ scribitur ad Tichonium. Aug. contr. Parmen. l. i. c. 1. Conf. Aug. Ep. 93. n. 44.

[b] See Tillem. Donatistes. Art. 59. [c] Id. ib. Art. 65.

[d] Vid. Aug. contr. Petil. l. iii. c. 16. [e] Opp. T. ix.

[f] Tichonius, natione Afer, in divinis literis eruditus, juxta historiam sufficienter, & in secularibus non ignarus fuit, in ecclesiasticis quoque negotiis studiosus. Scripsit de bello intestino libros tres, & expositiones diversarum causarum, in quibus ob suorum defensionem antiquarum meminit synodorum. E quibus omnibus agnoscitur Donatianæ partis fuisse. Composuit & Regulas ad investigandam & inveniendam intelligentiam scripturarum septem, quas in uno volumine conclusit. Exposuit & Apocalypsin Johannis ex integro, nihil in eo carnale, sed totum intelligens spirituale. Gennad. De V. I. c. 18.

[g] —incidit in manus nostras Parmeniani —— epistola, quæ scribitur ad Tichonium, hominem quidem & acri ingenio præditum, & uberi eloquio, sed Donatistam. Aug. Contr. Parm. l. i. c. 1.

[h] Tichonius —— vidit ecclesiam Dei toto orbe diffusam. —— Aug. ibid. Conf. ejusd. Ep. 93. c. x. n. 43.

[i] Hist. Donat. p. 12.

[k] Les Donatistes Art. 59. & note 31, 32.

[l] App. Bib. PP. Mex. T. vi.

[m] Vitellius Afer, Donatianorum schisma defendens, scripsit de eo quod odio sint mundo servi Dei. In quo si tacuisset de nostro velut persecutorum nomine, egregiam doctrinam ediderat. Scripsit & adversum Gentes, & adversum nos velut traditores, in persecutione, divinarum scripturarum. Et ad regulam ecclesiasticam pertinentia multa disseruit. Claruit sub Constante, filio Constantini principis. Gennad. cap. iv.

[n] Cum constet merito, quia nobis & vobis ecclesiastica una est conversatio—Denique possumus & nos dicere: Pares credimus, & uno sigillo signati sumus, nec aliter baptizati quam vos. Testamentum divinum legimus pariter. Optat. l. iii. c. 9.

Denique & apud vos & apud nos una est ecclesiastica conversatio, communes lectiones, eadem fides. —— Id. l. v. c. 1. fin.

[o] Proferte certe aliquam de scripturis canonicis, quarum nobis est communis auctoritas, ab hæreticis venientem denuo baptizatum. Aug. contr. Crescon. l. i. c. 31. n. 37.

In scripturis discimus Christum: in scripturis discimus ecclesiam. Has scripturas communiter habemus. Ep. 105. al. 166. c. 4. n. 14.

Isti autem fratres utriusque testamenti auctoritate defenduntur. Ep. 129. n. 3.

1. That they received all the several parts of the Old and New Testament, appears from St. [a] Augustine's enumeration of them in his arguments with these people.

2. There can be no question therefore, but they received all those books in particular, which were generally received.

3. The book of the Acts is largely quoted by [b] Petilian, and [c] Tichonius.

4. I cannot say, whether they received the Epistle to the Hebrews. Tichonius has the words [d] of Heb. x. 38. "The just shall live by faith;" but he seems to consider them as the prophet Habakkuk's.

5. They plainly received the Revelation of St. John. Augustine frequently [e] quotes it in his arguments with them. It is also cited by the [f] Anonymous Author of the Acts of Saturninus and others. Tichonius [g] the Donatist wrote a Commentary upon the whole book, as we before saw in his article from Gennadius.

6. Augustine bears witness to them, that [h] they had the like respect for the scriptures that the catholics had, and were not unwilling to be determined by them.

Moreover, their respect for the divine scriptures was manifest, in their aversion for all those who had betrayed them, or were supposed to have done so.

CHAP. LXVIII.

ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history and works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria, succeeded [i] Achillas in the year 312, or 313. In his time arose the Arian controversy, which made so much noise in the world. He was present at the council of Nice in 325, and died at Alexandria, before the end of that year, or some time in 326, within five months [k] after the breaking up of the council, or [l] after his return home from it.

[a] Non invidemus alicui. Legite nobis hoc de Lege, de Prophetis, de Psalmis, de ipso Evangelio, de Apostolicis literis. Legimus, & credimus. Aug. de Unit. Ecc. cap. 6. n. 11.

Ut ergo non commemorem gentes, quæ post apostolorum tempora crediderunt, & accesserunt ecclesiæ; illæ ipsæ solæ, quas in sanctis literis, in Actibus, & Epistolis Apostolorum, & Apocalypsi Johannis invenimus; quas utrique amplectimur, & quibus utrique subdimur, &c. Ib. c. 12. n. 31.

Sed in præscripto Legis, in Prophetarum prædictis, in Psalmorum cantibus, in ipsius Pastoris vocibus, in Evangelistarum prædicationibus & laboribus, hoc est in omnibus sanctorum librorum auctoritatibus. Ib. c. 18. n. 47.

Quas utique scripturas, nisi canonicas Legis & Prophetarum? Huc accesserunt Evangelia, Apostolicæ Epistolæ, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Joannis. Ib. c. 19. n. 51.

Quod non de Lege, non de Prophetâ, non de Psalmo, non de Apostolo, non de Evangelio,——recitatis. Ep. 165. al. 166. c. 1. n. 2.

[b] Sed ut hæc ab apostolis præluceant, eorum Actibus edocemur. Petilian. ap. Aug. contr. Lit. Pet. l. ii. c. 37. n. 85. Vid. ib. c. 20. n. 44. & c. 21. n. 47.

[c] Tichon. Reg. iii. p. 52. Bib. PP. T. 6.

[d] Quomodo autem ex lege nemo justificatur apud Deum; justus autem ex fide vivit. [Conf. Gal. iii. 11.] Ostendit præterea, dictum esse per prophetam, ex fide vivit. Tich. Reg. iii. ap. Bib. PP. T. vi. p. 52. F.

[e] Nam populos significari aliquando vocabulo aquarum, legant in Apocalypsi.—— Sic enim dicitur Joanni.——Aug. contr. Ep. Parmen. l. ii. c. 10. n. 22. Vid. ib. n. 20. Et conf. Aug. contr. Crescon. l. iii. c. 66. n. 75. & c. 67. n. 77.

[f] Et hanc sententiam suam Sancti Spiritûs auctoritate conscriptam tali comparatione firmabant. Scriptum est, inquiunt, in Apocalypsi.——Acta Saturnin. & cap. 18.

[g] Exposuit & Apocalypsin ex integro. Gennad. De V. I. cap. 18.

[h] Sed, ut dicere cœperam, non audiamus: Hæc dicis, hæc dico. Sed audiamus: Hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certe libri dominici, quorum auctoritatibus utrique consentimus, utrique cedimus, utrique servimus. De Unit. Ec. c. 3. n. 5.

Sileant humanarum contentionum animosa & perniciosa certamina. Inclinemus aurem verbo Dei. ib. c. 7. n. 15.

[i] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. & Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 311. n. 23.

[k] Alexander quinto post synodum habitam mense obiit, exeunte anno 325, vel mense primo insequentis anni. Cav. ib. in Alexandro.

[l] Quo pacto Alexander in suam ecclesiam initio hiemis pervenit, & die 16 Aprilis defunctus est. Quæ Athanasii laudati sententia fuisse videtur. Hæc enim ejus verba: Οὕπω δὲ πενῖε μῆνες παρηλθον, καὶ ὁ μεν μακαρίτης Αλεξανδρος τελευτηκεν· id est, nondum quinque menses (scilicet ab adventu Alexandri in ecclesiam suam,) præterierant, cum Alexander mortem obiit. Pagi ib. An. 326. n. 3. Conf. Ap. d. contr. Arian. n. 59. p. 178. & Thdret. l. i. c. 26.

By Theodoret he is called [a] the great Alexander, and [b] an excellent defender of the evangelical doctrine.

It is not known that Alexander wrote any thing beside epistles, sent to bishops in several parts of the world: which, as [c] Epiphanius says, were in number almost seventy, and were extant in his time in the hands of the curious. Socrates says, that [d] great numbers of epistles having been written by many, sent chiefly to the bishop of Alexandria, collections were made of them; one by Arius, of those favouring him, another by Alexander, on the contrary side. It is probable, that [e] each collection contained the letters written by themselves, as well as by others in their favour. But, as may be argued from the words of Socrates, and is farther evident from [f] Sozomen, each collection consisted of letters written on one side only.

Of all those epistles of Alexander there now remain two only, one in Socrates, to [g] the bishops of the catholic church throughout the world: the other in [h] Theodoret, to Alexander bishop of Byzantium, with [i] fragments of some others. The time of writing those two letters will be shewn more particularly at the beginning of the next chapter.

It must be owned that Alexander expresseth himself with much warmth, if not with bitterness of spirit.

He calls Arius and his followers [k] apostates, and [l] enemies of Christ, and [m] impious. He says, [n] they had done their utmost to exceed all past heresies, and approach nearer to Antichrist.

II. All the farther account which I shall give of those two letters will relate to the holy scriptures.

1. It is observable, that several books of the New Testament, particularly St. Paul's epistles, are here frequently quoted.

2. St. John's gospel is largely and expressly quoted. 'John [o] the evangelist: John [p] in his 'gospel: the [q] most excellent John.'

3. Alexander received the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's. 'As [r] the apostle says, Jesus 'Christ, the [s] same yesterday, to-day, and for ever: and what reason have they to say that he 'was made for us, when Paul writes, "for [t] whom are all things, and by whom are all things."' Again, having cited various texts, he adds, 'Agreeably [u] to these speaks the most eloquent Paul, saying, "Whom [w] he has appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds." In another place [x] he has words of Heb. i. 3.

4. He quotes the second Epistle of St. John, ver. 10. 'For [y] it becometh us as Christians, '——" not to say to such: God speed, lest we be partakers of their sins," as the blessed John 'directs.'

5. I shall add some things, shewing his respect for the scriptures, and the general divisions then in use.

[a] Hær. Fab. l. iv. n. 1. p. 232. & n. 7. p. 239.

[b] ——Αλεξανδρος ὁ γενναιος των ευαγγελικων δογμαλων γενομενος προμαχος. Id. H. E. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

[c] ——ὡς τον αριθμον ἑβδομηκονλα. Epiph. H. 69. n. 4.

[d] Οὑλως εναγλιων γραμμαλων παρος τον επισκοπον Αλεξανδρειας πεμπομενων πεποιηγλαι των επιςολων τθλων συναγωγας, Αρειος μεν των ὑπερ αυλθ, Αλεξανδρος δε των εναγλιων. Socr. l. i. c. 6. f.

[e] Non omittendum, quod Socrates narrat, Arium collectionem fecisse epistolarum causæ suæ faventium, in quibus non dubium est etiam Arii ipsius epistolas insertas fuisse. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 309. Vid. & p. 340.

[f] ——συναγωγην εποιησαντο των ὑπερ της οικειας αἱρεσεως φερομενων επιςολων, και τας εναγλιας παρελαβον. Sozom. l. i. c. 1. p. 402. A.

[g] Τοις αγαπηγλοις——συλλειτθργοις τοις ἁπανταχθ της καθολικης εκκλησιας. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10. A.

[h] Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 4.

[i] Vid. Const. Ap. l. viii. c. 28. in. notis: & Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 341. & S. Maxim. Confess. T. ii. p. 152, 155. Conf. Car. H. L. in Alexandro.

[k] Εξηλθον νυν ανδρες παρανομοι και χρις-ομαχοι, διδασκονλες αποςασιαν. Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10. A. B.

——Ευσεβιος——προϊςαλαι και τθλων των αποςαλων. ib. B.

[l] Ἁπαξ γαρ προθεμενοι χρις-ομαχειν. p. 112. B.

[m] —φασιν οἱ αλας-ορες. ap. Th. p. 10. D.

[n] ——εδικαιωσαν εξ ἑαυλων εκεινας, ὡς εγγυλεροι τθ ανλιχριςθ γενομενοι. p. 12. D.

[o] ——Ιωαννης ευαγγελις-ης· κ. λ. Ap. Thdret. l. i. c. 4. p. 11.

[p] Τις ακθων Ιωαννθ λεγονλος——; η τις ακθων εν τω ευαγγελιω——; Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11. C. D.

[q] Ὁ ευλαβες-αλος Ιωαννης. Ap. Theod. p. 12. A.

[r] Αλλ' ὡς αποςολος· Ιησθς Χρις-ος χθες και σημερον αυλος, και εις τας αιωνας· τι δε αρα ειπειν αυλθς επαγει, ὁτι δι' ἡμας γεγονε, καιοι τθ Παυλθ γραφονλος, δι' ὁν τα παντα και δ' ὁ τα παντα; ap. Socr. p. 12. B.

[s] Heb. xiii. 8. [t] Heb. ii. 10.

[u] Συμφωνα γαν τθτοις βοα και ὁ μεγαλοφωνοτατος Παυλος, φασκων περι αυλθ· ὁν εθηκε κληρονομον παντων. κ. λ. ap. Theod. p. 13. B. [w] Hebr. i. 2.

[x] ——απαυγασμα γαρ εςι της δοξης, και χαρακτηρ της παλρικης ὑποςασεως. ap. Th. p. 17. D. Vid. & Socr. p. 12. D.

[y] ——και μη δε καν χαιρειν τοις τοιθτοις λεγειν, ἱνα μη κοινωνοι γενωμεθα, ὡς παρηγγειλεν ὁ μακαριος Ιωαννης. ap. Socr. p. 13. C.

(1.) He calls them[a] divine scriptures. He ever asserts his own opinion upon the[b] ground of their authority, and[c] chargeth his adversaries with opposing and contracting the same divine scriptures. The doctrines which he maintains to be true, he says, are apostolical, which[d] we teach and preach, and for which we are ready to die.

(2.) Other passages to the like purpose are such as these: 'We[e] believe in one only unbe-'gotten Father, giver of the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, Lord of the patriarchs, and 'apostles, and all holy men.' Afterwards, 'We[f] also confess, as the divine scriptures teach, one 'Holy Spirit, who renewed both the holy men of the Old Testament, and the divine teachers of 'that which is called the New.' He thinks, that[g] the hypostasis of the Son may be above the comprehension of evangelists, and even of angels. Having cited some texts of the Old Testament, and St. Paul's epistles, he proceeds, 'And[h] in the gospel it is written.'

(3.) I have not observed in Alexander quotations of any books, beside those of the Old and the New Testament. But representing in strong terms the perverseness of his adversaries, Arius and his adherents, he says: 'They[i] have no regard to the wisdom and piety of ancient writings, nor 'to the unanimous consent of our colleagues in the doctrine concerning Christ.' By ancient writings, I suppose he means those of early Christians, near the days of the apostles: for which he seems to have had, and justly, a high respect. Nevertheless they were not esteemed decisive, and of authority in matters of religion. If they had been so, they would have been frequently quoted by him.

CHAP. LXIX.

ARIUS, AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

I. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *His character.* IV. *The rise and occasion of the Arian controversy.* V. *The opinions of Arius and his followers.* VI. *Divisions among them, and their numerous councils and creeds.* VII. *Their want of moderation.* VIII. *Their testimony to the scriptures.* IX. *Arian writers:* 1. *Acacius.* 2. *Aetius.* 3. *Anonymous author of a Commentary upon the Book of Job.* 4. *Another author of a Discourse in Augustine.* 5. *Asterius.* 6. *Basil of Ancyra.* 7. *Eunomius.* 8. *Eusebius of Emesa.* 9. *Eusebius of Nicomedia.* 10. *Euzoius.* 11. *George of Laodicea.* 12. *Lucius.* 13. *Maximin.* 14. *Philostorgius.* 15. *Sabinus.* 16. *Theodore, bishop of Heraclea.* 17. *Ulphilas.*

I. The history of the Arian controversy may be learned not only from Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, and other ecclesiastical historians, but likewise from Arius himself, Alexander and Athanasius, principals in the debate.

It began, as some think, in the year[k] 316, others about[l] 319: whereas[m] Baronius placed it as early as 315, agreeably to[n] Orosius, as he thought. But[o] Basnage and others say, that the beginning of Arianism is put by that author in 317. Cave likewise thinks, that Arius was not known[p] as an heresiarch, until after 315, though he speaks of him as flourishing about that year.

[a] Εντολης τε ȣσης εν ταις θειαις γραφαις. ap. Socr. p. 10. A. & passim.

[b] Και ταυτα ελεγοντες, και αναπτυσσοντες τας θειας γραφας, πολλακις ακειρεψαμεν αυτȣς, ap. Socr. p. 12. C.

[c] Ποια δε παρα τας γραφας εφευροντες λαλȣσιν, εστι ταυτα. Ap. Soc. p. 10. D. τας θειας——συναναιρȣντες γραφας. ap. Th. p. 10. D. και ταις γραφαις εμπαροινȣντες. ib. p. 11. B.

[d] Ταυτα διδασκομεν, ταυτα κηρυσσομεν, ταυτα της εκκλησιας τα αποστολικα δογματα, ὑπερ ὧν και αποθνησκομεν. Ap. Th. p. 19. A. B.

[e] Νομȣ και προφητων και ευαγγελιον δοτηρα, πατριαρχων και αποστολων και ἁπαντων ἁγιων κυριον. Ap. Th. p. 17. A. B.

[f] Καθὼς ἡμας αἱ θειαι γραφαι διδασκȣσιν, ἐν πνευμα ἁγιον· ὁμολογȣμεν, το καινισαν τȣς τε της παλαιας διαθηκης ἁγιȣς ανθρωπȣς, και τȣς της χρηματιζȣσης καινης παιδευτας θειȣς. Ib. p. 18. C. D.

[g] Ib. p. 12. B. Conf. p. 17. C.

[h] Εν δε τω ευαγγελιω. ib. p. 14. B.

[i] Ου κατηδεσεν αυτȣς ἡ των αρχαιων γραφων φιλοθεος σαφηνεια· ȣδε ἡ των συλλειτȣργων συμφωνος περι Χριστȣ ευλαβεια. ib. p. 16. C. Vid. ib. B.

[k] Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 308.

[l] Tillem. T. vi. Les Ariens. Art. 2. & Note i.

[m] A. 315. n. 20.

[n] l. vii. c. 28.

[o] A. 317. n. v. Conf. eund. A. 321. n. ix. & Pagi Ann. 315. n. vi. vii.

[p] Cœpitque, ut volunt, ab anno 315, tamquam hæresiarcha, innotescere; quod tamen paulo serius mihi contigisse videtur, paucis ante synodum Nicænam annis. Cav. H. L. in Ario.

Barnard de Varenne says, that[a] Arius did not open himself fully, till the year 319, when he knew that he had several bishops and presbyters on his side.

Epiphanius informs us, it was said, that[b] Arius was a native of Libya: he does not speak positively. Constantine seems to mean Alexandria, when he speaks of[c] sending back Arius to his own country. It is now commonly said, that his father's name was Ammonius: and indeed, Arius sent his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia by one[d] Ammonius, whom he calls father. But in what sense he useth the word, may be questioned, as has been already observed by[e] Basnage.

Sozomen says, that[f] Arius was made deacon by Peter, but was afterwards excommunicated by the same bishop, for not approving of his treatment of Meletius and his adherents. When Peter had suffered martyrdom, Achillas not only forgave Arius, and admitted him deacon again, but ordained him presbyter. After whose death,[g] he was also for a time much esteemed by Alexander.

It is universally agreed, that Arius was presbyter of Alexandria, and[h] officiated in a church of that city. Theodoret says, he[i] was intrusted with the interpretation of the sacred scriptures, whether Theodoret thereby means, as catechist, or only as preacher in the church allotted to him, is not[k] certain. For it seems to me, that there is no good reason to conclude from these expressions of Theodoret, that Arius had the office of catechist at Alexandria.

Arius's particular opinions being known, and spreading considerably, Alexander convened a council at Alexandria: in which Arius and divers others were[l] excommunicated, as Socrates says. To the like purpose Alexander himself,[m] in his epistle to Alexander bishop of Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople. Sozomen says, that[n] Alexander excommunicated Arius and the clergy that followed him.

This sentence was passed upon Arius, as[o] Tillemont thinks, in 319 or 320, or as other learned[p] men, in 320 or 321. It appears to me very difficult to determine the year with certainty.

It ought to be observed, that about the year 319, or in some short time after, two synods were held at Alexandria. After the former of which Alexander wrote his letter to his namesake at Constantinople; after the latter, at which were present almost[q] a hundred bishops of Egypt and Libya, he wrote the letter to the bishops of the catholic church in all places. There seems not to have been any long space of time between those two synods: and both these letters of Alexander were written a good while before Constantine's letter to the same Alexander and Arius, which was not written before the year 324. So[r] Pagi, and others.

Whenever these things were done, Arius, in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, complains heavily of the hard treatment given him by his bishop. He says, he[s] was unjustly persecuted by Alexander for the truth's sake: and that he[t] and his brethren were expelled the city, as impious, for not assenting to the doctrine taught by him. Epiphanius too, expressly says, that[u] Arius and they who adhered to him, were expelled both the church and the city.

Arius being expelled from Alexandria, went[x] into Palestine, to strengthen his interest. Indeed, there were many who favoured him and his cause. Epiphanius says, it was reported, that[y] he drew over to his party seven hundred virgins consecrated to God, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and some bishops. This great increase, or a large part of it, Epiphanius plainly

[a] Histoire de Constantin. l. v. p. 207. a Paris. 1728.

[b] ——φασιν δε αυτον Λιβυν το γενει. Epiph. H. 6. 9. n. 69.

[c] ——επι την παλριδα αφικεσθαι δυνηθης. ap. Socr. l. i. c. 25. p. 61. B.

[d] Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. 6.

[e] Sed ambiguum patris nomen, quod episcopis etiam frequentissime dabatur, in incerto ponit, naturâne an dignitate pater Arii vocetur Ammonius. Basn. A. 317. n. v.

[f] Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 426. A. B.

[g] ——μετα δε ταυτα και Αλεξανδρος εν τιμη ειχεν αυτον. Soz. ib. B.

[h] Vid. Epiph. H. 69. n. i.

[i] Αρειος τω μεν καθολου των πρεσβυτερων ενετελγμενος, την δε των θειων γραφων πεπιστευμενος εξηγησιν. Thdrt. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

[k] Vid. Tillem. Les Ariens Art. 2. sub in.

[l] Και συνεδριον πολλων επισκοπων καθισας τον μεν Αρειον, και τους μεν αποδεχομενους την δοξαν αυτου, καθαιρει. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 9. D.

[m] ——παμψηφει της προσκυνησης Χριστου την θειαν εκκλησιας εξηλασαμεν. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 4. p. 10. A. Vid. & p. 19. B.

[n] ——απεκηρυξε της εκκλησιας αυτον τε και τους συμπραττοντας αυτω περι δογμα κληρικους. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 427. A.

[o] Les Ariens. Art. 3. & note i.

[p] Vid. Pagi Ann. 315. n. vi. vii. viii. Basnag. 321. n. ix.

[q] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11. C.

[r] A. 315. n. viii. Conf. Vales. Annot. ad Thdrt. l. i. c. 4. & Basnag. Ann. 324. n. xx.

[s] ὁ διωκομενος υπο Αλεξανδρου παρα αδικως δια——αληθειαν. ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. 6. in.

[t] ——και παν κακον κινει καθ' ἡμων——ὡστε εκδιωξαι ἡμας εκ της πολεως, ὡς ανθρωπους ἀθεους. ib. p. 731. B.

[u] ——εξετον αυτον της εκκλησιας, και εκκηρυκτον ποιει εν τη πολει. H. 69. n. iii. p. 729. D.

[x] Epiph. ib. n. iv. in.

[y] H. 69. n. iii. in.

supposes to have been made before Arius was excommunicated. For he says, that Alexander having summoned his presbyters, and some bishops, and strictly examining the matter, when Arius refused to own the truth, he was expelled the church and city: and [a] with him were excommunicated the virgins and the clergy above-mentioned, and a great number of people. Alexander, in his letter to his namesake of Byzantium, which we have in Theodoret, speaks, as if there [b] were many women at Alexandria who sided with Arius: and their zeal is represented by him as very great; though afterwards, to diminish their credit, as it seems, he speaks of the women that had been deceived, as [c] few, or inconsiderable. He owns likewise, that Arius and his friends boasted of having [d] bishops on their side. Alexander complains also of [e] three bishops of Syria, who countenanced them: meaning Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus of Laodicea and Paulinus of Tyre. And at the end of that letter, he mentions by name [f] ten presbyters and deacons at Alexandria, who had been anathematized by him as heretics.

In the letter to the bishops of the catholic church, preserved in [g] Socrates, Alexander complains of Eusebius of Nicomedia, for patronizing Arius. And moreover mentions twelve presbyters and deacons at Alexandria, and two bishops of that country, who were of that party. Their names are Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carponas, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoius, Lucius, Julian, Menas, Helladius, Gaius: the bishops are Secundus and Theonas.

Arius, in his letter to [h] Eusebius of Nicomedia, mentions Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory and Aëtius by name: and refers in general to other bishops of the east, who had been anathematized by Alexander, for teaching the same doctrine that he did. And intimates, that none of the bishops of the east had escaped that censure, except Philogonius, Hellanicus and Macarius. The places where all these were bishops, are afterwards particularly shewn by Theodoret.

Socrates observes, that [i] the evil, which began at Alexandria, soon spread itself all over Egypt and Libya, and the upper Thebais, and at length into other cities and countries.

Arius was at Nice when the council met there: his opinions having been condemned, he [k] was banished by Constantine. By an edict of the same emperor he and his adherents were stigmatized with the opprobrious name of Porphyrians, his books were ordered to be burned, and whoever concealed any of them were to be put to death.

Arius was afterwards recalled; and, as [l] Sozomen says, in a short time: but was not allowed to go to Alexandria; where indeed he never settled after the council of Nice, though [m] he attempted it. Tillemont says, that [n] Arius was not recalled before the year 330. Other learned men think, he [o] returned from his banishment in 327. It is certain, that Arius and Euzoius did [p] some time present a confession of faith to Constantine, with which the emperor was satisfied. He was received to the communion of the church [q] by the council of Jerusalem in [r] 335. A like attempt was [s] afterwards made at Constantinople, but in vain. It is generally said, that [t] he died in a sudden and remarkable manner at Constantinople in the year 336.

II. It does not appear, that Arius's works were voluminous; though it is probable, that he wrote a good number of letters. We still have an epistle written by him [u] to Eusebius of Nicomedia, and another to [x] Alexander, bishop of Alexandria; and the [y] Confession of Faith, presented by him and Euzoius to Constantine. He also wrote [z] divers little poems, fitted for the use of common people, for promoting his peculiar opinions. A book called Thalia, whether in

[a] ——συν αυτῳ δε απεσπασθησαν αἱ προειρημεναι παρθενευουσαι, και κληρικοι οἱ προειρημενοι, και οχλος αλλος πολυς. ib. ad fin.

[b] ——δι' εντυχιας γυναικαριων ατακτων ἁ ηπατησαν·——εκ τε περι τροσαβειν πασαν αιυιαν ασεμνως τας παρ' αυτοις νεωτερας, ap. Thdrt. p. 9. D.

[c] ——ηπατημενα ολιγα γυναικαρια. ib. p. 19. C.

[d] ——ὡς αν συμψηφους αυτοις και ὁμοφρονας εχοντες επισκοπους. ib. p. 10. B.

[e] Ib. p. 15. C.

[f] Ib. p. 20.

[g] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10.

[h] Ap. Thdret. l. i. c. v. p. 21. A.

[i] L. i. c. 6. in.

[k] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. Sozom. l. i. c. 21. p. 435, 436.

[l] Soz. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. 14. p. 44. C.

[m] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 27. & 37. Soz. l. ii. c. 29.

[n] Les Ariens. Art. xiii. & Note ix.

[o] Vid. Pagi Ann. 327. n. iii. iv. Basnag. 327. n. iii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 308.

[p] Socr. l. i. p. 25, 26. Soz. l. ii. c. 27.

[q] Ath. contr. Arian. p. 199, 200. De Synod. p. 734. Soz. l. ii. c. 27. p. 486.

[r] Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. xxi. Pagi A. 390. n. xiii. xvi.

[s] Pagi 340. n. xv. Basnag. Ann. 336. n. iv. Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. xxiv. xxv.

[t] Vid. Athanas. Ep. ad Serap. de Mort. Arii. p. 340, 341. Socr. l. ii. c. 38. Soz. l. ii. c. 29. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 14. H. F. l. iv. cap. 1. p. 234. Epiph. H. 69. n. v. Ruf. H. E. l. i. c. 13.

[u] Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vi. Thdrt. l. i. c. v.

[x] Ap. eund. ib. c. vii. viii.

[y] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 26. Soz. l. ii. c. 27. p. 485.

[z] Philost. H. E. l. ii. c. 2.

verse or prose is not absolutely[a] certain; for there are some fragments of it in Athanasius, which do not appear to be in verse. This book is mentioned by several authors, particularly[b] Socrates and[c] Sozomen; who censure the style of it, as soft and effeminate. But Sozomen honestly owns, that he speaks upon hearsay only, and that he had not seen the book. However, they both say it was condemned by the council of Nice. As Athanasius quotes it several times, he must be supposed to have read it. He speaks of[d] the softness and pleasantry, or buffoonry, with which it was written: and perhaps both the fore-mentioned writers, and others likewise, took this character of the book from him. And, possibly, some said as much of Augustine's Psalm or Song upon the Donatists. Beside all these, Tillemont imagines, that[e] Arius also published some work against the heathens in defence of the Christian religion.

III. Arius was[f] very tall, grave and serious, yet affable and courteous. With good natural parts, and no inconsiderable share of secular learning of all sorts, he was[g] particularly distinguished by his skill in logic, or the art of disputing. He[h] had at least the outward appearance of piety. In short, he is represented as a man exceedingly well qualified to form a party, and carry on any enterprize he should engage in. So far as I recollect, his conduct was unblameable; excepting what relates to his zeal for maintaining his supposed errors; and that he is charged[i] with dissembling his real sentiments, upon some occasions, in those difficult circumstances, to which he was reduced by the prevailing power of his adversaries.

I may add here, that he writes with much spirit, and a full assurance of the truth of his opinions; particularly in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, whom he styles[k] *orthodox*, and he tells that bishop, that[l] he and his friends were unjustly persecuted by Alexander for the truth's sake, which conquers all things: that all the bishops of the east in general had been anathematized by Alexander, except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, whom he calls[m] ignorant heretics. As for himself, he was not able to endure their impious[n] doctrine; nor would he ever receive it, though he were to suffer a thousand deaths from those heretics.

IV. Socrates gives this account of the rise and occasion of the Arian controversy. 'Alexander,' he[o] says, 'discoursing one day too curiously concerning the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, in 'the presence of his presbyters and the rest of his clergy; Arius, one of the presbyters, supposed 'his bishop to advance the doctrine of Sabellius, and disliking that, he went into an opinion 'diametrically opposite.' Theodoret too says, that[p] Arius took occasion from things said by Alexander to raise a disturbance. And Constantine likewise, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, first blames the former[q] for putting questions to his presbyters, which he ought not; and then the latter, for inconsiderately uttering notions, that ought to have been buried in silence.

Sozomen gives this account: that[r] Arius had for some time published the doctrines ascribed to him, Alexander taking little notice of the matter: but some blaming him for tolerating such novelties, moved by those complaints, and desiring to act equitably, he appointed a time for hearing the point fairly debated by Arius, and those who opposed him. At which time Arius stood to the things he had advanced: and they who opposed him, asserted the Son to be consubstantial and coeternal to the Father. And though another assembly was appointed for debating the point, they could by no means come to an agreement. The point still remained doubtful and undecided, and[s] Alexander himself was at first in some suspense; but at length he declared himself in favour of those who asserted the Son to be consubstantial and coeternal to the Father.

If we could rely upon this account, it might afford a great deal of reason to think, that the

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. in Ario sub fin.

[b] Socr. l. i. c. ix. p. 30. A.

[c] Soz. l. i. c. xxi. p. 435. C. D.

[d] Ἐγραψε Θαλειαν εκλεθηλυμενοις και γελοιοις ηδεσι. De Sent. Dionys. n. 6. p. 247.

[e] Outre sa Thalie & ses autres écrits contre l'église, il semble qu'il ait fait quelque ouvrage contre les payens.—— Tillem. les Ariens. Art. xxv. m.

[f] Ην δε την ηλικιαν ὑπερμηκης, καὶηφης το ειδος——γλυκυς ην τη προσηγορια. Epiph. H. 69. n. iii. in.

[g] Διαλεκτικωτατος δε γενομενος. κ. λ. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 426. B. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. v.

[h] Vir specie & formâ magis quam virtute religiosus. Ruffin. H. E. l. i. c. 1.

[i] Αρειος γαρ, ὡς προτερον εφην, ἑτερα καὶα διανοιαν φρονων, ἑτερα δε φωνῃ ὡμολογησεν. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. in.

[k] Ορθοδοξῳ. ap. Epiph. 69. n. vi. p. 731. B. [l] Ib.

[m] Αἱρετικων ακαθηκτων. ib. D.

[n] Τουτων των ασεβων ουδε ακουσαι δυναμεθα, εαν μυριας θανατους ὑμιν επαπειλωσιν οι αἱρετικοι. ib. D.

[o] ——φιλοτιμοτερον περι της ἁγιας τριαδος, εν τριαδι μοναδα ειναι, φιλοσοφων. Socr. l. i. c. v.

[p] Theod. H. F. l. iv. c. i. in.

[q] Ap. Euseb. De V. C. l. ii. c. 69. & Socr. l. i. c. 7. p. 15. C. D. [r] Soz. l. i. c. xv.

[s] Αμφηριστο δε της ζητησεως ἑως δοκουσης ειναι, πεπονθε τι και Αλεξανδρος τα πρωτα, τῃ μεν τεθεις, τῃ μεν εκεινοις επαινων· τελευτων δε τοις ὁμοουσιον και συναιδιον ειναι τον υἱον αποφαινομενοις εθετο, ib. p. 427. A.

doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Son's Deity, was not fully defined and determined among Christians before the council of Nice; and that there were no small numbers of persons, who held much the same doctrine with Arius. Moreover Arius, in his letter to Alexander, tells him, that[a] his faith was the same he had received from himself, and had often heard him preach. And though there is some difference between them, it seems to me, that the first three accounts, above represented, do confirm this supposition, as well as Sozomen's.

V. In the next place I would observe the opinions of Arius and his followers.

Alexander, in his letter to the bishops of the catholic church, represents their opinion in this manner: 'That[b] they said, God was not always Father. But there was a time when God was 'not Father: that the word of God was not always, and was made out of nothing: God who 'was, made him who was not, out of nothing. Therefore there was a time, when he was not. 'For the Son is a creature and made: nor is he like the Father in essence.'

But we may take Arius's opinion from himself. And I think it will appear, that in what is above transcribed from Alexander, he is not misrepresented. For in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia he says: 'We[c] cannot assent to those expressions, always Father, always Son, at the 'same time Father and Son: that the Son always co-exists with the Father: that the Father has 'no pre-existence before the Son, not so much as in thought, or a moment. But this we think 'and teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor a part of the unbegotten by any means. Nor is 'he made out of any pre-existent thing: but by the will and pleasure of the Father he existed 'before time and ages, the only begotten God, unchangeable: and that before he was begotten, 'or made, or designed or founded, he was not.——But we are persecuted, because we say, that 'the Son has a beginning, and that God has no beginning. For this we are persecuted, and 'because we say, the Son is out of nothing. Which we therefore say, because he is not a part 'of God, nor made out of any pre-existent thing.'

In his letter to Alexander himself, beside many other things, he says, 'We[d] believe, that 'there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. God, the cause of all 'things, is alone without beginning. The[e] Son, begotten of the Father before time, made 'before the ages, and founded, was not before he was begotten. Nor is he eternal, or coeternal, 'or begotten at the same time with the Father.'

So far from Alexander, and Arius himself. It may be proper to take somewhat also out of other authors.

Epiphanius's Synopsis is to this purpose: 'The[f] Arians say, that the Son is a creature of 'God, and the Holy Ghost the creature of a creature: and that our Saviour took flesh of Mary, 'but not a soul.'

In his large work he says, they[g] argued, that the Spirit was made by the Son, because the scripture says, "All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made." See John i. 3.

Of their denying our Saviour to have a soul, that is, an human soul, he speaks[h] several times, and argues against it[i] largely. Athanasius, too, expressly says, that[k] the Arians maintained, that Christ had flesh only, as a covering for his Deity: and that the Word in him was the same as the soul in us. He supposeth them likewise to allow, that the Word, or Deity in Christ, was liable to suffering in the body. Theodoret[l] ascribes to them the same opinion. He again

[a] ——ἡν και απο σȣ μεμαθηκαμεν. ap. Epiph. p. 732. C. ——ὡς και συ αυτος——εν μεσῃ τε εκκλησιᾳ και συνεδριω——πλειςακις τȣς τα[illegible]α εισηγησαμενȣς απηγορευσας. ib. p. 733. A. ——ὡς παρα σȣ μεμαθηκαμεν, μεσῃ τῃ εκκλησιᾳ κηρυξαντος. ib. C.

[b] Ουκ αει ὁ Θεος Πατηρ ην.——ȣκ αει ην ὁ τȣ Θεȣ Λογος, αλλ' εξ ȣκ οντων γεγονεν· ὁ γαρ ων Θεος τον μη οντα εκ τȣ μη οντος πεποιηκε. κ. λ. ap. Socr. p. 10. D.

[c] ——επειδη ȣ συμφωνȣμεν αυτῳ δημοσιᾳ λεγοντι, αει Θεος, αει Υἱος, ἁμα Πατηρ, ἁμα Υἱος——ȣτ' επινοιᾳ, ȣτ' ἀτομῳ τινι, προαγει ὁ Θεος τȣ Υἱȣ——διωκομεθα δε, ὁτι ειπομεν, αρχην εχει ὁ Υἱος, ὁ δε Θεος αναρχος εςιν——και ὁτι ειπομεν, εξ ȣκ οντων εςιν. κ. λ. ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vi.

[d] Ap. Epiph. ib. n. viii. in.

[e] Ὁ δε Υἱος αχρονως γεννηθεις ὑπο τȣ πατρος——ȣκ ην προ τȣ γεννηθηναι. ibid.

[f] T. i. p. 606.

[g] H. 69. n. 18. p. 741. D. Vid. & n. 56.

[h] Αλλα και αρνȣνται ψυχην αυτον ανθρωπινην ειληφεναι. H. 69. n. 19. p. 743. A. Conf. n. 48—51.

[i] Vid. ib. n. 16. & 17.

[k] Αρειος δε σαρκα μονην προς αποκρυφην της Θεοτητος ὁμολογει· αντι δε τȣ εσωθεν εν ἡμιν ανθρωπȣ, τȣτεςι της ψυχης, τον λογον εν τῃ σαρκι λεγει γεγονεναι· την τȣ παθȣς νοησιν, και την εξ ᾁδȣ αναςασιν τῃ θεοτητι προσαγειν τολμων. Contr. Apollin. l. ii. n. 3. p. 942. C.

[l] Και μεντοι και τον της εν ανθρωπησεως ηκρωτηριασε λογον· σωμα γαρ αυτον αψυχον εφη ειληφεναι, ενηργηκεναι δε τα της ψυχης την Θεοτητα. H. F. l. iv. c. 1. p. 232. D.

ascribes it to [a] Arius and Eunomius. Augustine, too, takes notice of this opinion in his account [b] of this sect, and in other arguments [c] against them.

An anonymous Arian in Augustine says, The [d] Father is greater than the Son, the Son incomparably greater and better than the Spirit. And [e] the Father begot the Son by his will: the Son by his own power alone made the Spirit.

Maximin, in Augustine, says, the [f] Son is not only God, but a great God: which he argues from Tit. ii. 13. Again, We [g] worship the Father and the Son: but shew a text where we are commanded to worship the Spirit.

VI. There were in the fourth century several divisions in this sect. Epiphanius, [h] and Augustine [i] after him, have four distinct articles in speaking of them: Arians or Ariomanites, Semiarians, Macedonians or Pneumatomachi, Aëtians, called also Eunomians and Anomeans.

They were very remarkable for the numerous councils held by them, and for their numerous creeds, especially in the time of Constantius. Socrates computes their creeds [k] or confessions to have been nine in number; and calls them a labyrinth. Some moderns, not attending to the design of Socrates, have multiplied them greatly. He speaks of public creeds, agreed in councils of bishops: they add to them several confessions made by particular persons upon divers occasions. Insomuch, that Fleury [l] makes out a catalogue of sixteen; and Tillemont, not content to stop there, computes [m] eighteen. Athanasius using a round number, says they had had at [n] least ten synods. Learned moderns do sometimes reckon eleven [o] public creeds, the last of which was drawn up in the year [p] 361.

The Arians seem to have pleased themselves with [q] the great number of their synods. But others were of a different opinion: and the confessions of faith published by them were not unanimous. Athanasius [r] often banters them for their numerous creeds, and for making new creeds almost every year; thus shewing themselves dissatisfied with their own performances, and rescinding what had been before established by them. He says, it was matter of great grief to himself, and many others, that the whole world was disturbed by them. Nor could they without pain see those [s] who were called clergymen, continually running from one place to another, to learn how they ought to believe in Jesus Christ. It was, moreover, a cause of scandal to catechumens, and of much laughter to the heathen.

These numerous synods, this frequent creed-making, occasioned that remark of Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen author; that [t] Constantius corrupted the simplicity of the Christian religion; and that the bishops of his reign, continually galloping to councils, jaded all the post-

[a] Αρειος δε και Ευνομιος σωμα μεν αυτον εφασαν ειληφεναι, την Θεοτητα δε της ψυχης ενηργηκεναι την χρειαν. Ib. l. v. c. 11. p. 278. D.

[b] In eo autem quod Christum sine animâ solam carnem suscepisse arbitrantur, minus noti sunt: nec adversus eos ab aliquo inveni de hac re aliquando fuisse certatum. Sed hoc verum esse, & Epiphanius non tacuit, & ego ex eorum quibusdam scriptis & collocutionibus certissime inveni. De Hær. c. 49.

[c] Ecce in quibus verbis suis omnino manifestant negare se, quod ad unitatem personæ Christi etiam humana anima pertineat: sed in Christo carnem & divinitatem tantummodo confiteri. Contr. Serm. Arian. n. 7. T. 8.

[d] Pater major est Filio: Filius incomparabiliter major & melior est Spiritu. Serm. Arian. n. 24. ap. Aug. T. 8.

[e] Pater immobiliter & impassibiliter volens Filium genuit: Filius sine labore & fatigatione solâ virtute suâ Spiritum fecit. Ib. n. 26.

[f] Est autem Filius secundum apostolum non pusillus, sed magnus Deus. Sicut ait beatus apostolus; exspectando beatam spem, & adventum gloriæ magni Dei & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Collat. cum Maxim. n. 13. ap. Aug. T. 8.

[g] Ib. n. 14. Vid. n. xi.

[h] H. 69. 73. 74. 76.

[i] De Hær. c. 49. 51. 52. 54.

[k] Ημεις δε τον λαβυρινθον των εκθεσεων ουτε πολε διανυσαντες, την απαριθμησιν αυτων συναταξωμεν. Socr. l. i. c. 41. p. 154. D.

[l] Fleury B. 14. ch. 33. Vol. 2. p. 294.

[m] Les Ariens Art. 102.

[n] Ηδη γαρ τοισι δεκα και πλεον πε συνοδες πεποιηκασι. Ad Afros n. 2. p. 892 B.

[o] Vid. Petav. ad Epiph. H. 73. n. xxvii. p. 327.

[p] Vid. Benedictin. Monit. ad Athan. de Synod. p. 715.

[q] ——παρακαλεμεν μη ανεχεσθαι, καθα προειπομεν, των προβαλλομενων οχλον συνοδων προφασει πιστεως——κ. λ. Ad. Afros. n. 10. p. 899. C.

[r] Παντα γαν κινησι και ταραττεσι, και ουδε ολως τοις εαυτων αρχαιαι· και ενιαυτον γαρ, ως οι τας διαθηκας γραφοντες, συνερχομενοι και αυτοι προσποιουνται περι πιστεως γραφειν· ινα και εν τουτω γελωτα μαλλον και αισχυνην οφλησωσιν, ότι μη παρ' ετερων, αλλα παρ' αυτων, τα αυτων εκβαλλεται. Ad. Ep. Æg. & Lib. n. 6. in. p. 275.

[s] —ωστε την οικουμενην διαταραχθηναι, και τους λεγομενους εν τω καιρω τουτω κληρικους διατρεχειν ανω και κατω, και ζητειν, τινος αρα μαλλον πιστευειν εις τον κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον—— τουτο δε τοις μεν καθηχουμενοις εκ ολιγου σκανδαλον, τοις δε Ελλησιν ουκ το τυχον, αλλα και πολυν γελωτα παρεσχεν. De Synod. n. 2. p. 717.

[t] Christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem anili superstitione confundens; in quâ scrutandâ perplexius, quam componendâ gravius, excitavit discidia plurima, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum; ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehicularis succideret nervos. Ammian. l. xxi. c. ult.

horses, and wore out all the public carriages of the empire. The same complaint is found in some [a] of the ecclesiastical writers.

VII. In their creeds they are generally very free in anathematizing such as differed from them. In their council at Antioch in 341, under the direction of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his friends, they say: 'We [b] anathematize all heretical pravity. And if any one contrary to the 'sacred doctrine of the scriptures say, that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures——or if 'any one shall teach or preach any thing beside what we have received, let him be anathema.' And in a like manner, more at large in their long creed at Antioch, in 345, which may be seen in [c] Athanasius, and [d] Socrates. Their creed at Sirmium, against Photinus, in 351, concludes with [e] seven and twenty anathemas, three of which are these: 'If [f] any one say, that Abraham 'did not see the Son, but the unbegotten God, or a part of him, let him be anathema. If any 'one say, it was not the Son, who wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God, or a part of 'him, let him be anathema. If any one understand those words in Gen. xix. 24, "the Lord 'rained fire from the Lord," not of the Father and Son, but that God rained from himself, let 'him be anathema. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father.'

Indeed I think, that this sect shewed little moderation in the fourth century. Whenever [g] they had the emperor on their side, they failed not to make use of his authority. Between the emperors Valentinian and Valens, two brothers, the former the elder, emperor in the West, and favourer of the Nicene doctrine, the latter emperor in the East, Socrates observes this difference; Valentinian [h] encouraged the men of his own principles, without being at all troublesome to the Arians: but Valens, desirous to promote Arianism, grievously intreated those who were not of that opinion, as the sequel of our history will shew.

So Socrates, who is the more to be regarded, because he shews a great deal of impartiality, and censures the bishops of his own principles, when they assumed a lordly power and authority; of which some instances were given [i] formerly. Another is this. 'Theodosius, bishop of Synada 'in Phrygia Pacatiana,' he says, 'cruelly [k] persecuted the heretics in that city: of which there 'were many, of the Macedonian sect. He not only expelled them the city, but the country: in 'which he did not act agreeably to the custom of the orthodox church. Nor was he influenced 'by a zeal for the right faith, but by love of money, which he endeavoured to extort from the 'heretics.'

I know not how to forbear observing Acacius's bitter manner of writing controversy; who tells Marcellus, that [l] he deserved to have his tongue cut out.

If any desire to see some other instances of their partiality, and violent zeal, they may consult the authors referred to at the bottom of the [m] page.

VIII. Arius and his followers received the same books of the sacred scripture, that other Christians did, and shewed the like respect for them.

1. It is needless to allege particular proofs of their receiving the several books of the New Testament. It is apparent from the remains of Arius himself, and from the Arian writers, and their councils, and the arguments of catholic writers against them, that they received the four gospels, the Acts, and all other books generally received by other Christians.

2. There is indeed one exception: for Theodoret, in his preface to his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, says, that [n] they did not receive that epistle. And Epiphanius speaks [o] to the like effect.

[a] Cursusque ipse publicus attritus ad nihilum deducitur. Hilar. p. 1320. c.

[b] ——πασαν αἱρετικην αναθεματιζομεν κακοδοξιαν· και ειτις —— διδασκει, λεγων, αναθεμα εστω· και ει τις λεγει τον υἱον κτισμα, ὡς ἑν των κτισματων—η ει τις αλλο διδασκει η ευαγγελιζεται παρ' ὁ παρελαβομεν, αναθεμα εστο. Ap. Socr. l. ii. c. x. p. 88. B.

[c] De Synod. n. 26. p. 738. &c. [d] L. ii. c. 19.

[e] Ap. Athan. de Synod. n. 27. p. 742, 743.

[f] Vid. ib. p. 743. Anathem. xv. xvi. xvii.

[g] ——υποσχεσει τε ἁμα και φοβερισμοις, ὁτι τοις βασιλικοις προσταγμασι, και τε βασιλεως Ουαλεντος θυμῳ εναντιεσθε, τοις μη βουλομενοις κατα την αυτων πιστιν φερεσθαι. Epiph. H. 69 n. 34. p. 757. B.

[h] Ουαλεντινιανος μεν γαρ τους μεν οικειους συνεκροτει· τοις δε αρειανιζουσιν ουδαμως ην οχληρος· Ουαλης δε Αρειανους αυξησαι προαιρουμενος, δεινα κατα των μη τοιαυτα φρονουντων ειργασατο. —Socr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 211. B. [i] See p. 57.

[k] Ὁς τους εν αυτῃ αἱρετικους, πολλοι δε εν αυτῃ οντες ετυγχανον της Μακεδονιανων θρησκειας, συντονως εδιωκεν· εξελαυνων αυτους μη μονον της πολεως, αλλα δη και των αγρων. Και τουτο εποιει, ουκ ειωθος διωκειν τῃ ορθοδοξῳ εκκλησια. L. vii. c. 3 in.

[l] —— εκτετμησθαι την ανοσιαν ωφειλες γλωτταν. Ap. Epiph. H. 72. n. viii. in.

[m] Vid. Ath. Hist. Arian. n. 1, 2. p. p. 345. & n. 30, &c. p. 631, &c. Tillem. Les Ariens art. 95

[n] Θαυμαστον ουδεν δρωσιν οἱ την Αρειανικην εισδεξαμενοι νοσον κατα των αποστολικων λυτωντες γραμματων, και την προς Ἑβραιους επιστολην των λοιπων αποκρινοντες, και νοθον ταυτην αποκαλουντες. Theod. opp. T. iii. p. 393. A.

[o] Vid. H. 69. n. 37.

With regard to this, we may say, that if it be true, it needs not to be reckoned a very great fault: forasmuch as there were about the same time some catholics, who either quite rejected this epistle, or doubted of its genuineness and authority. But secondly, I apprehend, it was generally received by them, and that it could not be rejected by many of them. What Epiphanius says is very pleasant; 'Let [a] us now,' says he, 'observe some other texts, which they 'perverting allege in favour of their sentiments. And here they in vain allege that text, "Con-'sider [b] the Apostle and High-priest of your profession, who was faithful to him that made him." 'For first of all, they reject the epistle to the Hebrews, saying, that it is not the apostle's, though 'they allege that text, in order to pervert it.' Now, if they quoted that epistle, I think, they could not reject it. And in another place Epiphanius expresseth himself in this manner: 'And [c] 'beside this, they allege the saying of the apostle, "Consider the High-priest of your profession, 'who was faithful to him that made him:" and what is written in the Gospel of John, "He [d] 'that cometh after me was before me:" and that which is written in the Acts of the Apostles, 'Therefore [e] let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, 'whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ."' Since then they quoted the Epistle to the Hebrews, together with other books of unquestioned authority, it could not be rejected by them.[f]

Maximin, the Arian bishop, quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as [g] Paul's. Eunomius [h] likewise seems to refer to it.

3. Having said what is needful relating to this point, I shall allege some evidences of their respect for the sacred scriptures.

In his letter to Alexander, Arius professes to believe in one God, the [i] God of the law, and the prophets, and the New Testament.

A creed of theirs begins in this manner: 'We [k] believe agreeably to the evangelical and 'apostolical tradition, or doctrine.' Afterwards, in the same creed, 'We [l] sincerely believe and 'maintain all things taught in the divine scriptures, both by prophets and apostles.' Again, 'We [m] declare the ancient faith, which the prophets, and gospels, and apostles have preached by 'the authority of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

Moreover, the Arians all along argued against the use of the words consubstantial and essence, and like phrases, because they [n] were not in scripture. Athanasius often takes notice of this. But he says, that [o] though they blamed the council of Nice for using unscriptural words, they did the same themselves. So likewise [p] Epiphanius.

Maximin opens the conference with Augustine in this manner. 'If [q] you say what is 'reasonable, I must submit. If you allege any thing from the divine scriptures, which are 'common to both, I must hear: but unscriptural expressions deserve no regard.' And as he professeth to receive the creed drawn up at Ariminum, so he [r] affirms it to be agreeable to scripture. And he concludes with saying, that [s] it is his wish and aim, to think in all things as the divine scriptures teach.

[a] Και γαρ παλιν χυδαιως φασι τειθο το ρηθον παρερμηνευοντες· το δεξασθε τον αρχιερεα ὑμων πιστον ὀντα τω ποιησαντι αὐτον. Και πρωτον μεν την επιστολην ταυτην, την προς Ἑβραιους φημι, απωθηνται, φυσει αὐτην αναιρουντες απο τε αποστολε, και λεγοντες μη ειναι τε αὐτε. H. 69. n. 37. in. [b] Heb. iii. 1, 2.

[c] Αλλα λοιπον ὁσα εστι τειθοις ὁμοια, το εν τω αποστολω γεγραμμενον, το δεξασθε, κ. λ. H. 69. n. xiv.

[d] John i. 30. [e] Acts ii. 36.

[f] Comp. Leontius Byz. de Sectis. Act. 3. p. 505. Bibb. P. P. T. xi. Paris. 1644. Where he supposes them to receive the Acts and the Ep. to the Hebrews, and to argue as they are represented by Epiphanius.

[g] Sic ad Hebræos ipse scribens ait: Purificatione peccatorum factâ, consedit ad dexteram magnitudinis in excelsis. Vid. Collat. cum. Maximin. n. 14. (3). Conf. Heb. i. 3.

[h] Τον επι των προφηλων ὁμιλησαντα τοις παλαιοις. Eunom. Exp. Fid. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 257.

[i] ——νομε και προφηλων, και καινης διαθηκης τειθον Θεον—κ. λ. Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vii.

[k] Πιστευομεν ακολουθως τη ευαγγελικη και αποστολικη παραδοσει. Ap. Socr. l. ii. c. x. p. 87. B.

[l] Ἡμεις γαρ πασι τοις εκ των θειων γραφων παραδεδομενοις, ὑπο τε των προφηλων και αποστολων, αληθινως τε και εμφανως, και πιστευομεν και ακολουθουμεν. ib. p. 88. C.

[m] ——ην και οι προφηλαι, και τα ευαγγελια, και οι αποστολοι δια τε κυριε ἡμων Ιησε Χριστε εκηρυξαν. Ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 723. B.

[n] Τειθ χαριν, το μεν ὁμοουσιον, και το ὁμοιουσιον εκβαλλομεν, ὡς αλλοτριον γραφων. Ap. Ath. de Synod. n. 29. p. 746. B. Vid. ib. n. 30. p. 747. C. D.

[o] Vid. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 30. p. 434. D. De Decret. Nic. Synod. n. 18. p. 223, 224. De Synodis. n. 36. p. 752. A. Ad. Afr. Ep. n. 6. p. 896. A.

[p] Vid. Epiph. H. 73. n. i. p. 845. C.

[q] Si aliquid rationale dixeris, necesse est, ut sequar. Si quid enim de divinis scripturis protuleris, quod commune est cum omnibus, necesse est ut audiamus. Eæ vero voces, quæ extra scripturam sunt, nullo casu a nobis suscipiuntur, &c. Collat. cum Maximin. n. i. ap. August. T. viii.

[r] ——sed ut ostendam auctoritatem patrum, qui secundum divinas scripturas fidem nobis tradiderunt illam, quam a divinis scripturis didicerunt. Ib. n. 4.

[s] Oro & opto discipulus esse divinarum scripturarum.—— Si affirmaveris de divinis scripturis; si alicubi scriptam lec-

IX. I shall now give a short account of several Arian authors.

1. Says Jerom, 'Acacius,[a] called Monopthalmus because he was blind on one eye, bishop of 'Cæsarea in Palestine, wrote seventeen volumes upon Ecclesiastes, and six volumes of Miscella-'neous Questions, and many other treatises. So great was his authority under Constantius, that 'he got Felix an Arian, to be made bishop of Rome in the stead of Liberius.'

Acacius succeeded the famous Eusebius, in 340, and died about the year 366. Socrates speaking of Eusebius's death, and Acacius's succeeding him, says, that [b] he was Eusebius's scholar, and wrote many books, particularly the life of his master: which last, to our great grief, is lost, as well as the rest. And it is somewhat strange, that Jerom should omit Acacius's life of his predecessor.

In Epiphanius [c] is a long quotation from a book of Acacius against Marcellus. In one of his letters Jerom quotes [d] a long passage of the fourth book of this writer's Select Questions. It contains an explication of 1 Cor. xv. 21. Afterwards in the same letter, he mentions Acacius [e] with other commentators whom he made use of, though for learning they fell much short of Origen and Eusebius.

Tillemont supposes Acacius to be the author of [f] a book against Sabellius: one of the fourteen small pieces published by Sirmond, as written by Eusebius.

Sozomen says of Acacius that [g] he was a diligent imitator of his predecessor, by whom he had been instructed in sacred learning [or in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures]; that he was a man of good sense, and able to express himself agreeably, and that he left behind him many books worthy of notice. In another place he says, that [h] the dignity of his see, and the reputation of his master, together with his succeeding to the possession of his library, gave Acacius a great deal of authority. He moreover says, that he was very dextrous in accomplishing his designs.

Philostorgius says, that [i] Acacius was a bold disputant, very ready at discerning the merits of a cause, and able to express his thoughts to advantage. He likewise chargeth him [k] with dissimulation upon some occasions. And indeed Acacius is generally reckoned a man of unsteady principles.

I hope this may suffice for an account of Acacius, with regard to letters, and his general character. For his behaviour and management at synods, his various fortune, his differences with Cyril of Jerusalem, and others, I beg leave to refer to other [l] writers.

2. Aëtius, according to [m] Cave, began to be famous about the year 359, and died in 366, or soon after, in the reign of Valens.

Socrates has a [n] chapter, intitled Of Aëtius the Syrian, Master of Eunomius. He says, that Aëtius was born at Antioch, and studied some while at Alexandria; from whence he returned to Antioch, and was ordained deacon by Leontius, then bishop of that city. Epiphanius says, he [o] was made deacon by George the Arian bishop of Alexandria.

Aëtius's history is told at large by [p] Gregory Nyssen, and [q] Philostorgius. Gregory seems to give wrong turns to several things. The sum however of both accounts is to this purpose:

tionem protuleris, nos divinarum scripturarum optamus inveniri discipuli. Ib. sub fin.

[a] Acacius, quem, quia luscus erat, *μονοφθαλμον* nuncupabant, Cæsariensis ecclesiæ in Palæstinâ episcopus, elaboravit in Ecclesiastem decem & septem volumina, & *συμμικτων ζητηματων* sex, et multos præterea diversosque tractatus. In tantum autem sub Constantio imperatore claruit, ut in Liberii locum Romæ Felicem Arianum episcopum constitueret. De V. I. c. 98.

[b] Socr. l. ii. c. 4. Conf. l. iii. c. 2. p. 499. C.

[c] H. 72. n. vi—ix.

[d] Acacius Cæsareæ——post Eusebium Pamphili episcopus, in quarto *συλλεκτων ζητηματων* libro.——Ep. 152. ad Minerv. & Alex. T. 4. P. i. p. 213. m.

[e] Ego & in adolescentiâ & in extremâ ætate profiteor & Origenem & Eusebium Cæsariensem viros esse doctissimos, sed errâsse. Quod e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinario possumus dicere. Et tamen omnes in explanationibus scripturarum sudoris sui memoriam reliquerunt. Ib. p. 220. m.

[f] See Les Ariens, art. 28. & Eusebe de Césarée, art. 9.

[g] *Ὁς, προς αυτον Ευσεβιον τον ζηλον εχων, και ὑπ' αυτῳ τους ἱερους παιδευθεις λογους, ἱκανος τε νοειν και φραζειν αστειος εγενετο, ὡς και πολλα συγγραμματα λογου αξια καταλιπειν.* Soz. l. iii. c. 2. p. 499. C.

[h] *Και επισημου προεστως εκκλησιας, και Ευσεβιον τον Παμφιλου——διδασκαλον αυχων, και τῃ δοκησει και διαδοχῃ των αυτου βιβλιων, πλειω των αλλων αξιων ειδεναι.* Sol. l. iv. c. 23. p. 578. A. B.

[i] *Ην δε Ακακιος θαρσαλεος εν τοις αγωσι, διανοηθηναι τε πραγματος φυσιν οξυς, και λογῳ δηλωσαι το γνωσθεν ἱκανος.* Phil. l. iv. c. 12. p. 497. A.

[k] *Ὁς ἑτερος μεν ην την δοξαν, ἑτερος δε την γλωτταν.* ib. p. 498. A.

[l] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Hist. des Ariens. Touttée Dissert. de Vit. S. Cyrill.

[m] H. L. T. i. p. 218.

[n] L. ii. c. 35.

[o] H. 76. n. i.

[p] Gr. N. contr. Eunom. l. i. p. 292, &c.

[q] Phil. l. iii. c. 15.

Aëtius's father, by some mismanagement of his affairs, was reduced; and when [a] he died, Aëtius and his mother were left in great straits. For some time Aëtius worked at the goldsmith's trade for a livelihood: after his mother's death, as Philostorgius says, Aëtius applied himself to learning, and with great success, through the happiness of his genius. He [b] afterwards learned the art of physic, from a skilful physician at Alexandria; which he practised in a very honourable manner, giving his advice free to such as wanted it. And Cave [c] allows his happy disposition for literature. Epiphanius observes, that [d] Aëtius was ignorant of secular learning, till he came to man's estate.

Socrates, in the chapter before referred to, says of Aëtius, that [e] his chief excellence was a contentious skill: that he had small acquaintance with the scriptures, or the ancients who had written commentaries upon the Christian oracles: and that he had but little esteem for Clement, Africanus and Origen, though they were so distinguished for knowledge and learning.

So Socrates: and what he says may be true for the most part. It is likely enough, that Aëtius had not fully acquainted himself with the more ancient Christian writers: notwithstanding which he might be a man of good sense. And Philostorgius says, that [f] when one of his masters gave a wrong interpretation of the divine oracles, Aëtius corrected him: and that he read and studied the gospels with great care under Athanasius, a disciple of Lucian, and bishop of Anazarbus: and that he read the epistles of Paul with Antony, then presbyter of Tarsus: and afterwards the prophets, particularly Ezekiel, with Leontius, at that time presbyter of Antioch.

And Theodoret observes, that [g] Eunomius greatly extolled Aëtius in his writings, and called him a man of God, and bestowed on him many commendations.

Theodoret in an account of Aëtius and Eunomius says, that [h] Aëtius improved upon the blasphemies of Arius: for which cause Constantius banished him into a remote part of Phrygia. For after his father's death, being influenced by some of his courtiers, he made a law, that no man should say, the Son of God was of the same substance with God, nor of a different substance: for he said, it was not lawful to talk of the nature of God. But he directed men to say, that he is in all things like to him that begat him. Aëtius therefore being the first who said, the Son was altogether unlike to the father, was banished into the fore-mentioned place.

The emperor Julian not only restored Aëtius, as he did others, who were banished in the reign of Constantius; but likewise did him the honour to write him [i] a letter, and invite him to court. He also [k] gave him an estate near Melitene in Lesbos, where Aëtius resided sometimes. Nevertheless, it is generally concluded from [l] Philostorgius's account, that Aëtius died at Constantinople. He plainly says, that [m] Aëtius was buried by Eunomius and other friends, in a very handsome manner.

The displeasure of the catholics against Aëtius was so great, that as [n] Socrates says, he had the surname of Atheist. Athanasius [o] mentions him with the same odious appellation. And Cave says, he [p] was justly so called.

Socrates says, that [q] Aëtius wrote letters to the emperor Constantius, and others, filled with a contentious sophistry.

[a] Νεον δε τον Αετιον ονλα εις εσχαιον συν τη μητρι πενιας ελαται, και δια τελο επι το χρυσοχοειν ορμησαι.——δια ρωμην φυσεως επι τας λοιπας επιστραφηναι μαθησεις. κ λ. ib. p. 488. B.

[b] Αριστευων δε εν ιατρικη Αετιος αμισθον παρειχε τοις δεομενοις την θεραπειαν. ib. p. 488. B.

[c] Aurifabrum vero fuisse Aëtium, certius constat: sed, mortuâ demum matre, homo præstanti indole ad philosophicas disciplinas animum applicuit. Cav. in Aëtio.

[d] Ουτος ὁ Αετιος ὁ καια τον κοσμικον λογον απαιδευτος ην, εως της τελειας αυτω ηλικιας, ως λογος. H. 76. n. ii. in.

[e] Ουτω δε την ολιγομαθης ὁ Αετιος, και των ιερων γραμματων αμυητος· το εριστικον δε καταρθωκει μονον, ὁπερ και αιρετικος τις ποιησειεν· ὡς μητε της αρχαιας της τα Χριστιανικα λογια ερμηνευσαντας ασκηθηναι, πολλα χαιρειν φρασας τοις περι Κλημεντα, και Αφρικανον, και Οριγενην, ανδρας πασης σοφιας επιστημονας. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. B. Conf. Thdrt. l. ii. c. 24. & 27.

[f] Ὁ δε τα διδασκαλα δημοσια πολε καταξας εις ελεγχον, ὁτι μη των Θεων λογιων ορθην εποιειτο την διηγησιν——εκειθεν δε ελαθεις, Αθανασιω συγγινεται, παρ' ὡ της ευαγγελιστας αναγνως, και τοις καθ' εκαστον αυτον επιστησας, επι την Ταρσον παρα Αντιωνιον αφικνειται——ὑφ' ὡ τας τε αποστολα αναδιδαχθεις επιστολας.——κ. λ. ubi supr. p. 487. B. C.

[g] Theod. H. E. l. ii. c. 29. in.

[h] —— νομον τεθεικεν απαγορευοντα μητε ὁμοουσιον, μητε μην ἑτεροουσιον τολμαν τινα λεγειν τον Υιον τα Θεα· α γαρ ὁσιον ελεγε τα Θεα την περι αυτα ερευναν· ὁμοιον δε κατα παντα τω γεννησαντι λεγειν εκελευεν· Δια τοι τελο και τον Αετιον φαναι πρωτον τολμησαντα ανομοιον ειναι τον Υιον καια παντα τω γεννησαντι Θεω. κ. λ. H. F. l. iv. c. 3. sub in Conf. ejusd. H. E. l. ii. c. 27. p. 112. & Epiph. H. 76. n. iii.

[i] Julian. Ep. 31.

[k] Phil. l. ix. c. 4.

[l] Ib. cap. 6.

[m] Και την αλλην κηδειαν μετα των ὁμοφρονων τελεσαμενα προς το λαμπροτατον. Ib.

[n] Διο και επεκαλειτο ὁ αθεος. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. D. Vid. eund. l. iv. c. 7. p. 215. B.

[o] Ὁ θρυλλουμενος Αετιος, ο επικληθεις αθεος. De Synod. n. 6 p. 720. A.

[p] Unde Athei cognomen ei merito adhæsit. Cav. ubi supr.

[q] Ubi. supr. p. 130. B.

Epiphanius has preserved [a] a small book of Aëtius, concerning the faith, consisting of seven and forty propositions, or short chapters, which he distinctly answers. And Epiphanius says, it was reported, that he [b] had drawn up three hundred such chapters.

3. Anonymous author of a Commentary [c] upon the book of Job, in three books, ascribed to Origen, but plainly not his, and written after the rise of the Arian controversy. Some have thought it to be the work of a Latin author, particularly Maximin the Arian, to be mentioned by and by. But Huet, to whom [d] I refer, has well observed, that this work in Latin, as we now have it, is a translation from the Greek. I know not the exact time of it; but probably it was written before the end of the fourth century. The three books of this work contain a comment only upon the first and second, and part of the third chapter of the book of Job. It is, in my opinion, a dull and tedious performance.

I shall make no extracts out of it any farther than to observe, that many books of the Old and New Testament are here quoted, particularly [e] the Acts of the Apostles; and that the author appears to have received [f] the epistle to the Hebrews.

4. Anonymous author of a Discourse [g] or Sermon, answered at length by Augustine: which confutation was written [h] about the year 418. That sermon is a short performance, in which many texts of the gospels and epistles of the apostles are quoted.

5. 'Asterius,' says [i] Jerom, 'a philosopher of the Arian faction, in the reign of Constantius, 'wrote Commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans, and upon the gospels, and the psalms, 'and many other things, which are much read by the men of his party.'

In the chapter [k] of Marcellus, Jerom had before mentioned a book of Asterius against that bishop. And there must have been before that some work of Asterius, which provoked Marcellus to write: as is evident from [l] Eusebius, and [m] Sozomen.

All his writings are lost. Athanasius however has quoted [n] some passages: and there are some other in Eusebius's books against Marcellus.[o] And in Eusebius's Commentary upon the fourth Psalm, published by Montfaucon, there are inserted Asterius's observation upon the same Psalm: in which several texts of the New Testament are quoted, and divers of our Saviour's miracles rehearsed; where also there appears an air of piety, and zeal for the Christian religion.

Socrates says, that [p] Asterius was a sophist of Cappadocia, and that forsaking Gentilism he embraced Christianity. He afterwards published books in favour of Arianism, which were extant in the time of that ecclesiastical historian; who farther adds, that Asterius was very much with Arian bishops, and frequented synods, desiring to be himself also bishop of some city. But having sacrificed in the time of the persecution, he never obtained that honour. This chapter of Socrates may be compared with another of [q] Sozomen. That lapse of Asterius happened, it is likely, in the year 304, or thereabout. Epiphanius expressly says, it [r] was in Maximian's persecution. Asterius is often mentioned by Athanasius; he calls [s] him a cunning sophist, and patron of heresy: and speaks [t] of his having sacrificed in the time of the last heathen persecution. Nor does Philostorgius dissemble that [u] fault; but adds, that Asterius was recovered by his master Lucian.

According to Philostorgius, Asterius was a moderate Arian; for in one place he says, that

[a] H. 76. p. 924. &c. [b] Ib. p. 930. D.

[c] Ad calcem. T. ii. Opp. Origen. ex edit. Bened.

[d] Origenian. l. iii. n. 2.

[e] Sicut dictum est ad Cornelium: Orationes tuæ & eleemosynæ tuæ ascenderunt sursum in memoriam coram Deo. Act. x. 4. Ascenderunt procul dubio ab angelis, atque spiritalibus ministris delatæ. De quibus dicitur: omnes sunt ministeriales spiritus pro his qui salutem in hæreditatem capiunt. Hebr. i. 14. Orig. Opp. T. ii. p. 856. B. C.

[f] Vid. not. [e] [g] Ap. August. T. 9.

[h] Sub hæc venit in manus meas quidam sermo Arianorum, sine nomine auctoris sui. Huic, petente atque instante qui eum mihi miserat, quantâ potui etiam brevitate ac celeritate respondi. Retr. l. ii. c. 52.

[i] Asterius, Arianæ philosophus factionis, scripsit in epistolam ad Romanos, & in Evangelia, & Psalmos, Commentarios, & multa alia, quæ a suæ partis hominibus studiosissime leguntur. De V. I. c. 94. [k] Cap. 86.

[l] Vid. Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. i c. 4. & de Ecc. Theol. l. ii. c. 19. p. 132, 133. D. l. iii. c. 4. p. 868. A. B.

[m] Προφασις δε γεγονε Μαρκελλῳ παυλης της γραφης Ασεριος τε εκ Καππαδοκιας σοφιστης, ὁς και περι τα δοκιμαιος λογιας συγγραφων τοις Αρειω δογμασι συμφερομενας. κ. λ. Soz. l. ii. c. 33. p. 495.

[n] Vid. Orat. 2. contr. Arian. n. 37. p. 505. & Or. 3. n. 2. & de Synod. n. 18. & alibi. [o] Vid. supr. not. [l]

[p] Ασεριος τις εν Καππαδοκια σοφιστικην μελων, την μεν καλην λειπει· Χριστιανιζειν δε επηγγελλετο. Επεχειρει δε και λογους συγγραφειν, οἱ μεχρι νυν φερονται, οἱ ὡν το Αρειω συνηρεσκε δογμα. κ. λ. Socr. l. i. c. 36. in. Vid. & Soz. l. ii. c. 33. & supr. not. [m] [q] L. ii. c. 33.

[r] H. 76. n. iii. p. 915. C.

[s] Ὁ πανουργος σοφιστης Ασεριος ὁ και της αιρεσεως συνηγορος. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 30. p. 435. B. Vid. & Or. 2. n. 28.

[t] Ασεριος ὁ θυσας. De Decret. Nic. Synod. n. 8. in. Ασεριος δε τις απο Καππαδοκιας, πολυκεφαλος σοφιστης——επειδη θυσας εν τῳ προτερῳ διωγμῳ τῳ καθ' ὁν ὁ παππος τα Κωνσταντιε, εκ ηδυναθη παρ' αυτων εις κληρον προαχθηναι. De Synod. n. 18. p. 731. E. [u] Phil. l. ii. c. 14.

[a] Asterius taught the Son to be in substance like the Father: in another, to [b] be a complete likeness of the Father.

It is needless to give any farther account of the remaining fragments or passages of this writer. Jerom's article alone is sufficient evidence of his respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

6. Says Jerom. 'Basil [c] of Ancyra, skilful in the art of physic, wrote against Marcellus, and 'a book concerning Virginity, and some other things. In the time of Constantius, was, 'together with Eustathius, bishop of Sebasta, the chief of the Macedonian faction.'

Basil, called also Basilas, as [d] Socrates says, was placed in the see of Ancyra by the council of Constantinople in 336, which deposed Marcellus.

In the year 351, he had a disputation at Sirmium with Photinus, which, as [e] Socrates says, was taken down in writing.

Epiphanius [f] reckons him among the chief of the Semi-Arians, who held the Son to be of like substance to the Father.

Sozomen says, he [g] was in esteem for eloquence and learning: or, as [h] Tillemont understands the last phrase, for his capacity to teach. And Theodoret says, that [i] this Basil and the above-mentioned Eustathius of Sebaste, were in great favour with the emperor Constantius for the sake of their piety.

For the rest of this bishop's history I would refer to [k] others.

7. Says Jerom, 'Eunomius [l] of the Arian faction, bishop of Cyzicum, breaking out into the 'open blasphemy of his heresy, so as to profess publickly what they hide, is said to live still in 'Cappadocia, and to write many things against the church. He has been answered by Apolli-'narius, Didymus, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory Nyssen.'

Eunomius was ordained bishop of Cyzicum by [m] Eudoxius and Maris, in the year 360; soon after which he was banished by Constantius. He suffered the like disgrace in the reign of Valens, and once more under Theodosius; who however at length suffered him to retire to some lands of his own at Dacora, [n] his native place in Cappadocia. The occasion of this last banishment, as Philostorgius says, was, that [o] the emperor understood he had perverted some of his courtiers, whilst he lived at Constantinople. Eunomius was alive in 392, when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers. But he died not long after, about the year 394.

Eunomius was not only a disciple of Aëtius, but also his [p] secretary, or amanuensis.

I shall transcribe here an article from Augustine's book of Heresies. 'The [q] Aëtians were 'so called from Aëtius, and are also called Eunomians from Eunomius, the disciple of Aëtius, 'by which name they are better known. For Eunomius being a better logician, was more suc-'cessful in spreading that heresy, which holds the Son to be in all things unlike to the Father, 'and the Spirit to the Son. He is reported to have been so great an enemy to good manners, 'as to have asserted that no man need to fear any harm, whatever vices he indulged, if he 'embraced the doctrines taught by him.'

[a] Ὁ δε [Ευδοξιος] της Αρειανης μεν δοξης ην, πλην εκ τη Αστεριη γραμμαλων εις το καθ' ὁσιαν ὁμοιον ὑπεννηνεκλο. Phil. l. iv. c. 4.

[b] —— απαραλλακλον εικονα της τη παλρος ὁσιας ειναι τον Υἱον εν τοις αὐλη λοδοις και γραμμασι διαμαρτυρομενον. Id. l. ii. c. 15.

[c] Basilius, Ancyranus episcopus, artis Medicinæ, scripsit contra Marcellum, & de Virginitate librum, & nonnulla alia. Et sub rege Constantio Macedonianæ partis cum Eustathio Sebasteno princeps fuit. De V. I. c. 89.

[d] L. ii. c. 42. p. 155. C.

[e] — οξυδραφων τε τας φωνας αὐλων γραφονλων. Socr. l. ii. c. 30.

[f] Hær. 73. n. i. p. 845. C. Compare Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. 66.

[g] Και Βασιλειῳ δεινῳ λεγειν, και επι παιδευσει ὑπειλημμενῳ. —Soz. l. ii. c. 33. sub in.

[h] Qui avoit la reputation d' être un homme éloquent, & fort capable d' instruire. Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. 22. near the end.

[i] Συνηθεις δε ησαν ἑλοι τῳ βασιλει, και πλειστης ὁσης δια την αξιεπαινον βιοῆν απηλαυον παῤῥησιας. Theod. l. ii. c. 25. f.

[k] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Histoire des Ariens. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 347.

[l] Eunomius, Arianæ partis, Cyzicenus episcopus, in apertam hæreseos suæ prorumpens blasphemiam, ut quod illi tegunt, ille publice fateretur, usque hodie vivere dicitur in Cappadociâ, & multa contra ecclesiam scribere. Responderunt ei Apollinarius, Didymus, Basilius Cæsariensis, Gregorius Nazianzenus, et Gregorius Nyssenus. De V. I. c. 120.

[m] Thdrt. l. ii. c. 27. p. 113. D. Phil. l. v. c. 3.

[n] Soz. l. vii. c. 17. in. [o] Phil. l. x. c. 6.

[p] Ταχυδραφος ων εκεινε, και ὑπ' αὐλε παιδευθεις την αἱρεῖικην λεξιν. Socrat. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. C. Eunomius velocis scriptor fuit, et ab illo exercitatus in hæreticâ loquutione. Philost. l. iv. c. 7. sub in.

[q] Aëtiani ab Aëtio sunt vocati, iidemque Eunomiani ab Eunomio Aëtii discipulo, quo nomine magis innotuerunt. Eunomius quippe in dialecticâ prævalens acutius & verbosius defendit hanc hæresim, dissimilem per omnia Patri asserens Filium, & Filio Spiritum Sanctum. Fertur etiam usque adeo fuisse bonis moribus inimicum, ut asseveraret, quod nihil cuique obesset quorumlibet perpetratio ac perseverantia peccatorum, si hujus, quæ ab illo docebatur, fidei particeps esset. De Hær. c. 54.

This last charge too is in [a] Epiphanius, from whom, I suppose, Augustine had it. And Theodoret says, he [b] had heard of such things, but he does not know them to be true.

These people were also called Anomeans from the principle just mentioned; that the Son is unlike the Father. Epiphanius calls the heresy by that name, and says, that [c] Aëtius was the author of it. Which is evident from things taken notice of by us formerly.

Let us now observe Eunomius's writings.

1.) A Commentary upon the epistle of Paul to the Romans, not extant; of which Socrates speaks in this manner: 'Eunomius [d] had but little skill in the sacred writings, and was not able 'to interpret them. With abundance of words, repeated and diversified, he never attained his 'purpose: which fully appears from his seven tomes upon the epistle of the apostle to the 'Romans; where wasting a great many words, he shews himself not able to represent the scope 'of the epistle.'

2.) An Apologetical Discourse, still [e] extant, answered by Basil in five books.

3.) An Exposition [f] or Confession of Faith, presented to the emperor Theodosius in 383, still [g] extant: upon which I would make the following remarks.

(1.) This confession is in the common order of ancient creeds: first of God, then of Christ, his person, death, resurrection; then of the Holy Ghost, the resurrection of the body, the general judgment, eternal life: but nothing of Christ's descent into hell, nor of the catholic church, nor the communion of saints, nor the forgiveness of sins.

(2.) Here are references to many texts of scripture, particularly the first epistle [h] of Peter, and the [i] epistle to the Hebrews.

(3.) Here Eunomius says, that [k] Christ took man, consisting of soul and body. Nevertheless, Fabricius well observes, that [l] thereby is not to be understood a rational, but only a sensitive soul.

(4.) In this Confession Eunomius is truly an Arian. And yet he calls Christ our [m] God, the [n] only begotten God, and true God, but not unbegotten.

4.) Apology for an [o] Apology; a work in three parts, by way of answer to S. Basil. This [p] book was answered by Theodore, probably of Mopsuesta, Gregory Nyssen, and Sophronius, as we learn from Photius.

5.) Epistles. Photius assures us, that [q] Philostorgius, who extols all Eunomius's writings, still prefers the epistles to the rest. But Photius [r] himself, who had seen forty of them, says, they are written as if the author had not any knowledge of the rules of epistolary writings. A like censure he passeth upon the style of all Eunomius's works in general.

Philostorgius, who greatly admired both master and scholar, compared them together. He says, that [s] Aëtius excelled in the force of reasoning, and readiness of answer: whilst Eunomius was more remarkable for perspicuity and method, whereby his instructions were more easily instilled into men.

I forbear to add any more, and for the rest would refer to other [t] writers, in whom may be found divers things omitted by me.

8. Says Jerom, Eusebius [u] bishop of Emesa, a polite and agreeable writer, published innu-

[a] Το δε σφαληναι εν τινι πορνεια, η ἑτερα ἁμαρτια οὐδεν ειναι φασιν· Ουδεν γαρ ζητει Θεος, αλλα το ειναι εν ταυτῃ μονῃ τῃ αυτῳ νομιζομενῃ πιστει. Epiph. Synops. p. 810. Vid. & H. 76. n. iv.

[b] H. Fab. l. iv. c. 3. p. 237. B. C.

[c] Ανομοιοι παλιν τινες εισιν καλουμενοι· Εσχον δε αρχηγον Αετιον τινα διακονον. H. 76. n. 1.

[d] Ολιγομαθως μεν εχων προς τα ἱερα γραμματα——ὡς δεικνυσιν αυτῳ οἱ ἑπτα τομοι, ὁυς εματαιοπονησεν εις την προς Ρωμαιους τε αποστολε επιστολην· πολλας γαρ λογους εις αυτην αναλωσας, της επιστολης τον σκοπον λαβειν ουκ δεδυνηται. l. iv. c. 7. p. 21[illegible]

[e] Ap. Fab. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 262. &c. & Canis. Lection. A. T. i. & ap. Basilii opp. T. i. p. 618. ex edit. Bened.

[f] Vid Socr. l. v. c. 10. p. 269. A. Sozom. l. vii. c. 12. p. 719. B.

[g] Ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 253. & alibi.

[h] Ib. p. 253. & 257. [i] P. 257.

[k] —— αναλαβοντα τον εκ ψυχης και σωματος ανθρωπον. p. 257.

[l] —— ut per ψυχην non mentem, sed inferiorem modo animam sensibus constantem. Ib. p. 250.

[m] Τε Θεε και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησε Χριστε. n. 1. p. 253.

[n] Πιστευομεν εις τον τε Θεε Υἱον, τον μονογενη Θεον,—— Χριστον αληθινον Θεον, εκ αγεννητον. n. ii. p. 255.

[o] Vid. Gr. Nys. contr. Eunom. l. i. p. 289, 298, 299.

[p] —— τε αυτε Ευνομιε βιβλιον, εν λογοις τρισιν——ὡ περιτυχοντες Θεοδωρος, και Γρηγοριος Νυσσης, και Σωφρωνιος. Phot. Cod. 138. p. 113. Vid. & Cod. 4, 5, 6. Conf. Philost. l. viii. c. 12.

[q] Τες δε λογες αυτε παντας αποθειαζων διαφερειν των αλλων επι μαλλον λεγει τας επιστολας. Philost. l. x. c. 6. fin.

[r] —— παντελως τε των επιστολων χαρακτηρος εδε τους νομους ακουσας. Cod. 138. p. 314.

[s] Phil. l. viii. c. 18.

[t] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. Cav. H. L. in Eunomio. Canisii Lect. Antiq. T. i. Tillemont Les Ariens. art. 98 —100.

[u] Eusebius Emisenus Episcopus, elegantis & rhetorici in-

'merable pieces, suited to gain applause. And following the historical sense, he is much read 'by those who have occasion to speak in public. The chief of his works are these: Against 'the Jews, and against the Gentiles, against the Novatians, ten books upon the Epistle to the 'Galatians, and many short homilies upon the gospels. He flourished in the reign of the 'emperor Constantius, in whose time also he died. He was buried at Antioch.'

Eusebius flourished about the year 340, and died about the year 360, as Cave thinks. Fabricius roundly placeth his death [a] in 360, Tillemont [b] before 359.

Socrates [c] and Sozomen [d] had before them the Life of this bishop, written by his friend George of Laodicea. From whom we learn, that [e] Eusebius was descended of a very honourable family, and born at Edessa in Mesopotamia. He was early instructed in the sacred scriptures, and then in secular learning, by a master at Edessa. He afterwards came into Palestine, that he might farther perfect himself in sacred learning: where he studied under Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Eusebius of Cæsarea. He likewise went to Antioch, and from thence to Alexandria, where he studied philosophy, and then returned to Antioch.

Some time after that, he was ordained bishop of Emesa in Phœnicia, but [f] the people could not endure him, having a notion, that he practised magical arts. Such is the reward which some men meet with for a diligent application to letters! And upon another occasion, as Sozomen relates, good [g] and great as he was, he experienced the envy of those, who are offended at other men's virtues. However the emperor [h] Constantius was greatly pleased with him, and always carried him with him in his wars against the Persians.

His [i] piety, as well as his learning and eloquence, appears to have been at that time very conspicuous.

Theodoret says, that [k] his writings shewed him to be an Arian. And in Jerom's Chronicle he is called [l] a standard-bearer of the Arians. Nevertheless Jerom has elsewhere owned that [m] Diodorus of Tarsus, and [n] John Chrysostom imitated him, as a good model of writing.

Jerom in the article from his Catalogue mentions several of our Eusebius's works: and Sozomen says [o] in general, that he wrote many books, and speaks of them with commendation: and reckons him among the most noted and eminent persons that flourished in the church at that time. Beside the works mentioned by Jerom, we know from Epiphanius [p] and Theodoret, that [q] he wrote a piece against the Manichees.

Theodoret has transcribed a long [r] passage from some work of this writer; and fragments of him may be found in some other places: but in general his works are lost.

His work against the Jews is said to be still in the library at Vienna. But as it has not been published, it is not easy to form a sure judgment about it. The Homilies, which have been published under his name, are now allowed to belong to [s] others.

Ebedjesu in his Catalogue mentions [t] a book of Questions upon the Old Testament, not taken notice of by Greek or Latin authors.

9. Eusebius [u] at first bishop of Berytus in Phœnicia, then of Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, was advanced to the see of Constantinople in 338 or 339, and died about the year 341.

genii, innumerabiles, & qui ad plausum populi pertinent, confecit libros. Magisque historiam secutus, ab his qui declamare volunt studiosissime legitur. E quibus vel præcipue sunt adversum Judæos, & Gentes, & Novatianos, & ad Galatas libri decem, & in Evangelia homiliæ breves, sed plurimæ. Floruit temporibus Constantii Imperatoris, sub quo & mortuus. Antiochiæ sepultus est. De V. I. cap. 91.

[a] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 160. T. viii. p. 366.

[b] Les Ariens. art. 31. [c] Socr. l. ii. c. 9.

[d] Soz. l. iii. c. 6.

[e] —— ὡς εἰη ἐκ τῶν ευπαἰριδων της ἐν Μεσοποἰαμια Ἐδεσης —— ἐκ νεας τε ἡἰικιας τα ἱερα μαθων γραμμαἰα· εἰτα τα Ἑἰληνων παιδευθεις παρα τῳ τηνικαυτα τῃ Ἐδεσῃ ἐπιδημησαντι παιδευτῃ· τελος ὑπο Παἰτροφἰἰῳ και Ευσεβιῳ τα ἱερα ἑρμηνευθη Βιβἰια —— καἰαἰαβειν την Ἀἰεξανδρειαν, κἀκει μαθειν τα φἰοσοφα. Socr. l. ii. c. 9. Cons. Soz. l. iii. c. 6.

[f] Διασασιανἰων δε των Ἐμισηνων επι τῃ χειρἰονιᾳ αυτῳ ἐἰοιδορειτο γαρ, ὡς μαθημαἰικην ασκουμενος, φυγῃ χρῃται. Socr. ubi sup. p. 86. A.

[g] Ἀἰἰ' ὁ μεν, καιπερ τοιουτος ων, ὑ διεφυγε τον φθονον των ανιασθαι πεφυκοτων επι ταις ἀἰἰων ἀρεταις. Soz. l. iii. c. 6. p. 504. c.

[h] Ἐἰενετο δε Κωνσταντιῳ τῳ βασιἰει κεχαρισμενος. κ. λ. ib. p. 504. B.

[i] Ὠφἐἰο γαρ αυτον ευ μαἰα πωἰἰευομενον, και ἐἰειν κρἰτικον ὀντα. —— Ib. p. 504. A.

[k] Ἐνεὐχον ἐνιοις τοτε συγγραμμασι, και εὑρον γε τοις Ἀρειῳ συμφερομενον δογμασι. Dial. 3. p. 171. D.

[l] Eusebius, episcopus Emisenus, Arianæ signifer factionis, multa & varia describit. Chr. p. 183.

[m] Exstant ejus in Apostolum commentarii, & multa alia, ad Eusebii magis Emiseni characterem pertinentia. De V. I. c. 119.

[n] Eusebii Emiseni, Diodorique sectator. Ib. c. 129.

[o] Soz. l. iii. c. 14. p. 522. C. D. [p] H. 36. n. 21.

[q] H. Fab. l. i. c. ult. fin. [r] Dial. 3. p. 17[illegible]-25.

[s] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. & Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 107, 108.

[t] Eusebius Emessenus composuit librum adversus Judæos, & Quæstiones in Vetus Testamentum, & Homiliam de Stephano. Ebed. ap. Assem. B. O. T. iii. p. 44.

[u] They who are desirous to make farther enquiries concerning this bishop, may consult Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 109, 110. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Les Ariens. T. vi. and elsewhere.

He was present at the council of Nice in 325, and afer some hesitation signed the creed there composed. Nevertheless, having given some offence, he and Theognis were banished by Constantine, in [a] three months time after the breaking up of the council. Upon submission made by them, they were [b] both restored to their sees in the latter part of the year 328, or the beginning of 329. And Amphion, who had been put in Eusebius's room at Nicomedia, and Chrestus, who had been made bishop of Nice instead of Theognis, were removed.

Nothing remains of Eusebius, that is undoubtedly genuine, except a letter to Paulinus bishop of Tyre, preserved by [c] Theodoret.

Ammianus says, that [d] he was related at a distance to the emperor Julian; and possibly therefore to Constantine likewise. Unquestionably, Eusebius was a man of great abilities: the eminence of the sees of Nicomedia, and then of Constantinople, in which he presided, gave him an advantage, as he was always near the court. But his own address was what principally rendered him so capable to forward the Arian interests, as he did. Sozomen, not to mention the praises bestowed on him by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and others, his particular [e] friends, owns [f] he was a learned man.

10. 'Euzoius,' says [g] Jerom, 'when young, was educated at Cæsarea, together with Gregory 'Nazianzen, by Thespesius the rhetorician. And, when afterwards bishop of that city, he took 'a great deal of pains to repair the library of Origen and Pamphilus, which had suffered very 'much in the parchments. At length in the reign of Theodosius he was expelled the church. 'Many treatises of his, upon various subjects, are in being and may be easily had.'

Euzoius succeeded [h] Acacius, in 366, or soon after, and was deposed in 379 or 380.

Jerom does in another place speak of these repairs of the library at Cæsarea. The passage seems to be curious; I therefore transcribe it largely at the bottom of the [i] page.

Cave [k] speaks honourably of Euzoius: but none of his works remain, no, not the titles of them; though Jerom says, they might be easily had in his time.

Euzoius is mentioned by Epiphanius [l] among those, whom he calls Semi-Arians.

11. George, bishop of Laodicea, flourished, as Cave says, about the year 340. He wrote the Life of Eusebius bishop of Emesa, which [m] Socrates and [n] Sozomen made use of. He likewise published a book against the Manichees, mentioned by [o] Theodoret and [p] Photius. And Sozomen [q] has a short, but warm letter of his against Aëtius.

He was a native of [r] Alexandria, and at first presbyter there, before he was bishop. George is often mentioned, and sometimes quoted by [s] Athanasius. Theodoret says, that [t] though he was an Arian, he was a great philosopher. Nor has Philostorgius failed to observe, that [u] before he was made bishop, he made good progress in philosophy.

One thing however, perhaps, is not to the honour of this Arian bishop and philosopher, that in his Life of his friend Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, he [x] relates many miracles to have been done by him. This, in all probability, ought to be ascribed to credulity or partiality.

Beausobre particularly laments the loss of two books, written aginst the Manichees, 'which

[a] Vid. Philost. l. i. c. 9.

[b] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 23. Soz. l. i. c. 21.

[c] Theod. l. i. c. 6.

[d] —— ibidem ab Eusebio educatus episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. Amm. l. xxii. c. 9.

[e] —— ὁν αὐτὸς ἀποθεαζει μεγαν. Phist. l. i. c. 8.

[f] —— ανδρα ελλογιμον, και εν βασιλειοις τετιμημενον. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 427. D.

[g] Euzoïus apud Thespetium rhetorem cum Gregorio Nazianzeno episcopo adolescens Cæsareæ eruditus est: & ejusdem postea urbis episcopus plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis & Pamphili membranis instaurare conatus est. Ad ... num sub Theodosio principe ecclesiâ pulsus est. ... untur ejus varii multiplicesque tractatus, quos nosse perfacile est. De V. I. c. 13.

[h] V. Cav. in Euzoio.

[i] Beatus Pamphilus martyr —— quum Demetrium Phalereum & Pisistratum in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare —— tunc vel maxime Origenis libros impensius prosecutus, Cæsariensi ecclesiæ dedicavit: quam ex parte corruptam Acacius, dehinc & Euzoïus, ejusdem ecclesiæ sacerdotes, in membranis restaurare conati sunt. Hic cum multa repererit, & inventorum nobis indicem reliquerit, centesimi vigesimi sexti Psalmi commentarium, & Phe literæ tractatum, ex eo quod non inscripsit, confessus est non repertum. Non quod talis tantusque vir (Adamantium dicimus) aliquid prætermerit: sed quod negligentiâ posterorum ad nostram usque memoriam non duravit. Ad Marcellum. Opp. T. ii. p. 171. al. Ep. 141.

[k] Vir plane doctus ac diligens. Ubi supr.

[l] H. 73. n. 37. p. 685. C.

[m] L. ii. c. 9.

[n] L. iii. c. 6.

[o] H. F. l. i. c. ult. fin.

[p] Cod. 85.

[q] Vid. Sozom. l. iv. c. 13.

[r] Vid. Philost. l. viii. c. 17.

[s] Γεωργιος δε ὁ νυν εν Λαοδικεια, πρεσβυτερος μεν ων τοτε της Αλεξανδρειας. De Synod. n. 17. p. 731. B.

[t] —— ανηρ της μεν Αρειω προσταξευων αιρεσεως, τοις δε φιλοσοφοις ενλεβαμμενος μαθημασι. H. F. l. i. c. ult. f.

[u] Και Γεωργιος δε Αλεξανδρευς μεν το γενος, και των εκ φιλοσοφιας ὁρμωμενων. —— Phil. l. viii. c. 17.

[x] Τελευταιον δε επαγει —— και ὁτι τερατια εν τοις χερσιν αυτου ελεγετο. Socr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 86. B. Λεγεται γαρ πολλα δι' αυτου θαυματοργησαι το Θειον, ὡς μαρτυρει Γεωργιος ὁ Λαοδικευς. —— Soz. l. iii. c. 6. p. 504. B.

'[a] probably were very excellent and valuable, as may be concluded from the c[illegible]acity of the 'authors. The first is that of George bishop of Laodicea, whom Athanasius decries as the worst 'of all men, because he was one of the principal supports of Arianism: to whom however Theo- 'doret bears witness, as one of the greatest philosophers of his time. The second book is that 'of Eusebius of Emesa. This bishop, being born at Edessa in Mesopotamia, understood Syriac, 'which was the vulgar tongue of the province, and was able to read the works of Moses in the 'original. Moreover he lived at a time, when the memory of his life and actions was fresh, and 'in places where he saw many of his followers. All this, joined with uncommon knowledge and 'eloquence, rendered Eusebius the most proper man in the world to teach us both the history 'and the opinions of that heresiarch. But the envy of the Greeks, or their immoderate zeal 'against the Arians, has caused the loss of all the works of this excellent personage, except a 'few remains preserved by the Syrians.'

12. Lucius, the Arian bishop at Alexandria after Athanasius, as [b] Jerom says, published some small pieces upon divers subjects: for which cause Jerom has given him a place in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and I have put his words at the bottom of the page, and refer to some others [c] for a fuller account.

13. Maximin, an Arian bishop, with whom Augustine in the year 427 or 428, had a public disputation or conference, still [d] extant. And soon after that conference, Augustine wrote two books against Maximin, likewise in being. Having already [e] exhibited his testimony to the scriptures, I need not add any thing farther here.

14. Philostorgius was born about the year [f] 368, at a village in Cappadocia. His [g] father's name was Carterius, his mother's Eulampia, only daughter of a presbyter named Anysius, who however had four sons besides. His mother's ancestors, both by the father's and mother's side, were Homousians: but Carterius was a follower of Eunomius. He brought over his wife to his own opinion; she persuaded her brothers, and at length her father and other relations. Of this opinion Philostorgius makes open profession; that is, he did not believe the Son of God to be like the Father. When he was twenty [h] years of age, he went to Constantinople, to improve himself in learning.

His ecclesiastical History, in [i] two parts, making in all twelve books, was published about the year 425, in the time of the emperor Theodosius the younger, in whose reign likewise wrote those other historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; containing the history of affairs from the beginning of the Arian controversy, or about the year 300, to that time. The work itself is lost, but we have large extracts made by Photius. Beside that history, as he himself informs us, he wrote an [k] encomium of Eunomius, and [l] a book against Porphyry in defence of the Christian religion. Philostorgius was undoubtedly a man of a great deal of knowledge and learning, and Photius commends his [m] style; nevertheless, he may be said to be remarkably credulous. In his brief account of Philostorgius's history Photius observes, that [n] he extols Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theophilus the Indian, and many others, as eminent for miracles, as well as for piety of life and conversation.

I apprehend it may be worth the while to take notice of some other instances of credulity and superstition in this learned and zealous Arian.

He highly commends, as Photius [o] says, Constantius, and says, that he built the church at Constantinople, which is called, and really is great: and that he brought from Achaia the apostle Andrew, and placed him in the church he had built, called also the church of the apostles; near to which he set his father's tomb. He also translated from the same Achaia, Luke the evangelist, and to the same temple. Finally, in like manner he caused to be brought the apostle Timothy from Ephesus in Ionia, to the same celebrated and venerable church.

So writes Philostorgius, with manifest signs of approbation. And I suppose, these to be some

[a] See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 223, 224.

[b] Lucius, post Athanasium Arianæ partis episcopus usque ad Theodosium principem, a quo est pulsus, Alexandrinam ecclesiam tenuit. Exstant ejus solennes de Pascha epistolæ, & pauci variarum hypotheseôn libelli. De V. I. c. 118.

[c] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. & Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. 123. &c.

[d] Vid. August. Opp. T. viii. [e] See p. 310.

[f] Vid. Cav. Hist. L. T. i. p. 410.

[g] Vid. Philost. L. ix. c. 9.

[h] Id. l. x. c. 6.

[i] Vid. Phot. cod. 40.

[k] L. iii. c. 21.

[l] L. x. c. 10.

[m] Cod. 40.

[n] Εν τεραλειοις δε και βιῳ Ευσεβιον τον Νικομηδειας—και Θεοφιλον τον Ινδον, και αλλες ωλειονας. Cod. 40. p. 30.

[o] Philost. l. iii. c. 2.

[p] Vid. Basnage Ann. 356. n. xi. &c. & Basnage Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. 19. ch. iv. n. vi.

of the very first translations of reliques. But they are mentioned by some other writers in a different order. For the author of the Paschal Chronicle first[a] mentions the translation of the reliques of Timothy in 356, and then the reliques of Luke and Andrew in the next year. And he says of those last, that[b] by order of the emperor Constantius, the reliques of those holy apostles were brought to Constantinople, with much care and veneration, with singing of psalms and hymns, and were deposited in the church of the holy Apostles. St. Jerom's manner of speaking leads us to consider this as a very early instance[c] of this kind of translations.

It is our author who says, that[d] Lucian after his martyrdom was brought by a dolphin to the bay of Nicomedia: near to which place was afterwards built the city of Helenopolis.

Beside many wonderful appearances related by other historians, by which Julian's attempt to build the temple of Jerusalem was frustrated, Philostorgius tells this strange story: 'At[e] clearing 'the foundation a stone was taken up that covered the mouth of a cave, cut out in the rock, into 'which one of the labourers being let down by a long rope, found it full of water to the middle 'of the leg. Having carefully viewed the cave on every side, he found it to be four-square. This 'was the report he then made. Being let down again, he observed a pillar reaching a little 'above the water, whereon lay a book wrapped up in clean and fine linen. Being drawn up, the 'linen was seen to be fresh and fair. And at the front of the book was found written in capital 'letters, to the great surprize of all, but especially of Jews and Gentiles, "In the beginning was 'the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."' This is related by no other writer of that time. For which reason, as Cave[f] well observes, 'it stands upon the single 'authority of Philostorgius;' though he is pleased to add: 'but he ancient enough, being born 'within five years after the thing was done.'

He says, the[g] empress, wife of Constantius, was miraculously cured of a certain distemper by Theophilus the Indian.

Photius says, that the ninth book of Philostorgius's history contains many[h] wonderful works of Aëtius, Eunomius and Leontius, forged by the author, as also of Euagrius, and Arianus, and Florentius, especially of Theophilus the Indian, and some others; which[i] nothing but a bigotted zeal could make him invent: yet he relates them without any restraint from a sense of shame of their absurdity and improbability.

He has many stories of judgments[k] befalling the apostates from Christianity, in the time of Julian; and another judgment[l] upon a wicked man, who endeavoured to shelter himself in communion with Athanasius.

Speaking of things that happened in his own time, he says, that[m] in several places there fell hail as large as a man could grasp in his hand; and some pieces were found to weigh eight pounds.

I forbear to mention any more of these wonders; but I shall refer in the margin to a place or two[n] more.

I proceed to take some things in him relating to the scriptures.

At the beginning of his large extracts Photius observes that Philostorgius says, he[o] does not know who is the author of the books of the Maccabees. He esteems the first of those books very valuable, as agreeable to the prophecies of Daniel.——Moreover he says, that the second book does not appear to be written by the same author.——The third book he much dislikes. The fourth book, he says, was written by Josephus.

He blames some people for sitting when[p] the gospels were read.

He speaks of Aëtius[q] having first with care studied the evangelists, then the epistles of Paul, after that the Prophets, particularly Ezekiel: which was mentioned formerly: as have been also divers other things, relating to the scriptures, in the history of several, taken from this writer.

[a] Chr. Pasch. p. 293. B. [b] Ibid.

[c] Sacrilegus fuit Constantius imperator, qui sanctas reliquias Andreæ, Lucæ, Timothei transtulit Constantinopolim?—— [illegible]. Vig. p. 283. in.

[d] L. ii. c. 12. [e] l. vii. c. 14.

[f] Life of St. Cyril of Jerus. in English. cap. x. p. 353.

[g] L. iv. c. 7.

[h] —— Αετιȣ χειρων ὑπερφυη ερϝα.——διαπλαττει. l. ix. c. 1. in.

[i] Οὑς ἡ αυτη της ασεϐειας λυσσα θερμοτερȣς επεδεικνυ· και ταυτα κατα το απιθανωτατον αναπλαττοντι, ȣδεμια παρην αισθησις της ατοπιας ανακȣφιζασα. ib. [k] L. vii. c. 10, 11, & 13.

[l] L. iii. c. 12.

[m] L. xi. cap. 7.

[n] Vid. l. iii. c. 26. l. ix. c. 2. l. x. c. 9, 11.

[o] L. i. c. 1.

[p] Και γαρ καθεζομενοι των ευαγγελικων αναγνωσματων εποιȣντο την ακροασιν. L. iii. c. 5.

[q] —— παρ' ᾧ τȣς ευαγγελιστας αναγνȣς, και τοις καθ' ἑκαστον επιστησας, —— εφ' ȣ τας τȣ αποστολȣ αναδιδαχθεις επιστολας.—κ. λ. l. iii. c. 15. p. 481. B. C.

15. Sabinus. Cave[a] supposeth him to have flourished about the year 425. For what reason he placed him so late I cannot tell. Tillemont agrees, that[b] he wrote in the time of Valens: and Fabricius, under[c] Valens or Gratian.

By Socrates we are informed, that[d] Sabinus was bishop of the Macedonians at Heraclea in Thrace. He sometimes calls Sabinus a[e] leader of the Macedonian sect, and a[f] Semi-arian. He wrote a History of Councils, beginning with that at Nice. The title of his book seems to have been a collection of Synods, or of the Acts of Synods. This author is often quoted by Socrates, who took some materials from him for his own work. Socrates does likewise several times complain of his partiality,[h] in suppressing and concealing divers things which did not make for the honour of his party. And the justness of those remarks must, I think, be allowed by every one who reads them in Socrates.

16. Says Jerom: Theodore[i] bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, in the time of the emperor Constantius, published Commentaries upon Matthew and John, and upon the Apostle, and upon the Psalter, in a neat and elegant style, explaining chiefly the literal sense.'

Cave computes, that[k] he was made bishop of Heraclea about the year 334. Tillemont says that[l] he was put in that see some time before the year 334, but in what year is uncertain. The time of his episcopate is collected from a passage of[m] Theodoret. Athanasius expressly says, that he[n] was promoted by the Arians. He was deposed by the synod of Sardica in 347. He died as some think, in[o] 355, others about the year[p] 358. Theodoret reckons him with Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, one[q] of the prime adversaries of Athanasius. He nevertheless owns, that[r] he was a very learned man, and wrote a Commentary upon the divine gospels.

Jerom has elsewhere plainly mentioned this bishop's[s] Commentary upon the Psalms; and refers also, as it seems, to his[t] Commentary upon the epistles to the Galatians.

It is supposed by[u] Cave, and[x] Fabricius, that his Commentary upon the Psalms is still extant entire. Tillemont only says: It[y] is thought, that we still have his Commentary upon the Psalms, and some fragments of what he wrote on St. Matthew. I must own likewise, that it appears to me very doubtful, whether the Commentary upon the Psalms, published by Corderius, be justly ascribed to this Bishop of Heraclea in its present condition. It is however well written, and there are in it many good observations. The author (if the remarks of several are not there mixed together,) received[z] the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's.

17. I may not omit Ulphilas, but must aim at brevity, and refer to others, both[aa] ancients and[bb] moderns, for a more particular account.

Cave supposeth him to have flourished chiefly about the year 365.

Socrates says, that[cc] Ulphilas subscribed the Arian Creed of the council held at Constantinople in 360, who before had followed the Nicene faith, which had been signed by Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, who was present at that council.

[a] H. L. T. i. p. 41.

[b] Je ne sais, si cette retenue de Sabin à leur égard ne marqueroit point, qu'il écrivoit sous Valens, dans le temps que les purs Ariens étoient encore tout-puissans. Les Ariens. Art. 107. med.

[c] —— cujus collectionem——a Concilio Nicæno usque ad Valentis tempora, sub quo, vel sub Gratiano, scripsisse videtur. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 119. not.[l]

[d] Σαβινος γαρ, ὁ των εν Ἡρακλειᾳ της Θρᾳκης Μακεδονιανων επισκοπος, κ. λ. l. i. c. 8. p. 20. A.

[e] Σαβινος ὁ της Μακεδονιᾳ αἱρεσεως πρωτος. l. i. c. 9. p. 31. D. Vid. & l. ii. c. 15.

[f] Ἀρειανιζων γαρ τι ἡμισυ. l. iv. c. 22. p. 231. B.

[g] —— εν τῃ συναλωλῃ των συνοδων. l. ii. c. 17. p. 95. B. τῃ συναλωλῃ των συνοδικων Σαβινε. l. iii. c. 25. p. 204. D.

[h] Vid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 92. et c. 17. p. 95. l. iv. c. 22.

[i] Theodorus, Heracleæ Thraciarum episcopus, elegantis apertique sermonis, & magis historicæ intelligentiæ, edidit sub Constantio principe commentarios in Matthæum & in Joannem, & in Apostolum, & in Psalterium. De V. I. cap. 90.

[k] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 203.

[l] Les Ariens Art. 20.

[m] L. i. c. 28.

[n] Ad Episc. Æg. & Lib. p. 277. A.

[o] Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 412.

[p] Cav. ubi supr.

[q] Vid. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 28. l. ii. c. 3. et 8 l. v. c. 7.

[r] Ελλολιμος δε διαφερονλως ὁ Θεοδωρος ην, και δη και των Θειων ευαγλελιων την ἑρμηνειαν συγλεγραφεν. l. ii. c. 3. p. 71. B.

[s] — maxime in explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotes, Hier. ad Aug. Ep. 73. al. 95. p. 627. in.

[t] Prætermitto Didymum,—— Eusebium quoque Emisenum, & Theodorum Heracleotem: qui & ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentarios reliquerunt. Ib. p. 619. in.

[u] Ex his exstat nonnisi commentarius integer in Psalmos. Cav. ib. p. 203.

[x] Commentarium Theodori in Psalmos integrum cum Patrum in Psalmos Catenâ Corderius edidit. Fabr. ubi supr. p. 412.

[y] Les Ariens Art. 21. sub fin.

[z] Vid. Corderii Caten. Patr. Gr. in Ps. ii. ver. 7. T. i. p. 27. In Ps. viii. ver. 6. p. 158. In Ps. xxix. al. xl. ver. 7. p. 740.

[aa] Socr. l. ii. c. 41. f. l. iv. c. 33. Soz. l. iv. c. 24. l. vi. c. 37. Theod. l. iv. c. 37. Philost. l. ii. c. 5.

[bb] Cav. H. L. Tillem. Les Ariens art. 132, 133.

[cc] Socr. l. ii. c. 41. fin.

It seems, that[a] in the time of the emperor Valens, the Christians of that country were brought more generally into the Arian scheme than they had been before. Theodoret expressly says that[b] the Goths had long before received the rays of divine light, and until that time had been nourished in the apostolical doctrine. He adds, that[c] even after that alteration they believed indeed the Father to be greater than the Son; but they did not call the Son a creature, though they communicated with those who did so.

Ulphilas was in great authority with that people, and very useful to them. He cultivated among them civility and learning, and made many converts to the Christian religion. He[d] invented for them an alphabet, and translated the scriptures of the Old and New Testament into their language: excepting only, as Philostorgius[e] says, the books of the kingdom, [meaning, it is likely, the two books of Samuel, the two books of the Kings, and the books of the Chronicles,] containing the history of wars: for the Goths being a warlike people, he thought they rather needed a check, than an incentive to fighting.

As these were great performances, I have placed at the bottom of the page, the accounts of several writers in the original words at length.

This may suffice for a brief history of Arian writers, in most of which articles somewhat has offered relating to the scriptures, so much respected by all Christians in general.

CHAP. LXX.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.

I. *The time and place of Constantine's birth, and the condition of his mother Helena.* II. *The state of the Roman empire in the latter part of the third, and the beginning of the fourth Century, with a view of Constantine's reign.* III. *His conversion to the Christian religion.* IV. *His acts, as a Christian, or favourer of Christians:* 1. *Edicts in favour of the Christians, soon after the defeat of Maxentius.* 2. *Particular privileges for catholic Christians, and their ministers.* 3. *Edicts in favour of the Christians, and restraining the heathens, after the final defeat of Licinius.* 4. *The council of Nice.* 5. *Churches built by Constantine and Helena in Palestine.* 6. *Of her finding the cross at Jerusalem.* 7. *Heathen people farther restrained, their temples shut up, and some of them demolished.* 8. *His treatment of heretics.* 9. *His religious exercises, and laws for observing the Lord's day, for abolishing the punishment of the cross, for prohibiting shews of Gladiators, and the like.* 10. *Other laws and edicts.* V. *His character.* VI. *The censures passed upon several of his actions examined.* VII. *Remarks upon the different treatment of catholics, heretics, and heathen people.* VIII. *His testimony to the sacred scriptures.*

I. Constantine, called the[f] great, son of Flavius Valerius Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, and Helena, was born on the 27th day of February, in the year of Christ[g] 272, or, as some think in[h] 273, or, as others, in[i] 274.

[a] Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 33. Soz. l. vi. c. 37.

[b] Παλαι γαρ τας της θεογνωσιας ακτινας δεξαμενοι, τοις αποστολικοις ενετρεφοντο δογμασι. Theod. l. iv. c. 37. p. 195. D.

[c] Οὐ δη ἑνεκα, μεχρι και τημερον οἱ Γοτθοι μειζονα μεν τον Πατερα λεγουσι τȣ Υἱȣ· κτισμα δε τον Υἱον ειπειν ȣκ ανεχονται. κ. λ. ib. p. 196. B.

[d] Τοτε δε και Ουλφιλας, ὁ των Γοτθων επισκοπος, γραμματα εφευρε Γοτθικα, και τας θειας γραφας εις την Γοτθων μεταβαλων, [illegible]βαρβαρȣς μανθανειν τα θεια λογια παρεσκυασεν. Socr. l. iv. c. 33. p. 251.

Πρωτος δε γραμματων εὑρετης αυτοις εγενετο, και εις την οικειαν φωνην μεταφρασε τας ἱερας βιβλȣς. Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 698. A.

[e] Και γραμματων αυτοις οικειων εὑρετης καταστας, μετεφρασεν εις την αυτων φωνην τας γραφας ἁπασας, πλην γε δη των Βασιλειων, ἁτε των πολεμων ἱστοριαν εχȣσων. κ. λ. Phil. l. ii. c. 5.

[f] His name at length, in Latin, is Caius Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus Magnus.

[g] Natus est tertio Calendas Martii A. 272. Anno 306. octavo Cal. Augusti, patre Eboraci mortuo, in imperatorem levatus est. Cav. H. L. in Constant. M.

Natus est Constantinus anno Ch. 272. ex Helena priori Constantii Chlori conjuge. Pagi Ann. 337. n. iv.

Constantinus——anno vel 272 vel 273, natus est. Basnag. 306. n. iii.

[h] Imprimis certum est Constantinum natum esse anno circiter 273, Aureliano imperante. Noris. Diss. de M. Constantini patriâ & parentibus.

[i] Natus Naïsi Daciæ oppido A. C. 274, die 27 Februarii. Fabric. B Gr. l. v. c. 3. sect. 1.

Il naquit le 27 Février, vers l'an 274. Tillem. L' Emp. Constantin. Art. iv. in.

Baronius,[a] and many others, have thought, that Constantine was born in Britain. Others, (which I suppose to be at present the more common opinion,) say, he[c] was born at Naissus, now called Nissa, a town of Dardania in Illyricum.

The opinion, that Constantine was born in Britain, is chiefly founded upon a passage in the panegyric of an anonymous author to Maximian and Constantine, spoken in the year 307; where it is said, that[d] Constantine had ennobled Britain by his birth. But that expression may be as well understood[e] of his royal, as of his natural birth. Eumenes likewise, in his panegyric to this prince, calls,[f] Britain happy, which first saw Constantine Cæsar. But the meaning, I apprehend, is not, that Britain first saw Constantine, but first saw him Cæsar: he having been there proclaimed Cæsar by the soldiers, immediately after his father's death.

It is generally allowed, that Helena, the mother of Constantine, was a woman of a mean birth. And S. Ambrose[g] calls her stabulariam, perhaps, as being the daughter of an innkeeper.

Whether Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius Chlorus, or only his concubine, is a disputable point: for even some[h] Christian, as well as[i] heathen authors, call her a concubine, and her son spurious. It may seem strange that Constantine should succeed his father in the empire without dispute, when there were several sons by a legal wife, if he was not legitimate. But the writer of the Paschal Chronicle (who calls Constantine spurious) assigns this reason for it, that[k] all the other children of Constantius were young at the time of his death.

However, beside that undisputed succession, there are several reasons to think, Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius Chlorus. If Constantine had been illegitimate, he would not have been treated, when young, with so much[l] respect by Dioclesian as he was. When it was proposed to choose new Cæsars, it does not appear that[m] any exception was made to Constantine on account of his birth. The author of a panegyric pronounced in 313, speaks of Constantine, as the[n] genuine son of Constantius: which would scarce have been openly mentioned, if there had been any ground for suspicion or contradiction. And the historians, who speak of Constantius's marriage with the daughter of Maximian, say, he[o] was first divorced from his former wife. All which seem to be arguments of no small force, for the lawful marriage of Helena: and will at least render it probable, that if she was originally a concubine only, she was afterwards married to Constantius.

Cardinal Noris ingeniously accounts[p] for Constantius's marrying a woman of mean condition, from the low military office he was in, when young. And if there is any ground for the story in[q] Nicephorus, one might be apt to think, that Constantius became first acquainted with Helena at

[a] Ann. 306. n. xvi.

[b] Pagi. Crit. in Baron. 306. n. ix. Basnag. 306. n. iii. Cuper. Pr. ad Lact. de M. P. Tillem. Hist. des Emp. T. iv. P. i. Constantin. Art. iv. Noris. Diss. de M. Constantin. patr. & parent.

[c] Hic igitur Constantinus natus Helenâ matre vilissimâ in oppido [forte vilissimo in oppido. Cuper.] Naïso, atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit. Excerpta auctoris incerti a Valesio edita, ap. Amm. Marcell. p. 710. Lugd. Bat. 1693. Vid. & Jul. Firmic. Mathes. l. i. c. ult. & Steph. de Urbibus V. Ναισος.

[d] —— Liberavit ille [Constantius] Britannias servitute: tu etiam nobiles illic oriendo fecisti. Paneg. vi. sect. 4. p. 192. Paris. 1676.

[e] Vid. Basnag. 306. n. iii. Pagi 306. c. xiv. xv.

[f] O fortunata, & nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti. Paneg. vii. sect. ix. p. 207.

[g] Stabulariam hanc primo fuisse asserunt, sic cognitam Constantio seniori, qui postea regnum adeptus est. Amb. de Obit. Theod. sect. 42. p. 1209. T. ii.

[h] Constantius sexto decimo imperii anno diem obiit Eboraci. Post quem filius ejus Constantinus, ex concubinâ Helenâ procreatus, regnum invadit. Hieron. Chron. p. 180.

Και εδεξαλο αυΐον ὁ παις αυΐε Κωνϛαντινος, ὁ νοθος εξ Ἑλενης αυΐῳ γενομενος· οἱ γαρ απο Θεοδωρας αυΐω τεχθεντες μικροι ὑπηρχον. Chr. Pasch. p. 278. A. B. Paris. 1688.

[i] Κωνϛαντινος εξ ὁμιλιας γυναικος ϐ σεμνης, ϐδε καΐα νομον συνελθουσης, Κωνϛαντιῳ τῳ βασιλει γεγενημενος. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

Verum Constantio mortuo, Constantinus, ex obscuriore matrimonio ejus filius, in Britanniâ creatus est imperator. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 2.

[k] Vid. not. [h]

[l] —— συν τῳ πρεσϐυΐερῳ των ϐασιλεων· ϐ και επι δεξια παρεϛως. κ. λ. Euseb. V. C. l. i. c. 19.

[m] Vid. de M. P. cap. 18, 19.

[n] Quod erat ille Maximiani suppositus, tu Constantii Pii filius. Paneg. ix. c. 4.

[o] Relictâ enim Helenâ priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem. Vales. Anonym. in.

Prior Herculii privignam, alter Diocletiano editam sortiuntur, diremptis prioribus conjugiis. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 39.

——Tradens Constantio Theodoram Herculii Maximiani privignam, abjectâ uxore priori. Victor. Epit. c. 39.

Ambo uxores, quas habuerunt, repudiare compulsi. Eutrop. l. ix.

[p] Cæterum Helenam origine plebeiam fuisse, si antiquioribus ulla fides.—Hæc verisimiliora fient, si primam in castris Constantii dignitatem consideremus. Fuit enim primum Protector.—Fieri ergo potuit, ut Constantius cum eo injuncto munere Protectoris itinerum custodiis præesset, & publicorum equorum stabula, quæ amplissima per Romanum imperium publicis impensis servabantur, Helenæ stabulariæ filiæ pulchritudine captus, cum eâdem nuptias iniverit. Noris. ubi supr. p. 648.

[q] Vid. Niceph. T. i. p. 463, 464.

Drepanum in Bithynia: which too might be the place of her birth, and, as is well known, was afterwards in honour of her called Helenopolis.

Constantine, as a dutiful son, took care, when emperor, that the highest honours should be given her. By his appointment,[a] she had the titles of Augusta and empress all over the empire, and medals were coined with her head upon them.

From Christian writers she[b] has the character of a discreet, pious, and devout woman.

It has been however insinuated by some to her disadvantage, that[c] she was the occasion of Constantine's neglecting for a long time his brothers, sons of his father Constantius by Theodora. And indeed soon after her death, they or their children had signal testimonies of regard from Constantine. Nevertheless it has been thought, that it had been better for him to have followed the prudent directions of his mother: for their preferments in the issue proved fatal to them. Valesius[d] makes no scruple to commend that part of her conduct.

Helena lived to a great[e] age: she is supposed by some, to have died[f] in the year 326. Fabricius, in his Chronology of the Life of Constantine, placeth her death[g] in 327, as does Valesius.[h] Tillemont computes, that[i] she died in 327, or 328.

By Eusebius we are informed, that[k] she was buried at Rome; where she died too, as some think. Others say, she did not die there, because Eusebius's account is, that she was conveyed thither with great funeral pomp. It is, however allowed, that her death happened at no great distance from[l] Rome.

II. It will be of use, before we proceed any farther in the history of Constantine, to take a general survey of the state of the Roman empire about this time.

Dioclesian, a[m] man of mean original, born at Dioclea, an obscure town in Dalmatia, having signalized himself by his valour and conduct, was proclaimed emperor, on the 17th day of September, in the year 284. On the first of April, in 286, Maximian, called Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Cæsar some time before, was[n] declared Augustus, and joint emperor with Dioclesian. This[o] was done at a place near Nicomedia, the capital city of Bithynia.

On the first of March 292, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian[p] were created Cæsars, by the two fore-mentioned emperors. And the better to secure the fidelity of the Cæsars, new marriages were concluded for[q] them. Constantius dismissing Helena, mother of Constantine, married Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian Herculius. And Galerius Maximian married Valeria, daughter of Dioclesian.

Constantius, the first of the two Cæsars, was a man of a good family. His[r] father, Eutropius, was a nobleman of Dardania: His mother Claudia, was daughter of a brother of the emperor Claudius the second.

Constantius is highly commended by[s] Eusebius, and has a good character likewise from[t]

[a] Euseb. d. V. C. l. iii. c. 47. Vid. & c. 43.

[b] ——Θεοφιλὴς βασιλέως θεοφιλὴς μήτηρ.—ἡ βασιλὶς θεοσεβεστάτη. Eus. de V. C. l. iii. c. 43. & passim.—ὑπερβαλλόντως φρονήσει.—ib. c. 42.—τὴν θαυμασίαν.—c. 45.

[c] See Tillemont Saint Helene Art. i. & Constantin. Art. 85.

[d] Annot. ad Eus. de V. C. l. iii. c. 42.

[e] Eus. ib. c. 42. & 56.

[f] Vid. Pagi 326. n. xiv. xv. Basnag. 326. n. xi.

[g] Lux Evangelii, p. 270.

[h] Vid. Ann. ad Eus. de V. C. l. iii. c. 47.

[i] See him in Constantin. Art. 63. & Helene Art. 7.

[k] Πλείστη γὰρ δορυφορία ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύσασαν πόλιν ἀνεκόμιζετο. De V. C. c. 47.

[l] See Tillemont in St. Helene Art. viii. & Basnag. An. 326. n. xi.

[m] Vid. Pagi in Baron. 284. n. iv. Basnag. Ann. 284. n. ii.

[n] Pagi 286. n. ii. Basn. 286. n. i.

[o] Erat locus altus extra civitatem ad millia fere tria, in cujus summo Maximianus ipse purpuram sumserat. De Mort. Pers. c. 19.

[p] Pagi 292. n. ii. Basn. 292. n. i. ii.

[q] Atque ut eos etiam affinitate conjungeret, Constantius privignam Herculii Theodoram accepit, ex quâ postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam. Ambo uxores, quas habuerunt, repudiare compulsi. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

His de causis Julium Constantium, Galerium Maximianum, cui cognomen Armentario erat, creatos Cæsares, in affinitatem vocant. Prior Herculii privignam, alter Diocletiano editam sortiuntur, diremtis prioribus conjugiis. S. Aur. Victor. de Cæsarib. c. 39.

Is Maximianum Augustum effecit. Constantium & Galerium Maximianum cognomento Armentarium, Cæsares creavit, tradens Constantio Theodoram Herculii Maximiani privignam, abjectâ uxore priori. Victor. Epit. c. 39.

Iste cum Galerio a Diocletiano Cæsar factus est. Relictâ enim Helenâ priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem. Anon. Vales. p. 710.

[r] Claudius, Quintilius, & Crispus, fratres fuerunt. Crispi filia, Claudia. Ex eâ & Eutropio, nobilissimo gentis Dardaniæ viro, Constantius Cæsar est genitus. Trebell. Poll. in Claudio n. 13.

Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Cæsare fecit Augustum, Constantium & Maximianum Cæsares, quorum Constantius per filiam nepos Claudii traditur. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

Constantius Divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre. Anon. Vales. p. 710.

[s] H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. B. C. p. 317. C. D. De Vit. Const. l. i. c. 13, 14.

[t] Vir egregius, & præstantissimæ civilitatis, &c. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. c. 1.

heathen authors. By Claudia Theodora, whom he now married, he had [a] six children, three sons, and as many daughters. Their names are [b] generally reckoned to be these: Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, Anibalius, Constantia, Eutropia, Anastasia.

Galerius Maximian, the other Cæsar, was surnamed [c] Armentarius, because his father was a grazier, or he himself had been so. He [d] was born in Dacia near Sardica.

Now the empire was divided betwixt those [e] four. Constantius, as Cæsar, had to his share Britain and Gaul.

Under these emperors, and their two Cæsars, began what is called Dioclesian's persecution; which lasted ten years, or more, in some parts of the empire, before it was universally extinguished.

There had been a persecution some time [f] before, in the [g] court and the army, but it became general in the year 303. For on [h] the 23d day of February in that year, the church of the Christians [i] at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolished, Dioclesian and Galerius being then both in that city. On the next day, February 24th, the [k] edict against the Christians was published. According to the writer of [l] the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and [m] Eusebius, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it [n] was sent to Herculius and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the empire, which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculius, in Italy, readily [o] complied: but Constantius, though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated [p] the persecution within the extent of his government.

In the year 305, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire, both on the same day, being [q] the first of May; the former at a place near Nicomedia, the latter at [r] Milan. At the same time Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian were declared Augusti and emperors, and [s] Maximin and Severus Cæsars. Dioclesian after this spent the remainder of his days near Salonæ in Dalmatia, and died in 313. Maximian Herculius retired for the present to that part of Italy which was called Lucania.

Maximin and Severus were both [t] of Illyricum. The former, whose [u] original name was Daia, or Daza, was [x] son of a sister of Galerius, and [y] only a grazier, or feeder of cattle, as the rest of the family were. The [z] family of Severus is unknown.

[a] Ex quâ postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Euseb. Chron. p. 178. Vid. & Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22. & Anon. Vales. p. 710.

[b] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 306. n. 2. Tillem. Const. Art. iii. Hist. T. iv. p. 130.

[c] Igitur Constantio, Armentarioque, his succedentibus.—Aurel. Vict. c. 40. in Cæs.

Galerius autem fuit (licet incultâ agrestique justitiâ,) satis laudabilis——ortus parentibus agrariis, pastor armentorum: unde ei cognomen Armentarius fuit. Vict. Epit. cap. 40.

[d] Maximianus Galerius in Daciâ haud longe a Sardicâ natus. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

Ortus Daciâ Ripensi, ibique sepultus est. Vict. Epit. c. 39.

[e] Quasi partito imperio, cuncta quæ trans Alpes Galliæ sunt, Constantio commissa: Africa, Italiaque Herculio: Illyricique ora ad usque Ponti fretum, Galerio: Cætera Valerius retentavit. Aurel. Vict. Cæs. c. 39. [f] Vid. Pagi An. 298. n. 2.

[g] Tunc irâ furens sacrificare non eos tantum qui sacris ministrabant, sed universos qui erant in Palatio, jussit: & in eos, qui detraxissent, verberibus animadverti, datisque ad præpositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia præcepit, ut qui non paruissent, militiâ solverentur. Hactenus furor ejus & ira processit, nec amplius quidquam contra legem aut religionem Dei fecit. De M. P. c. 10.

[h] Vid. Pagi. 302. n. iii. v. Basnag. 303. n. v.

[i] Terminalia deliguntur, quæ sunt ad septimum kalendas Martias.—Qui dies cum illuxisset,——ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus & tribunis & rationalibus venit.—Veniebant igitur prætoriani, acie structâ, cum securibus ——& immissis undique, templum illud editissimum paucis horis solo adæquatur. De M. P. c. 12.

[k] Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore ac dignitate, tormentis subjecti essent.——ib. c. 13. in.

[l] Cap. 10, 11, 12.

[m] H. E. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314. D.

[n] Et jam literæ ad Maximianum atque Constantium commeaverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus exspectata non erat. D. M. P. c. 15.

[o] Et quidem senex Maximianus libens per Italiam paruit, homo non adeo clemens. Id. ib.

[p] Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est: verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. D. M. P. c. 15.

Vexabatur ergo universa terra, & præter Gallias, ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimæ bestiæ sæviebant. Id. c. 16. Vid. & Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. D. & p. 317. D. Vit. Const. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. D. & cap. 16. & 17.

[q] Cum hæc essent constituta, proceditur kalendis Maiis. De M. P. c. 19. in.

[r] Uterque unâ die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit: Nicomediæ Diocletianus, Herculius Mediolani.—Concesserunt autem Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam. Diocletianus privatus in villâ, quæ haud procul a Salonis est, præclaro otio senuit. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 27, 28. Vid. & Victor. Epit. cap. 39.

[s] Tunc repente pronuntiat Severum & Maximinum Cæsares. De M. P. c. 19.

[t] Igitur Constantio Armentarioque his succedentibus, Severus Maximinusque Illyricorum indigenæ Cæsares. Aur. Vict. c. 40. in Cæs.

[u] Hunc, inquit, ostendens Daiam adolescentem quemdam semibarbarum, quem recens jusserat Maximinum vocari de suo nomine. De M. P. c. 18.

[x] Galerius Maximinus sorore Armentarii progenitus, veroque nomine ante imperium Daza dictus, Cæsar quadriennio, dehinc per Orientem Augustus triennio fuit: ortu quidem atque instituto pastorali, &c. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

The empire was [a] then divided between Constantius and Galerius, and their Cæsars. Constantius had for his part Italy, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the western part of the empire; Galerius had Illyricum, Thrace, Asia, the East, with Egypt. Constantius soon quitted Italy, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave [b] them to Severus, contenting himself with Gaul and Britain. Galerius [c] too, kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia; yielding to Maximin the East, that is, Syria, and the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

It was expected by many, that [d] at the resignation of Dioclesian, Constantine should have been declared Cæsar; but he was passed by for the sake of those just mentioned, and [e] was kept by Galerius, as an hostage for the fidelity of Constantius, as he had been before by Dioclesian. However, it was not very long after this, before Constantine obtained leave of Galerius to depart: which he did immediately, and though not without difficulty, yet by [f] great diligence and prudent circumspection, he got safe to his father Constantius: with whom he was, when he died at York in [g] Britain, July 25, 306.

Constantius upon his death-bed appointed his son Constantine his heir and successor, with the style and [h] titles, as it seems, of emperor and Augustus. And immediately upon the death of his father, Constantine was so proclaimed [i] by the soldiers in Britain, in [k] the fourth year of the persecution. But Galerius Maximian would allow him no higher title than that of Cæsar, which [l] Constantine accepted for the present.

On the 27th [m] of October, 306, Maxentius,[n] son of Maximian Herculius, who had also married a daughter of Galerius, assumed the title of Augustus at Rome. And being sensible, that this would displease Galerius, he sends for his father Maximian Herculius, who [o] thereupon resumed

[y] Daia vero, sublatus nuper a pecoribus & silvis, statim scutarius, continuo protector, mox tribunus, postridie Cæsar, accepit Orientem calcandum & conterendum. &c. De M. P. c. 10.

[z] Severus filium habuit Severianum, ubi constat ex cap. 50. Nomen uxoris & parentum incognitum. Cuperus in not. ad libr. de M. P. c. 39. p. 219. Ultraj. 1693.

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[a] His igitur abeuntibus, ad administrationem reipublicæ, Constantius & Galerius Augusti creati sunt, divisusque inter eos Romanus orbis, ut Galliam, Italiam, Africam Constantius: Illyricum, Asiam, Orientem Galerius obtineret, sumtis duobus Cæsaribus. Eutrop. l. x. init. Vid. & Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. B.

[b] Constantius tamen, contentus dignitate Augusti, Italiæ atque Africæ administrandæ sollicitudinem recusavit. Eutrop. l. x. c. 1.

[c] Interea Cæsares duo facti, Severus & Maximinus. Maximino datum est Orientis imperium. Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thraciam, & Bithyniam tenuit. Severus suscepit Italiam, & quidquid Herculius obtinebat. Anon. Vales. p. 711.

His diebus Constantius Constantini pater, atque Armentarius, Cæsares, Augusti appellantur; creatis Cæsaribus Severo per Italiam, Maximino Galerii sororis filio per Orientem. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Vid. & Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

[d] Vid. de M. P. c. 19.

[e] Hic igitur Constantinus,—obses apud Diocletianum & Galerium, sub iisdem fortiter in Asiâ militavit. Anon. Vales. p. 710.

Nam is a Galerio, religionis specie, ad vicem obsidis tenebatur. Aur. Vict. c. 40.

[f] Vid. de M. P. c. 24. Anonym. Vales. p. 710, 711. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Zosim. l. ii. p. 672. Euseb. V. Const. l. i. c. 20, 21.

[g] It is commonly said by learned moderns, that when Constantine came to York, he found his father dying. And they have for it the authority of the writer De M. Persec. c. 24. pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem, as also Euseb. de V. C. l. i. c. 21. & Zos. l. ii. c. 672. and Aurel. Vict. Epit. Et forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium parentem fata ultima perurgebant. But Tillemont in Constantin, art. vii. p. 144. says, that this is not exact. For Eumenes in the presence of Constantine, before the war with Maxentius, and probably in 309, says, that Constantine came to his father, when he was weighing anchor for Britain. Cum ad tempus ipsum, quo pater in Britanniam transfretabat, classi jam vela facienti repentinus tuus adventus illuxit. Paneg. viii. sect. 7. And the Anonymous author, published by Valesius, says, that Constantine found his father at Bologne: and speaks of a victory, which Constantius obtained afterwards over the Picts. Ad patrem Constantium venit apud Bononiam.——Post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est. Excerp. p. 711.

[h] Vid. Basn. 306. n. 2. Pagi 306. n. 7. Tillem. Constantin. Art. vii. T. iv. p. 145.

[i] Pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem, qui ei militibus commendato imperium per manus tradidit, &c. De M. P. c. 24. Vid. & Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. C. V. Const. l. i. c. 21. Vales. Anonym. p. 711. Socrat. l. i. c. 2. in.

[k] Quarto persecutionis anno Constantinus regnare orsus. Eus. Chr. p. 180.

[l] Cujus tanta maturitas est, ut cum tibi pater imperium reliquisset, Cæsaris tamen appellatione contentus, exspectare malueris, ut idem te, qui illum, declararet Augustum. Incerti Paneg. ad Maximian. & Constantin. cap. 5.

[m] Imminebat dies, quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est ad sextum kalendas Novembris. De M. P. cap. 44.

[n] Erat autem Maximiano [filius] Maxentius, hujus Maximiani gener,——adeo superbus & contumax, ut neque patrem, neque socerum, solitus sit adorare. Et idcirco utrique invisus fuit. De M. P. c. 18.

Genuit ex Eutropiâ Syrâ muliere Maxentium & Faustam conjugem Constantini: cujus patri Constantio tradiderat Theodoram privignam, &c. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[o] Patri suo post depositum imperium in Campaniâ moranti purpuram mittit, & bis Augustum nominat. Ille vero, & rerum novarum cupidus, & qui deposuerat invitus, libenter arripuit. De M. P. c. 26.

Romæ interea Prætoriani, excitato tumultu, Maxentium Herculii filium, qui haud procul ab urbe in villâ publicâ morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt: quo nuntio Maximianus Herculius ad spem erectus resumendi fastigii, quod invitus amiserat, Romam advolavit a Lucaniâ. &c. Eutrop. l. x. c. ii. Vid. & Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Anon. Vales. p. 711.

the purple. And in this year, or the [a] beginning of the year following, 307, Severus, who, as Cæsar, had to his share Italy and Africa, was overcome,[b] and put to death.

Maximian and his son Maxentius did not long agree together: Maximian [c] therefore, the better to strengthen his interest, and carry on his own views, goes to Constantine in Gaul: and some time in this year,[d] 307, gives him in marriage [e] his daughter Fausta, Minervina the former wife or concubine of Constantine, by whom he had [f] his eldest son Crispus, being dead, as is supposed. And now, as [g] it seems, Constantine receives the title of Augustus from Maximian.

About this time Galerius [h] makes Licinius, his old acquaintance, and a man of mean extraction, Augustus. And now there were in [i] effect six emperors; Maximian, who, as we said before, had resumed the purple, Galerius, Constantine, Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Maximian, after a base and unsteady conduct, was [k] condemned and put to death by Constantine's order in 310. Galerius died [l] in 311, of a long [m] and grievous distemper, supposed to be inflicted on him as a judgment from heaven, for his inhuman cruelty to the Christians. Maxentius was overcome by Constantine, and drowned in the river Tiber, [n] on the 27th of October, in 312. Maximin died in 313: the manner of his death is particularly described [o] in the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and [p] in Eusebius. I may just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Dioclesian also died [q] in the year 313.

But before the death of Maximin, in the same year, 313, Constantine [r] married his sister Constantia to Licinius. And as from that time their interests were united, so upon the death of Maximin, the whole empire was in their power, and divided between them.

But their friendship did not long subsist without [s] interruption. For in the year [t] 314, the

[a] Vid. Pagi. 307. n. 5. Baluz. not. ad libr. de M. P. c. 27. p. 66.

[b] Auctæ Maxentio opes, confirmatumque imperium. Severus fugiens Ravennæ interfectus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3. Vid. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[c] Herculius tamen Maximianus, post hæc in concione exercitûs filium Maxentium denudare conatus, seditionem & convicia militum tulit. Inde ad Gallias profectus est dolo composito, tamquam a filio esset expulsus, ut Constantino genero jungeretur. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3.

[d] Vid. Baluz. ad libr. de M. P. c. 27. p. 66.

[e] —— proficiscitur in Galliam, ut Constantinum partibus suis conciliaret suæ minoris filiæ nuptiis. De M. P. c. 27. Vid. & Zos. l. ii. p. 673, 674.

[f] Filiumque suum Crispum nomine, ex Minervinâ concubinâ susceptum. Vict. Epit. cap. 41. Κωνσταντίνος μεν καθίστησι Καισαρα Κρισπον, εκ παλλακης αυτῳ γεγονότα Μινερβίνης ονομα. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. Vid. & Basn. Ann. 326. n. 1.

[g] Et tibi, Constantine, per socerum nomen imperatoris accreverit. Incerti Paneg. Maxim. & Const. cap. 2. Vid. & cap. 5. & Basn. Ann. 307. n. 3.

[h] Aderat ibi Diocles a genero nuper accitus, ut, quod ante non fecerat, præsente illo imperium Licinio daret, substituto in Severi loco. De M. P. c. 29.

Per hoc tempus Licinius a Galerio imperator est factus, Daciâ oriundus, notus ei ex antiquâ consuetudine, & in bello, quod adversus Narseum gesserat, strenuis laboribus & officiis acceptus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4.

Licinius itaque ex novâ Daciâ vilioris originis a Galerio factus imperator, velut adversum Maxentium pugnaturus. Anon. Vales. p. 713. Vid. & Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 310. A. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

[i] Sic uno tempore sex fuerunt. De M. P. 29.

[k] Moliens tamen Constantinum, repertâ occasione, interficere, qui in Galliis, & militum & provincialium favore regnabat.——Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quæ dolum viro enuntiaverat, profugit Herculius Massiliam, ibique oppressus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3. Vid. & de M. P. c. 29, 30. Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 310. A. B. De V. C. l. i. c. 57. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[l] Vid. Pagi. 311. n. 14, 15.

[m] Jam decimus & octavus annus agitur, cum percussit eum Deus insanabili plagâ. Nascitur ei ulcus malum in inferiori parte genitalium, serpitque latius, &c. De M. P. c. 33, 34. Vid. & Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 16, 17.

Paulloque post vulnere pestilenti consumtus est. Aur. Vict. c. 40.

Galerius Maximianus consumtis genitalibus defecit. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

Tunc Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Cæsarem fecit. Deinde illo in Pannoniâ relicto, ipse ad Sardicam regressus, morbo ingenti occupatus sic distabuit, ut aperto & putrescente viscere moreretur, in supplicium persecutionis iniquissimæ ad auctorem scelerati præcepti justissimâ pœnâ redeunte. Anon. Vales. p. 712.

[n] Ipse in fugam versus properat ad pontem, qui interruptus erat, ac multitudine fugientium pressus in Tiberim deturbatur. De M. P. c. 44.

Ipsum postremo adversus nobiles omnibus exitiis sævientem, apud pontem Milvium vicit, Italiâque potitus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4. Vid. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Incerti Paneg. Constant. Aug. c. 17. Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 358. D. 359. A.

[o] Angore animi ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad remedium malorum, quæ Deus in caput ejus ingessit.—Et sic hausit venenum, &c. De M. P. c. 49.

[p] Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 365, 366. De V. C. l. i. c. 58, 59.

[q] Vid. libr. de M. P. c. 42, 43. Pagi A. 316. n. 3, 4, 5. Basn. An. 313. n. 2.

[r] Constantinus, rebus in Urbe compositis, hyeme proximâ Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius advenit, ut acciperet uxorem. De M. P. c. 45.

Sed oppresso Maxentio, cum recepisset Italiam Constantinus, hoc Licinium fœdere sibi fecit adjungi, ut Licinius Constantiam sororem Constantini apud Mediolanum duceret uxorem. Anon. Vales. p. 713. Vid. & Eutrop. l. x. c. 5. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Eus. H. E. l. x. c. 8. p. 395. B. V. Const. l. i. c. 50.

[s] Ita potestas Orbis Romani duobus quæsita: qui quamvis per Flavii sororem nuptam Licinio connexi inter se erant, ob diversos mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quivere. Aur. Vict. c. 41.

[t] Vid. Pagi 317. n. 4, 5, 6. Basn. 314. n. 1, 2, 3, 4.

animosity between them broke out into open war; and two battles were fought, the first at Cibalis in Pannonia, the second in Campo Mardiense, which place is not certainly [a] known: immediately after which, peace was concluded, and a new partition made of the empire.

A second war between them began [b] in 323, which was concluded in 324, with the intire defeat of Licinius, who was reduced to a private condition. Others [c] place that total defeat of Licinius in the year 323: and though his life was then given him at the intercession of Constantia, he was [d] put to death in the year 324, or 325.

This was the end of those civil wars in the empire, and Constantine now became sole emperor both of the East and West. And having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father Constantius, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22, 337.

III. Having given this general account of the state of the Roman empire, in the latter part of the third, and beginning of the fourth century, and of the reign of Constantine, the [e] first emperor of Rome who made an open profession of the Christian religion; it is fit, we should now distinctly observe some parts of his history.

His conversion is a remarkable period in his life, as well as an important event, in which the Christians were greatly concerned. The time, occasion, and reasons of it, deserve our consideration.

One might have been apt to think, that Constantine should have received some impressions in favour of the Christian religion in the early part of his life; for his father Constantius, is said from the beginning of the persecution to have treated the Christians with mildness, in that part of the empire which was under him. And Eusebius says, that [f] Constantius was a worshipper of the one true God, and had in his palace Christian ministers. It might be also conjectured, that Helena, mother of Constantine, had trained up her son in the principles of the Christian religion. And it must be owned, that [g] Theodoret, in one place seems to say [h] as much. But yet, I think, it cannot but be more reasonable for us, to rely rather upon Eusebius; who expressly makes it one of the commendations of Constantine, that [i] he taught his mother the true religion, who before was ignorant of it.

In order to judge rightly of this matter, it may be best for us to take Eusebius's account at large; who makes Constantine to have chosen the God whom he should worship, when he was undertaking the war with Maxentius, or however before he had finished it: which war [k] began in 311, when Constantine was a good deal above thirty years of age.

The title of the 27th chapter of the first book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine is thus: 'That Constantine, weighing in his mind the misfortunes of those who had worshipped idols, 'made choice of the Christian religion.' 'Considering with himself,' (says the historian) 'that he wanted some better assistance than military forces,——he sought for a God that might 'be his helper.——He considered therefore with himself, what God he should take to be his 'helper. Whilst he was deliberating about that matter, this thought came into his mind: that 'all who before him had arrived at empire, and had placed their hopes in a multitude of gods, 'and worshipped them with sacrifices and offerings, had been at first deluded by flattering 'speeches composed to please them, and by oracles that promised them success and prosperity, 'and afterwards met with an unfortunate end: nor were any of their gods able to deliver them 'from the calamities inflicted on them by the divine hand: that his father alone, who had taken

[a] My learned friend, Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College, has favoured me with this conjecture: 'May it not be Margensi? Pliny mentions the river Margis 'in Mœsia, which joins to Pannonia. Lib. iii. cap. 26. 'And in the Notitia Im. Rom. we have in the same country, 'Auxilium Margense Margo. Where Margum is the name 'of a town. Sect. 30. Ed. Labbe. This situation seems to 'suit the former battle.'

[b] Vid. Pagi 318. n. 2, 3, 5—8. Basn. 324. n. 1. 325. n. 2, 3.

[c] See Tillemont in Constantin, Art. 48, 49, 50. and Note 43, 44.

[d] Varia deinceps inter eos bella, & pax reconciliata rupta est. Postremo Licinius navali & terrestri prælio victus apud Nicomediam se dedidit, & contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[e] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 244. n. iv.—vii. & 247. n. vi.—x.

[f] ——μονον μεν Θεον τον επι παντων ειδως, κ. λ. V. C. l. i. c. 17. p. 416. C. Vid. et c. 27. p. 421. C.

[g] —— ἡ τον μεγαν τουτον φωστηρα τεκουσα, και την της ευσεβειας αυτῳ προσενεγκουσα τροφην. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 18. p. 47. D.

[h] Possibly Theodoret means no more, than that Helena nourished and cherished her son's faith by her devout exercises and pious example. So this place may be reconciled with another, where he speaks of Constantine's conversion, as the work of heaven itself. l. i. c. 2. p. 6. B.

[i] Οὑτω μεν αυτην θεοσεβη καταστησαντα, ουκ ουσαν προτερον. κ. λ. V. C. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. D.

[k] Quinto tamen Constantinus imperii sui anno bellum adversum Maxentium civile commovit. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4.

'a course contrary to theirs, and had condemned their error, and [a] worshipped in the whole of 'his life the one supreme God, had experienced him to be the saviour and protector of his 'empire, and the author of all good.—Having well considered these things, he was convinced, 'that it was the utmost folly to trifle so far, as to pay honour to such gods as were nothing at all. 'He therefore determined to worship only the God of his father.'

Eusebius proceeds in the following chapter: 'He therefore called upon this God in his 'prayers, earnestly entreating and beseeching him that he would make himself known to him, 'and afford him his powerful aid in the difficult affairs before him. Whilst the emperor was 'putting up these earnest prayers and supplications, a [b] divine sign of a most wonderful nature 'appeared: which thing, possibly, if related by another, would not be easily credited. But the 'victorious emperor himself having told it to us who write this history a long time after, when 'we had the honour of his acquaintance and conversation, and [c] having likewise confirmed it with 'an oath, who can refuse his assent to it; especially when following events have borne testimony 'to the truth of it? He said then, that about noon, when the day was declining, he saw with his 'own eyes in the heavens, the trophy of the cross, placed above the sun, consisting of light, with 'an inscription annexed, BY THIS CONQUER: that at the sight of it, astonishment seized him 'and his whole army, which then followed him in a certain march, and beheld that wonderful sight.'

'In [d] the mean time, as he said, he began to doubt with himself, what the meaning of this 'should be: but whilst he was revolving it in his mind, and continued meditating upon it, at 'length night came on. As he slept, the Christ of God appeared to him with that sign which 'had appeared in the heavens; and commanded him to make a standard resembling the sign, 'which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it, as a defence in the battle with his enemies.

'As [e] soon as it was day, he arose, and communicated this wonderful thing to his friends. 'And then sending for such as worked in gold and precious stones, he seated himself in the 'midst of them, and gave them a description of the sign, and commanded them to make one like 'it in gold and precious stones; which also we have seen.'

The [f] standard is presently afterwards described by Eusebius, who thereupon proceeds again.

'Being [g] then deeply affected with that wonderful sight, and resolving to worship no other 'God but him that had appeared to him; he sent for some of those that were acquainted with 'the mysteries of his doctrine, and asked them, who that God was, and what was the meaning 'of the sign he had seen. They told him, that he was God, the only begotten Son of the one 'and only God: that the sign which had appeared to him was the symbol of immortality, and 'the trophy of the victory obtained by him over death, when he was on earth. They informed 'him likewise of the causes of his advent, and gave him accurate instructions concerning his in-'carnation. In such discourses as these was he taught: but he was taken up with the divine 'appearance that had been afforded him; and comparing the heavenly vision with the interpre-'tation given of it, he was strengthened in mind; being [h] fully satisfied, that the knowledge of 'these matters had been given by God himself. From that time he resolved to give himself to 'the reading of the divine scriptures. And taking those priests of God for his counsellors, he 'was persuaded that the God he had seen was carefully to be worshipped. Thus filled with 'good hopes, he undertook to extinguish the flames of tyranny.'

This is the account left us by Eusebius, who had it from Constantine himself. And hence it is apparent, I think, that Constantine's conversion, if he is to be credited, was not the work of men, or of any Christian ministers, but of God himself, together with the reflections he made in his own mind upon past events. And so Theodoret, agreeably enough to this account in Eusebius, says, 'that [i] Constantine was called not of men, nor by men, but from heaven, as the 'divine apostle Paul was.'

We must, however, make here some remarks, particularly upon the appearance of the

[a] —— αυτον δε τον επεκεινα των όλων Θεον δια πασης τιμησαντα ζωης, σωτηρα και φυλακα της βασιλειας, αγαθε τε παντος χορηγον εύρεσθαι. p. 421. C.

[b] —— θεοσημεια τις επιφαινεται παραδοξοτατη. p. 422. A.

[c] —— όρκοις τε πιστωσαμενε τον λογον, τις αν αμφιβαλοι μη ουχι πιστευσαι τω διηγηματι; —— αμφι μεσημβριας ήλιε ώρας, ηδη της ήμερας αποκλιιεσης, αυτοις οφθαλμοις ιδειν εφη εν αυτω ουρανω ύπερκειμενον τε ήλιε σταυρε τροπαιον, εκ φωτος συνισταμενον, γραφην τε αυτω συνηφθαι, λεγεσαν, τετω νικα· θαμβος δ' επι τω θεαματι κρατησαι αυτον τε και το στρατιωτικον άπαν, ό δη στελλομενω ποι πορειαν συνειπετο τε και θεωρον εγινετο θαυματος. De V. C. l. i. c. 28. p. 422.

[d] Ib. c. 29. [e] Ib. c. 30. [f] C. 31. [g] C. 32.

[h] —— θεοδιδακτον αυτω την τετων γνωσιν παρειναι πειθομενος. ib. p. 424. A. B.

[i] Ὁς ουκ απ' ανθρωπων, ουδε δι' ανθρωπε, αλλ' ουρανοθεν, κατα τον θειον αποστολον, της κλησεως ταυτης ετυχε. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 2. p. 6. B.

luminous cross in the heavens. For it is quite denied by some, who call it [a] a fiction, a stratagem, a political device of Constantine. It was also looked upon to be a pious fraud by [b] some in former times.

This opinion, as [c] Fabricius assures us, has been fully considered and confuted by Mr. Wolff, in a Dissertation which I have not seen; though I should have gladly perused it, if I could have met with it. I mention it, however, that they who have an opportunity may consult it. If I should commit any mistakes in the remarks which I propose upon this subject, perhaps they may see them corrected in the Dissertation of that learned writer.

And indeed the cross, which is said to have been seen by Constantine in the heavens, is generally reckoned not only a reality but a miracle. The fore-mentioned great man, J. A. Fabricius, thinks [d] it was a natural phænomenon in a solar halo. He therefore allows and contends for the reality of it, though he does not think it properly [e] miraculous.

I shall now mention some observations upon this history, which offer themselves to my mind.

1. This relation is delivered by Eusebius upon the sole credit of Constantine: whereas a thing of so public a nature, could not have rested upon his credit and authority only, if it had been true. If such an appearance as this had happened above twenty years before Eusebius wrote the life of Constantine, but yet in his own time, and especially if it had been seen by the whole army with astonishment, he would have been able to call other witnesses to vouch for the truth of it. And out of his dutiful affection for Constantine, and a just concern for his honour, he would not have failed to add something to this purpose: that he had heard the same account from others, who were present, or who had received it from those who were present, and were spectators of that wonderful sight.

2. The oath, or oaths of Constantine upon this occasion, rather bring his relation into suspicion. A man of virtue and reputation can seldom be under a necessity to corroborate what he says with an oath; especially, when he is speaking to a friend, who too, if the thing were true, must have known it long before, from the report of general fame, and many credible accounts. I put some thoughts of another relating to this in the [f] margin.

3. Eusebius renders this whole account suspicious, by not mentioning the place of this wonderful sight; a necessary and proper circumstance to be taken notice of in such a history. It hence appears to me probable, that Eusebius himself did not believe this story, nor intend to vouch for the truth of it. Constantine's army, he says, was following him in a certain march: this expression seems to me, designed as a hint to the readers, not to depend upon the truth of what had been said. So that if notwithstanding this caution of Eusebius, any believe the story, he is scarce accountable for their mistake: it is to be ascribed to their own credulity.

[a] Stratagema hoc Constantini non minus scitum, quam illud Philippi Macedonis, quo sacrilegos Phocenses protrivit. Jacob Tollius in not. ad c. 44. libr. de M. P. p. 267. Traj. ad Rhen. 1693. Vid. & ejusd. not. ad c. 46. p. 278, 279.

Mais moy,—trouvant, que le Roi Antigonus, successeur d'Alexandre le Grand, s'est servi du même stratagême, feignant d'avoir vu au ciel une pentagone, qui est le symbole du salut, avec ces paroles, 'in hoc signo vinces,' & qu'il le fit peindre aux boucliers de ses soldats, & gagna ainsi le bataille; trouvant aussi, qu'un Roi de Portugal a eu la même vision que Constantin, & qu' il a par la remporté la victoire sur ses ennemis, j' avoue, qui je considère tous ces miracles comme des finesses militaires de grands capitaines. On trouvera dans tous les siècles une infinité de ces inventions. Préface du même à Longin du Sublime.

Johannes Hoornbeek professor Leydensis in Examine Bullæ Urbani VIII. de cultu imaginum edito anno 1653, a paginâ 181, somnium merum ac fabulam putat Constantini visionem crucis in aëre. H. Norisii Opp. T. iv. p. 661.

Audax enimvero nimium fuit Jacobus Oiselius, qui in Thesauro Numismatum antiquorum pag. 463, ait, eum qui totum hoc negotium de cruce ostensâ Constantino ad pias veterum fraudes retulerit, parum a rei veritate aberraturum. Baluz. Annot. ad c. 44. libr. de M. P.

Et vid. omnino C. A. Heummanni Poec. Tom. ii. p. 50, &c. De Cruce Cœlesti a Constantino M. conspectâ.

[b] Τοῦτο τὸ διήγημα τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις μῦθος εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ πλάσμα, τοῖς δὲ ἡμετέροις δόγμασι κεχαρισμένον. Gelas. Cyz. de Conc. Nic. l. i. c. 4.

[c] Argumentis cæteris, quibus totum hoc de visâ cruce negotium præfidenter nimis inter commenta adscripserunt viri docti, diatribâ singulari Witebergæ A. 1706. editâ satisfecit clarissimus doctrinâ atque ingenio vir & collega meus conjunctissimus. Jo. Chr. Wolfius. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 18.

[d] Vid. ejusdem Exercita. Crit. quâ disputatur crucem, quam in cœlis vidisse se juravit Constantinus Imp. fuisse phænomenon naturale in halone solari. Ap. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 3. T. vi. p. 8, &c.

[e] At, si me audis, non statim hinc, quod faciunt multi, crucem illam, a Constantino visam, totam callidis adscribes commentis.——sed vere oblatam ipsius oculis credes tot testibus antiquis, Constantino denique ipsi, saltem jurato: neque tamen illico propterea eam stupebis tamquam rem miraculis proprie accensendam. Id. ib. p. 9.

[f] Ipse Eusebius hanc objectionem sentit. Quapropter in V. C. c. 22. magnâ cautione præfatur, rem admirabilem esse, & vix credibilem, nisi imperator ipse, sed longo tempore post, ipsi eam narrâsset, & juramento confirmâsset.—Saltem illud urgere licebit: Si totus exercitus prodigium istud vidit, quo pudore Eusebius potuit, prætendere tanti in vulgus notissimi ignorantiam? quo colore poterit persuadere lectori, id ob incredulitatem debuisse ab imperatore juramento confirmari? Observ. Hallens. xxiv. T. i. p. 394.

4. There are other things concerning the standard related by Eusebius, which he also had from Constantine, and, I think, are very unlikely, if not altogether incredible. Our historian says, that [a] wherever the standard was, the enemies fled: which may have been true enough, in many instances. It might animate Constantine's soldiers, and terrify the enemy. It is added by him, 'That [b] there was a company of fifty chosen men, remarkable for strength of body, and 'valour of mind, and piety, appointed to attend the standard, and to relieve each other by turns 'in bearing it; and that the person who held it was always safe. For [c] the salutary trophy was a 'safeguard to him that bore it; insomuch, that though darts were cast at it, he who bore the 'standard was always unhurt, the spear of the standard receiving the darts. This was a thing 'surpassing all miracles, that the darts of the enemy should light upon the narrow circumference 'of the spear, and there stick fast, and the standard-bearer be safe. Yea, never was any one 'wounded in this service. This is not our account, but the emperor's, who among other matters 'told this also to us.'

So Eusebius concludes this account, who but a little before had used the like expressions [d] in this relation; thus careful was he, not to make himself answerable for the truth of it. And indeed, this is above all miracles, I mean above all credible accounts of miracles; that when many darts were thrown, none should strike the bearer, nor yet light upon the upper part of the standard, where was the cross, and the motto, but only, and always, upon the narrow circumference of the spear, or pole of the standard.

5. Lactantius, or whoever was the author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, who undoubtedly wrote a few years after this appearance in the heavens is supposed to have happened, says nothing of it, but only [e] mentions Constantine's dream or vision in his sleep. That this author speaks of nothing else, and that his words are not to be understood of any sign seen by Constantine in the sky, is plainly shewn by Fabricius [f] himself; who observes likewise, that some other authors besides mention the dream only. Basnage too is clearly of opinion, that [g] this author speaks only of Constantine's dream, and says nothing of the cross seen in the heavens. And he likewise observes the silence of so many other writers as to that sight, that he seems very much to weaken the credit of the thing. He however allows, that Constantine really received a divine admonition in his sleep, to make use of the sign of the cross in his wars. But in my mind he has also overthrown the truth of the vision in Constantine's dream; for this must solely rest upon the emperor's word: but by denying the appearance of the cross in the heavens, which Constantine confirmed to Eusebius with an oath, he so weakens the credit of the emperor, as to this whole matter, that nothing concerning it can be taken upon the authority of his testimony only.

We may farther observe, that since several ecclesiastical historians, who wrote after Eusebius, particularly Rufinus, and [h] Sozomen, (as is shewn by Basnage,) insist not upon the appearance of

[a] V. C. l. ii. c. 7.

[b] Ib. c. 8.

[c] Τὸ δὲ τὸ σωτήριον τροπαιον αἰωρούμενος ζωης εἱνεῖο φυλακτήριον· ὡς πολλακις βελων καὶ αὐτὸ πεμπομενων, τον μεν φερονία διασωζεσθαι· τὸ δὲ τὸ τροπαιὸ δορυ δεχεσθαι τα βαλλομενα. Καὶ ην δὲ τεῖο παντὸς επεκεινα θαυμαίος, ὡς εν βραχυτάτῃ περιφερειᾳ τὸ δοραίος ἱκνεμενα τα των πολεμιων βελη, εν αὐτῷ μεν πηνυμενα καὶεπειρεῖο——ουχ' ἡμεῖερος δ' ὁ λοῖος, αλλ' αὐτὸ παλιν βασιλεως, εἰς ἡμεῖερας ακοας προς ἑτεροις καὶ τεῖον απομνημονευσανῖος. Ib. c. 9.

[d] Ταυῖα βασιλευς αὐῖος τοις την γραφην ποιεμενοις——ὑφηγεῖο. Ib. c. 8. fin.

[e] De M. P. c. 44. Vid infr. not.[f]

[f] Solet etiam pro confirmandâ hac re ad Lactantium provocari. Sed ille de cruce visâ in cœlo tacet. Solum somnium commemorat libro de M. P. cap. 44. Commonitus est in quiete Constantius, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prœlium committeret, &c. Posset quidem videri a Lactantio dici cœleste signum Dei, quasi in cœlo ostensum a Deo, & in cœlo a Constantino visum. Verum qui hoc in dubium vocaturus esset, facile posset afferre plura loca scriptorum Græcorum, Latinorumque, quibus, sine ullo respectu ad Constantini visionem, crux vocatur signum cœleste.—Somnium quoque, quod miror, commemorat non Johannes modo Malala in Chronicâ Historiâ. l. ii. p. 2.——sed quoque antiquior longe Rufinus. l. ix. H. E. cap. 9. & ex eo auctor Hist. Miscellæ xi. 7, &c.——Fabric. Diss. Crit. sect. 3. ap. Bib. Gr. ut sup. p. 11, 12.

[g] Ac primum, Lactantius, qui magister datus Crispo Cæsari, familiari Constantini colloquio usus est sæpius, de diurno crucis tropæo ex luce conflato ne verbum quidem habet. Hæc tantum habet: Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prœlium committeret.——Argumenti vires intendit Rufinus in Eusebianæ Historiæ versione: Constantinus vidit per soporem ad orientis partem in cœlo signum crucis igneo fulgore rutilare. Dormienti igitur, non vigilanti, cœleste signum Constantino oblatum est; idque prædicabat traditio, quæ Rufini tetigit aures. Visi quoque diurni Sozomenus ignarus est. Belli Maxentiani curis districtus Constantinus vidit in somnis signum crucis in cœlo resplendens. Sozom. l. i. c. 3.——Denique ethnicorum nullus historicorum celeberrimæ hujus visionis meminit.——Itaque sunt eruditi, qui in somnio divinitus profecto visam a Constantino crucis figuram existiment, quorum unus Johannes Columbus in notis ad Lactantium. Basnag. A. 312. n. 5.

[h] It is true, that after his account of the vision in the dream, Sozomen puts down the other story. But he relates it upon the sole authority of Eusebius, and does not confirm it as true. For he introduceth it in this manner: Eusebius indeed affirms, that he had heard the emperor say, with an oath, that he had seen the trophy of the cross about noon when the day was declining.——Ευσεβιος γε μην ὁ Παμφιλ. αὐῖος φησαντος ενωμοῖως τὸ βασιλεως ακηκοεναι ισχυριζεται, ως αρα μεσημβριαν. κ. λ. l. i. c. 3. p. 404. A.

the cross in the heavens; there were at that time Christians, as well as others, who either were totally ignorant of it, or else did not credit the account, as related by Eusebius from Constantine. Indeed, it seems not reasonable, to believe the relation of any one man, concerning a public appearance, which is attested by no others. Nor did Eusebius himself believe it, as I have sufficiently shewn already; though it must be owned, that Constantine did his best to impose upon his learned friend, the bishop of Cæsarea.

This difference in the account, together with the silence of so many historians, about the sight in the heavens, is a thing so remarkable, that some perhaps may have a curiosity to know the cause of it. I shall therefore mention one conjecture: it is probable, that when Constantine first informed people of the reason that induced him to make use of the sign of the cross in his armies, he alleged nothing but a dream for that purpose: but in the latter part of his life, when he was acquainted with our Eusebius, he added the other particular, of a luminous cross seen somewhere by him and his army in the day-time. And the emperor having related this, and in the most solemn manner, Eusebius thought himself obliged to mention it. But the first account had been so long and so often told, that it was generally known, and the only one that was so known. Whence it came to pass, that historians a good while afterwards related the vision in the dream, as the original cause of Constantine's using the cross, that being the common and prevailing tradition concerning it.

Whether the author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors makes any mention of the sight of the cross in the heavens, or not; many learned men think, that by way of conclusion, they have learned from him the place, day and hour of the appearance to Constantine, about which there have been so many disputes; and that this author has put an end to that controversy. It[a] happened, they say, in Constantine's camp, when he was besieging Rome, on the 26th day of October.

But with due submission to the judgments of so many learned men, I question, whether this be yet a clear point. Let us then now at last take the words of this writer. 'Now[b] the war 'was begun between Maxentius and Constantine. Maxentius himself continued at Rome; but 'he had good generals to command his army.——The two armies engaged, and that of Maxentius 'had the better: yet Constantine afterwards took courage, and being prepared for either event, 'marched all his forces near to Rome, and posted them opposite to the Milvian bridge. The '27th of October was now near, which was the anniversary of Maxentius's empire, and his fifth 'year was almost out. Constantine was warned in a dream to put the divine heavenly mark '[the sign of the cross] upon the shields of the soldiers, and so to give battle. He took care to 'execute this, and ordered[c] the letter X circumflexed at the top, denoting the name of Christ, 'to be put on all their shields. Having taken this for his distinction, he drew out his army.'

Hence it is argued, It being already known from Eusebius, that the trophy of the cross was seen by Constantine in the heavens in the afternoon: and that the very next night, when he was in doubt about the meaning of it, Christ appeared to him, as he slept, with the sign that had appeared in the heavens, and commanded him to make a resemblance of it, and use it in his army: therefore both the visions happened in the same place, and within the space of a few hours of each other. The fore-mentioned author having assured us, that the dream, or night-vision, was in the night of the 26th of October, 312, the appearance in the day-time was also on the 26th of October, So[d] Pagi, and in like manner other learned men, who are of the same opinion.

[a] Constituendum est, visionem illam crucis Constantino ostensæ contigisse in castris, dum Romam obsideret, vii. cal. Novembris anno Chr. 312. Baluz. not. ad l. de M. P. c. 44. p. 97.

Obtulit sese crux videnda Constantino post prœlia cum barbaris commissa, de quibus Nazarius in Panegyrico c. 18. sub dio in castris, cum Romam obsideret an. Chr. 312. die vii. cal. Nov. Hoc recte colligit Steph. Baluzius. Fabr. Diss. de cruce Const. M. n. vi. ap. B. Gr. T. vi. p. 15. Vid. & Pagi Crit. in Baron. 312. n. v.

[b] Jam mota inter eos fuerant arma civilia. Et quamvis se Maxentius Romæ contineret,——tamen bellum per idoneos duces gerebatur—Dimicatum—& Maxentiani milites prævalebant, donec postea confirmato animo Constantinus, & ad utrumque paratus, copias omnes ad urbem propius admovit, & e regione pontis Milvii consedit. Imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est ad sextum calendas Novembris, & quinquennalia terminabantur. Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prœlium committeret. Fecit ut jussus est, & transversa X litera summo capite circumflexo Christo in scutis notavit. Quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum. De M. P. c. 44. in.

[c] The author's words are obscure. They are thus explained by G. Cuper upon the place: 'Christum in scutis notat:' id est, Christi nomen, quod exprimitur per duas primas salutaris vocis literas.

[d] Crit. in Baron. 312. n. 5.

But it seems to me, that this author compared with Eusebius, will not determine the time, either of the appearance of the cross in the heavens, or of the dream. On the 27th day of October, Constantine fought with Maxentius, and overcame him. But he could not have the dream in the preceding night, because Eusebius assures us, that the next day after the night-vision, Constantine sent for men who wrought in gold and precious stones, and seating himself in the midst of them, he gave them directions for making the standard. The day succeeding the night-vision therefore was not a day of battle.

Farther, it is next to impossible, that the shields of Constantine's soldiers throughout his army, should be marked with the sign of the cross on the 27th of October, the day he fought with Maxentius, if the dream had happened but the night[a] before.

Lastly, I see no reason so to understand the passage of the fore-cited author, as to assure us, that the dream happened in the night before the 27th of October. He has no words that express the time of the dream; and it may be as well supposed, according to his account, that Constantine had the dream before he came to besiege Rome, some short time after his defeat by Maxentius: when, as this writer says, in bishop Burnet's version, 'Yet Constantine for that did not lose heart:' or, as the words may be better rendered, 'Yet Constantine afterwards took courage, 'and resolving to hazard all, he marched on to the gates of Rome.' The time, when Constantine took courage, or was strengthened in mind, seems to me, so far as we can judge from this writer, as likely a time as any, for Constantine's thinking of the use of the cross: that time was a little before he resolved to march to Rome.

Upon the whole then it appears to me, that this author has led us to the time, when the sign of the cross began to be made use of by Constantine in his armies and battles. It was in the last battle with Maxentius; some short time at least before which battle, and the day of it, the thought of employing this sign must have come into Constantine's mind: whether by divine revelation and admonition, or his own politic contrivance, let the inquisitive judge, after mature thought and consideration.

I do not in the least doubt, but that about the time of his victory over Maxentius, or rather, probably, some time before it, Constantine became a sincere Christian, and continued so the remaining part of his life, and educated his children in the same belief. And his conversion might be partly owing to his own reflections upon the state of things, and partly to conversation and discourse with Christian ministers and people; with whom Constantine, son of Constantius their friend and favourer, must have been for some time well acquainted. But I think, that Constantine was a politician, as well as a Christian. A change of religion is attended with hazards, and is likely to expose men to difficulties, of which great men especially are sensible: and Constantine was willing to reconcile the minds of men to this change, and to secure himself therein, as well as he could. He might also aim at making some advantage of it, and improving it as a mean of success in his designs, and of victory over his enemies. And for those ends, the standard of the cross, and the mark of it upon his soldiers' shields, would be of no small service.

As for the story which Constantine told Eusebius, of the perpetual safety of the standard-bearer in the greatest dangers, and the darts of the enemies sticking fast in the narrow circumference of the spear; it must be owned, that here Constantine over-did it, and exceeded almost the bounds of modesty, as well as of all reasonable probability. Some indulgence however is due to Constantine, with regard to this fine contrivance of using the salutary trophy in his battles: we are all apt to be too fond of our own inventions.

I have insisted chiefly on the history of Constantine's conversion, which we have left us by Eusebius. Photius in his abridgment of Philostorgius's Ecclesiastical History, says, 'That[b] 'writer, agreeably to other historians, relates, that the cause of Constantine the great's conver-'sion from Gentilism to Christianity, was his victory over Maxentius. At which time also, the 'sign of the cross was seen eastward, extended to a great length, shining with surprizing bright-

[a] This writer does not speak of one standard only. But he says, that Constantine was directed in a dream, to 'put the 'heavenly mark upon his soldiers' shields.' Allowing, that a single standard, adorned as Eusebius describes it, might be made in the forenoon, and a battle fought afterwards: yet it is not easy to conceive, that the soldiers' shields, throughout an whole army, should receive a new mark in a few hours: Therefore, in all probability, this author did not suppose the day immediately succeeding the dream to be the day on which Constantine fought with and overcame Maxentius.

[b] Ὁτι την τε μεγαλε Κωνσταντινε μεταβολην εκ της Ἑλληνικης θρησκειας εις τον Χριστιανισμον, και βιος τοις αλλοις ομολογουμενος, αιτιαν γενεσθαι αναγραφει την καθ᾽ Μαξεντιε νικην. Philost. l. i. c. 6.

'ness, stars at the same time surrounding it like a rainbow, and composing the form of letters in 'the Latin tongue, expressing these words, *By this conquer.*'

From which I think we may conclude, upon the authority of that learned Patriarch, that the general account of the more ancient historians was, that Constantine was converted in or about the year 312. Eusebius makes Constantine to have chosen the God whom he should worship before the victory over Maxentius, as[a] does Sozomen expressly, when he relates the vision of the cross in Constantine's sleep. Philostorgius says, that victory was the cause of Constantine's conversion. They are easily reconciled by only supposing, that the victory, which Constantine obtained over Maxentius, confirmed the dispositions, which were before begun to be formed in him.

Zosimus says, that it was not till after the death of Crispus and Fausta, that Constantine became a Christian; that is, not before the year 325, or 326. 'For,' as he[b] says, 'Constantine 'being conscious to himself of those bad actions, and also of the breach of oaths, and being told 'by the priests of his old religion, that there was no kind of purgation sufficient to expiate such 'enormities; he began to hearken to a Spaniard, named Ægyptius, then at court, who assured 'him, that the Christian doctrine contained a promise of the pardon of all manner of sins.'

But that is a false and absurd story; and Sozomen has[c] a chapter on purpose to confute such accounts of Constantine's conversion. It is true, however, that Constantine was not baptized till after those events; which I take to have been, in part, the foundation of that story. And it is not impossible, nor very improbable, that this might be one reason of Constantine's deferring his baptism, as he did, till near his death, [though he might also have other reasons]: thinking this would be some security to him, and fearing, lest he should be guilty of some great sin after baptism, if he long survived it. Du Pin seems to have suspected some such thing, when he says, 'It[d] may be thought strange, that Constantine was not baptized till now. But so it is: and 'whether he deferred to receive baptism till he was ready to die, that by that sacrament he 'might expiate all his sins, and appear innocent before God, or whether he had any other reason 'for that delay; he did not prepare himself for baptism, till he found himself sick; nor procure 'the imposition of the hands of the bishops, for putting him into the rank of Catechumens, till 'the year 337, a few days before his death.'

Since, then, Constantine did so long defer to receive baptism, which was well known to be the initiating rite of the Christian religion, it is very likely, that this delay may have been one ground of that common opinion among heathen people concerning Constantine's late conversion.

Another reason of that opinion may have been, that after the entire conquest, and death of Licinius, (which also was soon followed with the death of Crispus,) Constantine appeared more openly a Christian and more vigorously attacked heathenism by his edicts, than he had done before, when his empire was not so completely settled.

We have now seen the accounts of Constantine's conversion, which generally prevailed. Whether it was also in part a piece of policy, though accompanied with serious conviction, we cannot certainly say: for if it was, we are not to expect any hints of such a reason in the ecclesiastical historians of those times, or near them. But we learn from more than one writer, that about the same time Maxentius, son of the persecutor Maximian Herculius, and brother-in-law to Constantine, after his marriage with Fausta, began to flatter and compliment the Christians. Eusebius says, 'Maxentius,'[e] son of the forementioned Maximian, who had possessed himself of Rome, at 'first made an hypocritical profession of our religion, to please and flatter the people of Rome; 'and commanded those in subjection to him, to forbear persecuting the Christians: making a 'show of piety, and desiring to appear much more just and mild than his predecessors. But 'in time he shewed himself by his actions to be very different from what was hoped of him.'

This was in the beginning of his reign, therefore in[f] 306, or 307. And it must be looked upon as an order for restraining the persecution of the Christians in that part of the empire, which was then subject to Maxentius; namely, at Rome, and throughout Italy.

And Optatus speaks of an end[g] being put to the persecution in Africa by an edict of Max-

[a] Ἡνικα γαρ επιςρατευσαι Μαξεντιῳ εβουλευετο,—εν τοιαυτοις δε φροντισι γενομενος, οναρ ειδε το τȣ ςαυρȣ σημειον εν τῳ ȣρανῳ σελαγιζειν. Soz. l. i. c. 3. in.

[b] Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[c] Sozom. l. i. c. 5.

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 16.

[e] — αρχομενος μεν την καθ' ἡμας πιςιν επ' αρεσκεια και κολακειᾳ τȣ δημȣ Ῥωμαιων καθυπεκριναλο· Ταυτῃ τε τοις ὑπηκοοις τον κατα Χριςιανων ανειναι προςαττει διωγμον, ευσεβειαν επιμορφαζων, κ. λ. H. E. l. viii. c. 14. in.

[f] Vid. Pagi. 306. n. 23, 24.

[g] Tempestas persecutionis peracta, & definita est. Jubente Deo, indulgentiam mittente Maxentio, Christianis libertas est restituta. Optat. l. i. n. 18.

entius; which probably happened in the year [a] 311, or [b] 312, but not before [c] 311, because Maxentius was not sooner master of Africa, which till then was held by Alexander.

However, if there is no positive evidence, that political views and considerations had any influence in the change of Constantine, it is nevertheless very honourable to the Christian religion, and the professors of it, both in that, and former times, that though they had never had the princes of this world on their side, and they had endured from their first original a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and were now under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years, in most parts of the Roman empire; yet at this very time, of those who were contending for worldly power and empire, one actually favoured and flattered them, and another may be suspected [d] to have joined himself to them, partly, from considerations of interest. So greatly had this people increased under external disadvantages of all sorts!

IV. Having thus related the time, and causes of Constantine's conversion, we will observe some of his actions as a Christian, or a favourer of Christians.

1. The author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors informs us, that [e] Constantine, immediately upon his becoming emperor, restored the Christians their liberty. This liberty must be supposed to have extended over Britain and Gaul, which were then under Constantine. And hereby, I think, must be chiefly intended liberty of public worship: for his father, Constantius, had not persecuted them: all that he had allowed of, and consented to, was the demolition of their places of worship. If any suffered death in his part of the empire, (as doubtless some did,) it must have been owing to popular tumults, or the sentences of inferior officers and magistrates, without express commission from him.

The next thing we meet with in the history of Constantine, in favour of the Christians, is an edict [f] published jointly by him and Licinius, in the year 312, probably at [g] Rome, soon after the defeat of Maxentius. It was also sent to Maximin in the east, to be published by him, for the benefit of the Christians in that part of the Roman empire. Eusebius calls it a full and complete law for Christians. But it is not now [h] extant.

In the next year 313, another edict was published by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius, at [i] Milan, where they [k] were on account of the marriage of Licinius with Constantia, Constantine's sister. This edict we still have in the original Latin in the book [l] Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in a Greek version, in [m] Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. Herein [n] liberty is given to Christians in particular, and to all men in general, to make an undisturbed profession of their religious sentiments. Moreover it is ordained, that all places of worship, which had been taken from the Christians, by whomsoever then possessed, should be restored to the said Christians without delay, and without any price to be paid or demanded of them on that account: and the loss, which any might hereby suffer, to be referred to the imperial judgment, to determine what amends should be proper to be made to those, who were seized of such places, either by grant or purchase. It is likewise herein ordained, that all other places, beside those wherein their assemblies had been held, which had belonged to any churches in common, as bodies corporate, should be restored to them without fraud or dispute, upon the terms before-mentioned.

2. There was about the same time a letter sent to Anulinus, proconsul of the province of

[a] Prius deferbuerat anno 305. Sed subinde recruduerat, nec pax omnino reddita, nisi postquam Maxentius rerum in Africâ potitus est anno 311. Du Pin ad Optat. loc.

[b] Vid. Pagi. 306. n. 23.

[c] Vid. Basn. Ann. 311. n. 15.

[d] Avant que trois siècles se soient écoulés depuis la mort de J. Christ, le parti des Chrêtiens est déjà si fort, qu' un empereur l'embrasse sans craindre celui des payens. Il semble même, que, bien loin d' affoiblir par là sa puissance, il l'augmenta & la fortifia par ce moien. Sermons de S. Werenfels, p. 27. 1723.

[e] Suscepto imperio Constantinus Augustus nihil egit prius quam Christianos cultui ac Deo suo redderet. c. 24.

[f] Και δη επι τελοις αυτος τε Κωνσταντινος και συν αυτω βασιλευς Λικινιος——αμφω μια βελη και γνωμη νομον υπερ Χριστιανων τελεωτατον πληρεστατα διατυπωσαι.——Και τον νομον αυτον, Μαξιμινω των επ' ανατολης εθνων ετι δυναστευοντι, φιλιαν τε προς αυτες υποκριζομενω, διαπεμψονται. Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360. A. B.

[g] Secundum edictum Mediolani, ut suo loco videbimus, prius loco incerto datum: videtur tamen Romæ, ubi reliquo hoc anno Constantinus egit, promulgatum. Pagi 312. n. 10.

[h] Vid. Vales. annot. ad Eus. l. x. c. 5. Pagi 312. n. 10. 314. n. 9. Basn. 313. n. 10, 11.

[i] Eus. l. x. c. 5. p. 388. c. De M. P. c. 48.

[k] Constantinus rebus in Urbe compositis, hieme proximâ Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius, ut acciperet uxorem. De M. P. c. 45. in.

[l] Cap. 48. [m] L. x. c. 5.

[n] Vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus & Christianis & omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset.—Ut in colendo, quod quisque diligeret, haberet liberam potestatem. De M. P. c. 48.

Africa, signifying, as Eusebius says, that [a] the imperial beneficence was intended for the catholic church only; that is, the places of worship, or other things, that had been taken from the Christians, were to be restored to the catholics.

There follows soon after in Eusebius, [b] the copy of a letter of Constantine to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage; wherein the emperor informs him, that he had sent orders to Ursus, receiver-general for Africa, to give a certain sum of money for the use of [c] several ministers of the genuine and most holy catholic religion, throughout all the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and each Mauritania.

In the next place, we have [d] a letter of Constantine to the fore-mentioned Anulinus, giving immunity from civil or burdensome offices to the Christian clergy within his province, who are of the catholic church, over which Cæcilian presides.

In the year 313, Constantine [e] appointed a synod at Rome, and in 314, another at Arles, to compose the differences between Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, and the Donatists.

3. Eusebius informs us, that [f] Constantine, when possessed of the whole empire, (which could not be before the year 324, and after Licinius was subdued,) sent letters to all the provinces, written in Greek and Latin, acknowledging the goodness of God to him, and ascribing his successes to the favour of divine providence. Now the provinces of the east became equally sensible of the emperor's favour and goodness, with the provinces of the west. Our ecclesiastical historian has left us [g] a copy of Constantine's edict, sent particularly to the people of the province of Palestine, the original of which was in his own possession. Herein the emperor restores those who had been banished or proscribed, or confined in islands, or who had been condemned to the mines or any other public works. It is herein ordained, that Christians, who had been deprived of any military posts, may resume them, or betake themselves to any other kind of life they choose, and therein enjoy repose and honour. They who had been condemned to slavery in the public works, are restored to freedom, and to all the honours which before they were entitled to. All goods, and lands, and houses, which had been confiscated, are to be restored to the original possessors or proprietors: or, if they were dead, whether martyrs or confessors, to their heirs and successors. If such, who had been deprived of their rights, have no relations left, the church of the place where they had lived is to be their heir, and succeed to them. All these things, whether lands, houses, gardens, or country seats, are to be restored, but not the mean profits. This law of restitution is to be understood to relate to the public treasury, as well as to other possessors. And besides this, the cemetaries are to be restored to the several churches to which they had belonged. All which things, as [h] the historian assures us, were performed and executed, according to the tenor of this law.

After this, as the historian farther assures us, Constantine gave [i] the government of the provinces chiefly to Christians: and when any Gentiles were made governors, they were prohibited to sacrifice: which law comprehended not only presidents of provinces, but also higher officers, and even the pretorian prefects. If they were Christians, they were required to act according to their principles: if they were otherwise disposed, yet the practice of idolatrous rites was forbidden.

Afterwards there were published [k] two laws at the same time, one forbidding the detestable rites of idolatry, of old time used in cities and villages; wherein it was enacted, that for the future none should erect statues of gods, or practise divination, or offer any sacrifice. The other law was for enlarging Christian oratories and churches, or for rebuilding them more lofty, grand, and splendid.

Moreover, the emperor still making progress in piety, wrote [l] an Oration against idolatry; which was sent to the several provinces of the empire, both in the east and the west. In this Oration Constantine says, that [m] during the late persecution the barbarians received and entertained kindly the Christians that fled to them, and allowed them the liberty to worship God according to their own sentiments; which he says was a reproach upon the Roman name, in that barbarians were more merciful than they. In another part of the Oration he expresseth his desire, that [n] the Gentiles, who are in error, may enjoy the same peace and quiet with believers,

[a] —— μονῃ τῃ καθολικῃ εκκλησιᾳ την δωραν δεδοσθαι ὑποσημηναμενοι. l. x. c. 5. p. 390. C. [b] Ib. c. 6.

[c] Ῥητοις τισι των ὑπηρετων της ενθεσμου και αγνωτατης καθολικης θρησκειας. ib. p. 293. A.

[d] Ib. c. 7. [e] Ib. l. x. c. 5. p. 391, 392.

[f] Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 23. [g] Ib. c. 24—42.

[h] Ib. c. 43. [i] Ib. c. 44. [k] C. 45, 46.

[l] C. 47—60. [m] C. 53.

[n] Ὁμοιαν τοις πιστευουσιν οἱ πλανωμενοι χαιροντες λαμβανετωσαν ειρηνης τε και ἡσυχιας απολαυσιν· Αὐτη γαρ η της κοινω-

as being conducive to bringing them into the right way. Let every one do, says he, what his soul desires. He wishes that all were unanimous in the truth, and in obedience to God's holy laws: nevertheless, if any dissent, and withdraw themselves, let them have their temples of lies, since [a] they choose them.

Such is that Oration: and Eusebius assures us, that [b] the emperor would sit up whole nights, employing himself in study and meditation, for improving his own mind, and composing Orations, which he afterwards spoke in numerous assemblies.

4. After this Oration, Eusebius gives [c] an account of some differences and controversies among the Christians themselves, which occasioned the calling of the council of Nice in 325, where Constantine was present.

5. We have also [d] an account in Eusebius of several churches built by Constantine's order, and at the public expence; as the churches at Bethlehem, and mount Olivet, and the church of the Sepulchre, called [e] also Anastasis or the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. Which last was very magnificent, and was solemnly [f] consecrated by Constantine's special order, in the year 335.

Eusebius does indeed in one place say, that [g] Helena built two churches, one at Bethlehem, the place of our Saviour's nativity; the other at mount Olivet, the place of his ascension. But the meaning is no more than what is said by him, just before, that [h] Constantine let her have the honour of founding or building those churches.

Nevertheless, Socrates [i] and some other ancient writers, ascribe to Helena the building of all the three fore-mentioned churches or temples in Palestine. But it must be better, I think, to rely upon Eusebius himself, with whom also Sozomen agrees [k] entirely. Besides, Helena was in that country but a very short time: she could not go thither before Constantine's conquest of Licinius in 324. According to the course of Eusebius's narration, this journey of Helena was undertaken after the Council of Nice, which was held in 325, and when she was of a great age; as is particularly observed by [l] Theodoret. And according to all accounts, she died at Rome, or near it, in 326, or soon after.

6. It is well known likewise, that Helena is said to have found at Jerusalem the real cross on which our Saviour suffered. This is related by several writers of the fourth and fifth centuries; but with so many different circumstances, as to render the whole story doubtful. And, which is very material, there is nothing said of it in Eusebius: his silence is the more remarkable, because he has [m] with great particularity related the clearing of the ground about the sepulchre, and expatiates very much in his account of the temple there built by Constantine. As the silence of Eusebius is alone satisfactory upon this head, I forbear to confute at large the common accounts of the invention of the cross; and only refer to a few authors, who [n] seem to me to have made good observations upon them.

Montfauçon pleased himself with the thought, that in the Commentary upon the Psalms published by him, Eusebius had referred [o] to the miracles, said by Rufinus, Sozomen, and others, to have been done at Christ's sepulchre, when Helena was at Jerusalem. But I humbly conceive, that there is no ground for that supposition: Eusebius says no more in his [p] Commentary upon the Psalms, than he had done in [q] the Life of Constantine. The finding, after so long a space

νιας επανορθωσις, και προς ευθειαν αγαγειν ὁδον ισχυει· Μηδεις τον ἑτερον παρενοχλειτω· ἑκαστος, ὁπερ ἡ ψυχη βουλεται, τουτο και πραττετω. ib. c. 46.

[a] Οἱ δ' εαυτους αφελκοντες, εχοντων βουλομενοι τα της ψευδολογιας τεμενη. ibid.

[b] De V. C. l. iv. c. 29. in. [c] Ib. c. 61—73.

[d] Vid. de V. C. l. iii. c. 25—43.

[e] That by the Martyrion, or church of the Sepulchre, and Anastasis, are to be understood one and the same building, see Vales. ad l. iv. De V. C. c. 47.

[f] De V. C. l. iv. c. 42—45.

[g] ——δυο νεως αφιερου· τον μεν προς τῳ της γενεσεως αντρῳ· τον δ' επι του της αναληψεως ορους. De V. C. l. iii. c. 43. in.

[h] ——της μητρος——διαιωνιζων την μνημην. ib. c. 41.

[i] Socr. l. i. c. 17.

[k] εν μερει δε και Ἑλενη ἡ αυτου μητηρ δυο ναους ῳκοδομησε. κ. λ. Soz. l. ii. c. 2. in.

[l] Αὐτη των της ὁδοιποριας πονων ανασχομενη, και του γηρως ου λογισαμενη τα παθη· προ γαρ ολιγου της τελευτης αποδημιαν ταυτην εστειλατο, ογδοηκοντουτης δε του βιου το τερμα κατειληφεν. H. E. l. i. c. 18. in. [m] Vid. de V. C. l. iii. c. 26, &c.

[n] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. ix. x. Jacob Gothofredi Notæ seu Dissertationes in Philostorg. c. 14. p. 388, &c. Witsii Miscellan. T. ii. Exercita xii. p. 361.——369. Chamier. Panstrat. l. xxii. c. 4. Le Clerc. Bibl. Ancien. & Mod. T. xvi. p. 112, &c.

[o] De miraculis in Sepulcro & Martyrio Christi editis ne verbum quidem habet Eusebius in Vitâ Constantini: etsi detectum, curante Helenâ, Sepulcrum & Martyrium memoret ——verum hic de miraculis agi quæ a Rufino, Sulpitio Severo, Socrate——recensentur, ne ambigas. Mont. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. p. 8.

[p] Ει δε τις τον νουν επιστησειε τοις καθ' ἡμας αμφι το μνημα, και το μαρτυριον του σωτηρος ἡμων επιτελεσθεισι θαυμασιοις, αληθως εισεται ὁπως πεπληρωται εργοις τα τεθεσπισμενα. Euseb. Comm. in Ps. 87. p. 545. B.

[q] ——αυτο δη λοιπον το σεμνον και παναγιον της σωτηριου

of time, the sepulchre of our Saviour, which had been hid by rubbish, and by buildings placed over it by the heathens, the raising a magnificent temple upon the spot by the order of an emperor, the journey of Helena to Jerusalem, the great concourse of people there, and other things, appeared to him wonderful facts, that exhibited to the world a proof of Christ's death and resurrection, as related by the evangelists, and foretold by the prophets. Valesius [a] understood our author in this manner: and it was very natural for the Christians of that time, who had been witnesses of the sufferings of their brethren, and of the extreme contempt cast upon every thing that bore the name of Jesus, or belonged to him, to behold these alterations with astonishment. The fault was, that they were not only surprized at them, but were too much pleased with the external peace, splendor, and prosperity of the church.

These are thoughts which offered themselves to me, upon reading Eusebius's Commentary, and Montfauçon's remarks. I have since had the pleasure of seeing Wesselingius's observations upon this matter, in his notes [b] upon the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum: who, I think, has well confuted Montfauçon's argument; and has some thoughts not very [c] different from those already insisted on by me. And moreover observes, not only the silence of Eusebius before insisted on, but also the [d] silence of Constantine in his letter to Macarius bishop of Jerusalem, recommending to him the care of erecting the designed temple, and the [e] silence of the author of the Itinerary, who seems to have written in the latter part of the reign of Constantine.

7. Though Constantine expressed himself with so much mildness in the Oration before taken notice of, yet certainly he did not intend to leave the temples to the heathen people, and let them enjoy their worship there. This is inconsistent with some things already transcribed, in the order in which they are mentioned by Eusebius. And afterwards, comparing Constantine with other emperors, he says: They [f] commanded the temples to be magnificently adorned: he demolished them to the foundation, especially such as were most respected by superstitious people. Moreover Constantine [g] made very free with the statues of the gods, taking them out of the temples, and placing them in the forum, and other parts of the city of Constantinople: thereby serving as the historian says, two ends, both adorning the city, and exposing to contempt those gods whose images they were. And many rich statues of the gods, consisting of gold and silver, were melted down by him.

Our historian has also left us a particular account of the demolishing several heathen temples by Constantine's order, beside the depriving many others of their richest and most respected ornaments: as [h] a temple dedicated to Venus in a grove at Aphæa in Phœnicia. He says, it was a kind of school of lewdness, and all manner of vice, where no grave or modest people came. The emperor ordered it to be totally demolished, which was done by his soldiers. A temple of Æsculapius at Ægis in Cilicia was in like manner destroyed by the military power at the emperor's command. He does not say that any lewdness was practised here. However, this temple was a means of seducing people, and it was much respected by the philosophers. At [i] one nod of the emperor, as Eusebius says, this celebrated wonder of the egregious philosophers lay flat upon the ground, being pulled down by a band of soldiers. Beside these, there [k] was

αναςασεως μαρτυριον παρ' ελπιδα πασαν ανεφαινετο· και τοτε ——αντρον——διο μετα την εν σκοτῳ καταδυσιν, αυθις επι το φως προηει, και τοις επι θεαν αφικνουμενοις εναργη παρειχεν ὁραν των αυτοθι πεπραγμενων θαυματων την ἱςοριαν· εργοις ἁπασης γεγωνοτερως φωνης την του σωτηρος αναςασιν μαρτυρουμενον. De V. C. l. iii. c. 28. Vid. et c. 29, 30, & 26.

[a] Est autem hic hujus loci sensus: illam Domini sepulcri post tot secula restitutionem, reipsâ confirmâsse resurrectionem Domini nostri. Vales. ad Euseb. De V. C. l. iii. c. 28.

[b] Et quî possunt ea hoc loco intelligi? Loquitur de rebus stupendis, quæ ad Christi sepulcrum & Martyrium suâ ætate contigerunt. Atqui Martyrium illud nusquam erat, cum ea fierent, quæ evenisse Sulpitius atque alii prodiderunt. &c. Pet. Wesseling. Annot. ad. Itinerar. Hieros. p. 593, 594.

[c] Ecquid magis mirabile & stupendum Judæis ac paganis esse poterat, quam Augusti matrem, ejusque exemplum imitatos plures, ad vilem antea & despectum eum locum, ut Christo domino meritum honorem haberent, confluere; mirificis operibus illum exornari; quod quam admirandum utrisque fuerit, ex Orat. de Laudibus Constantin, p. 633, colligas. Id. p. 594.

[d] Quam rem & Constantini imp. in ep. ad Macarium, & Eusebii, in his locis & gestis recensendis versati, silentium adfirmat. ib. p. 593.

[e] Id vero maximopere demiror, nullam hic de cruce, Helenæ auspiciis inventâ, nec ullam de stupendis operibus, ejus virtute & contactu patratis, fieri mentionem. Dicemusne præterire ea scriptorem, qui summâ diligentiâ rumusculos, de locis Hierosolymitanis in vulgus sparsos, collegit?——præsertim cum paucissimis ante ejus in urbem Hierosolymitanam adventum annis facta ferantur. Mihi nihil aliud dici posse videtur, quam ea miracula, & quæ illis arctissime cohærent, in urbe eo tempore nondum fuisse audita. ib. p. 593.

[f] *Οἱ μεν τους νεως φιλοτιμως κοσμειν εκελευον· ὁ δε εκ βαθρων καθηρει τουτων αυτων, τα μαλιςα παρα τοις δεισιδαιμοσι πολλου αξια.* V. C. l. iii. c. 1. p. 483. B.

[g] Ib. l. iii. c. 54. [h] Ib. c. 56.

[i] *Ἑνι δε νευματι κατα γης ἡπλουτο, δεξιᾳ καταρριπτουμενος στρατιωτικη το των γενναιων φιλοσοφων βοωμενον θαυμα.* ibid.

[k] C. 58.

another temple of Venus, a place of much lewdness, destroyed at Heliopolis in Phœnicia; and a spacious Christian church was erected in the room of it.

And afterwards Eusebius expressly says, that [a] throughout the whole Roman empire, the doors of idolatry were shut to the commonalty and to the soldiery; and that every kind of sacrifice was prohibited. Again, he says, that [b] there were several laws published for these purposes, forbidding sacrifices, divinations, raising statues, and the secret mysteries or rites of initiation. And he says farther, that [c] in Egypt a sort of priesthood, consecrated to the honour of the Nile, was entirely suppressed. And though the heathen people thereupon surmised, that the Nile would no more overflow the fields, it rose the next year very high, and gave them great plenty.

However, it may reasonably be supposed, that the admonitions in the Oration against idolatry were of use to prevent popular tumults, and the doing any things of this kind, which were not authorized by the emperor's order.

8. We have likewise an account of Constantine's [d] treatment of heretics, after he had composed differences, and restored harmony in the church of God: that is, after the council of Nice.

Our historian says, that [e] by a law sent to the presidents of provinces, he dispersed and put to flight all these men. Beside the edict, the emperor gave those people a salutary admonition, exhorting them to repent without delay. This [f] edict is directed against the Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulianists, and those called Cataphrygians, and all others, who by private meetings endeavour to support heresies. Here the emperor condemns his past forbearance, as an occasion of men's being seduced by these erroneous people. He therefore threatens to extirpate the roots of evil by a public animadversion. 'Wherefore,' says [g] he, 'since this your pernicious 'wickedness is no longer to be endured, we by this present law command you, that you no more 'presume to meet together. And we have given orders, that all those places, where you are 'wont to hold assemblies, should be taken away. Yea, our concern for this matter is such, that 'we not only forbid you to assemble in any public place; but we likewise forbid all assemblies 'of your foolish superstition in private houses, and in all private places whatever. All of you 'therefore, who have any sincere love of truth, come to the catholic church.—And that this 'remedy may have its full effect, we ordain, that all your superstitious conventicles, I mean 'oratories of all heretics, if it be fit to call such houses oratories, be forthwith taken away, and 'without any opposition delivered to the catholic church: and that the rest of your places 'be adjudged to the public. Thus,' says our ecclesiastical historian, 'the [h] dens of heretics were 'laid open by the imperial edict, and the wild beasts, the ringleaders of their impiety, were 'scattered.' He adds, that [i] in this edict orders were given for searching out their books. The effect of all which was, as the historian says, that some of those heterodox people, being terrified by the emperor's edict, renounced their errors, hypocritically only, and in that manner came into the church, whilst others of them became sincere converts.

This edict was published in [k] 326. Here is no mention made of Arians. The reason of it may be, that their cause had been lately determined, and it was supposed, that sufficient care had been already taken of them: or the reason may be, that there were few who went under that denomination. For Sozomen says, that [l] though the Arian scheme was much discoursed of, it did not form a separate people, or make a distinct sect in the time of Constantine. Indeed many who held that sentiment, kept their places in the church.

9. I must pass over divers things related by Eusebius, and observe only these following. Constantine [m] constituted a kind of church in his own palace, and with cheerfulness led the way to those that assembled there with him. Taking the sacred books in his own hands, he attentively read and meditated upon the divine oracles: and then recited the usual prayers with the whole

[a] —— Συσιας τε τροπος απηγορευετο πας. V. C. l. iv. c. 23.
[b] C. 25. [c] Ib.
[d] L. iii. c. 63——66. [e] Ib. c. 63.
[f] C. 64. [g] Ib. c. 65. [h] Ib. c. 66.
[i] Επει δε και διερευνασθαι των ανδρων τας βιβλους διηγορευεν ὁ νομος, c. 66. ib.
[k] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 327. n. 3.
[l] Το δε Αρειω δογμα, ει και πολλοις εν τοις διαλεξεσιν εσπουδαζετο, οπως εις ιδιον διεκεκριτο λαον, η ονομα τε ευρουτος. Soz. l. ii. c. 32. in. Et conf. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. iv.
[m] ——ὡς εν αυτοις τοις βασιλειοις εκκλησιαζειν δοκειν τον βιον διεβαινε, οπισθεν εξαρχων αυλος των ενδον εκκλησιαζομενων. Και χειρας γε δη λαμβανων τας βιβλους, τη των θεοπνευστων λογιων θεωρια προσανειχε τον νουν, ειτα ευχας ενθεσμους ουν τοις βασιλειον οικον πληρωσιν απεδιδα. V. C. l. iv. c. 17.

assembly of his courtiers. These were public prayers. Constantine besides prayed[a] daily in private in his own closet. In time of war he[b] had a tabernacle, or chapel, at a small distance from his camp; in which he used to pray, especially before a battle, for the divine protection and blessing: having at the same time in his company a few of his friends, who were men of known virtue and piety. He[c] taught even his heathen soldiers a form of prayer, in which they worshipped the one true God, praising him for his past benefits, and expressing their trust in him for the future; and praying particularly for the safety of the emperor and his family, and the continuance and prosperity of his government. He ordained by an edict, that[d] the Lord's-day should be a day of rest throughout the Roman empire. He[e] was present at divers synods for making up differences between Christians, and earnestly recommended to them peace and friendship. He[f] would converse familiarly with Christian bishops, and make them sit at his table. He[g] was very kind and bountiful to the poor, especially such as fell into want from plentiful circumstances. He[h] likewise made donations of money and lands to many churches, and certain allowances to poor widows and fatherless children.

By Sozomen we are informed, that[i] Constantine abolished the punishment of the cross, which had been so long used by the Romans. This edict is also mentioned by[k] a heathen historian with commendation. It appears to have been a popular act.

He forbad[l] the cruel sports of gladiators; though his authority was not sufficient to abolish them every where, and entirely. There[m] was need of repeated laws of Christian emperors for that purpose. He likewise appointed, that[n] criminals, which had been hitherto usually condemned to act as gladiators in the public shews, should rather be sent to work in the mines.

10. I must not allow myself to give a particular account of all the synods held in his time, nor of all his epistles, edicts, or orations. I have already taken notice of several of them, and I may have occasion to make extracts out of some more. A catalogue of Constantine's epistles and orations may be seen in[o] Cave, and[p] Fabricius. Fr. Baudouin, or Balduinus, as we usually call him, wrote[q] two books concerning this emperor's laws. And there is a kind of list or collection of the titles of his laws in Varenius's Life of Constantine.

V. We may now, I presume, be indulged the liberty of drawing Constantine's character, some outlines of it at least, and of making some few general remarks upon his reign.

Constantine was remarkably tall,[r] of a comely and majestic presence, and great bodily strength. It may be concluded from the whole tenor of his life, that he was a person of no mean capacity; the atchievements and successes of Constantine do not belong to men of weak and irresolute minds. Indeed, his[s] mind was equal to his fortune, great as it was. His escape from Galerius to his father Constantius, is a proof of considerable sagacity, forecast, and circumspection: his valour had been tried and approved more than once[t] in his youth, and was conspicuous on all proper occasions throughout his whole life: his[u] chastity, together with his valour, justice,

[a] Ib. c. 22. [b] Ib. l. ii. c. 12, 14.

[c] L. iv. c. 19, 20.

[d] L. iv. c. 18. 23. Vid. & Soz. H. E. l. i. c. 8. p. 412. B. C. & Cod. i. lib. iii. T. 12. l. iii.

[e] V. C. l. i. c. 44. [f] Ib. l. i. c. 42.

[g] Ib. c. 43. [h] L. iv. c. 28.

[i] αμελει τοι πρoλεγον νενομισμενην Ῥωμαιοις την τε σταυρε τιμωριαν, νομω ανειλε της χρησεως των δικαστηριων. Sozom. l. i. c. 8. p. 412. C.

[k] Eo pius, ut etiam vetus veterrimumque supplicium patibulum & cruribus suffringendis primus removerit. Hinc pro conditore aut deo creditus. Aur. Vict. Cæs. cap. 41.

[l] —— μη μονομαχων μιαιφονιαις μολυνειν τας πολεις. Eus. de V. C. l. iv. c. 25.

[m] Cruenta spectacula in otio civili, & domesticâ quiete, non placent. Quapropter, omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus. Cod. I. l. xi. t. 43. 1.

[n] Cruenta spectacula in otio civili, & domesticâ quiete, non placent. Quapropter, quia omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus, eos qui forte delictorum causâ hanc conditionem atque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine suorum scelerum pœnas agnoscant. Cod. Th. T. v. p. 395.

[o] H. L. T. i. p. 184, 185.

[p] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 2.—7. & Lux Evangelii. p. 273.—294.

[q] Fr. Balduini Constantinus Magnus: sive Commentarium de Constantini Imp. Legibus ecclesiasticis & civilibus. Libri duo. Lipsiæ. 1727.

[r] —— το, τ' αλλο ειδος· το μεγεθος τε υπερβαλλον μεν της αμφ' αυτον απανλας, τω τε καλλει της ωρας, και τω μεγαλοπρεπει της τε σωματος ευπρεπειας, αλκη τε ρωμης αμαχε. κ. λ. Eus. De V. C. l. iii. c. 10. p. 488. C. D. Vid. & l. i. c. 19. & de Mort. Pers. c. 18.

[s] Innumeræ in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt: militaris gloriæ appetentissimus, fortunâ in bellis prosperâ fuit: verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. n. 7.

Constantio quoque filius erat Constantinus, sanctissimus adolescens, & illo fastigio dignissimus, qui insigni & decoro habitu corporis, & industriâ militari, & probis moribus, & comitate singulari, a militibus amaretur, a privatis & optaretur. De M. P. c. 18.

[t] Fortitudinem autem illius [Constantii patris] jam tum in principiis consecutus es. Paneg. vi. n. 4.

[u] Neque enim forma tantum in te patris, Constantine, sed etiam continentia, fortitudo, justitia, prudentia sese votis gentium præsentant. Quo enim magis continentiam pattis æquare potuisti, quam quod te ab ipso fine pueritiæ illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti, ut primo ingressu adolescentiæ formares animum maritalem, nihil de vagis cupiditatibus, nihil de concessis ætati voluptatibus in hoc sacrum pectus admitteres: novum tum miraculum, juvenis uxorius. Paneg. vi. n. 3, 4.

and prudence, is commended by a heathen panegyrist: his many acts of bounty to the poor, and his just edicts, are arguments of a merciful disposition, and a love of justice: he was moreover a sincere believer of the Christian religion, of which he first of all the Roman emperors made an open profession.

He is taxed by a heathen historian [a] with ambition and prodigality. He owns, however, that these are the faults of great minds: which if Constantine had escaped, he would have been perfect.

Praxagoras, a heathen author, native of Athens, who, beside other works, wrote a [b] History of Constantine, in two books, says, that [c] this emperor surpassed all his predecessors in all virtue and goodness, and in the felicity of his reign.

VI. Having observed these virtues of Constantine, and other things, which are to his advantage; a just respect to truth obligeth us to take notice of some other things, which seem to cast a reflection upon him.

Among these, one of the chief is his putting to death so many of his relations: as Maximian Herculius his wife's father; Bassianus, husband of his sister Anastasia; Crispus his own son; Fausta, his wife; Licinius, husband of his sister Constantia; and Licinianus, or Licinius the younger, his nephew, and son of the forementioned Licinius.

To some of these actions Constantine was reduced by a hard necessity, arising from the treacherous conduct of his relations, in which therefore he is generally justified. For the rest he is blamed, especially some of the last; which is one reason, why the [d] latter part of his reign is not reckoned equal to the former part of it.

The death of Maximian in 310, has [e] escaped in a manner all censure. It was partly a just punishment for past crimes, and partly a necessary defence against future dangerous designs and attempts.

In [f] 314 or 315, Constantine put to death Bassianus, to whom he had married his sister Anastasia. We have no very particular account of this matter; but it is said, that [g] Constantine had discovered, that Licinius had set Bassianus against him, by means of Senecion, brother of the same Bassianus, at the time that the emperor was designing favours for him.

In 325, [h] Licinius was put to death at Thessalonica, after that Constantine had reduced him to a private condition, and promised him his life. This action is censured not only by [i] Zozimus, but by others [k] also, as contrary to the promise which Constantine had made him, of preserving his life. On the other hand, some attempt to justify it, upon account [l] of bad designs, actually formed by Licinius; or to excuse it, by [m] the apprehensions of designs to resume the purple, and create disturbances, contrary to engagements. By some this matter is [n] past by, or [o] just men-

[a] At memoriâ meâ Constantinum, quamquam cæteris promptum virtutibus, ad usque astra votis omnium subvexere. Qui profecto, si munificentiæ atque ambitioni modum, hisque artibus statuisset, quibus præcipue adulta ingenia gloriæ studio progressa longius in contrarium labuntur, haud multum abesset deo. Aur. Vict. Cæs. cap. 40.

Fuit vero, ultra quam æstimari potest, laudis avidus. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[b] Πραξαγορᾳ τῳ Αθηναιῳ της καλα τον μεγαν Κωνσταντινον ιστοριας βιβλια δυο. Phot. Cod. 62. p. 64. in.

[c] Καιτοι την θρησκειαν Ἑλληνων, ὁτι παση αρετη και καλοκαγαθια, και παντι ευτυχηματι παντας προ αυτου βασιλευκοτας ὁ βασιλευς Κωνσταντινος απεκρυψατο. ib. p. 65.

[d] Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illâ favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum, & sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem, interfecit; mox uxorem; post, numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6, 7.

[e] Cumque specie officii, dolis compositis [Herculius] Constantinum generum tentaret acerbe, jure tandem interierat. Aur. Vict. Cæs. c. 40.

Molientem tamen Constantinum, repertâ occasione, interficere. ——Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quæ dolum viro enuntiaverat,——pœnam dedit justissimo exitu. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 3. Et vid. omnino De M. P. c. 30.

[f] See Tillem. Constantin. art. 36.

[g] Post aliquantum deinde temporis Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit, persuadens ut Bassianus Cæsar fieret, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anastasiam; ut exemplo Diocletiani & Maximiani inter Constantinum & Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius obtineret. Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Senecionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. Qui tamen in conatu deprehensus, Constantino jubente, convictus & stratus est. Anon. Vales. p. 713.

[h] Vid. Basn. Ann. 325. n. 3. Pagi. 318. n. 7, 8. & 324. n. 3.

[i] Αικινιον δε εις την Θεσσαλονικην εκπεμψας, ὡς βιωσομενον αυτοθι συν ασφαλεια, μετ᾽ ου πολυ τους ὁρκους παλησας (ην γαρ τουτο αυτῳ συνηθες,) αρχουτα αυτον του ζην αφαιρειται. Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[k] Licinius Thessalonicæ contra jus sacramenti privatus occiditur. Hieron. Chr. p. 181.

Postremo Licinius navali & terrestri prœlio victus apud Nicomediam se dedit, & contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[l] Socrat. l. i. c. 4.

[m] Sed Herculii Maximiani soceri motus exemplo, ne iterum depositam purpuram in perniciem reipublicæ sumeret, privatum jussit occidi. Oros. l. vii. c. 28. Conf. Anon. Vales. p. 715. in.

[n] Itaque Sexennio post ruptâ pace apud Thracas, Licinius pulsus Chalcedona concessit. Ibi ad auxilium sui Martiniano in imperium cœptato, una oppressus est. Aur. Vict. Cæs. c. 41.

[o] Dehinc Constantinus acie potior apud Bithyniam adepti

tioned, without either censure or apology. Basnage argues, [a] that there can be no good foundation for the defence made by Socrates, forasmuch as Eusebius says nothing of Licinius having attempted any disturbances after his last defeat. Indeed it is observable, that so many ancient writers charge Constantine with breach of faith in this matter. Nor is it strange, that some should omit to pass any censure upon this action, considering [b] the cruelty, avarice, and other vices of Licinius; who had in him few agreeable or commendable qualities, beside his being a good general, and a lover of military discipline.

In 326, [c] Constantine put to death his son Crispus, and his nephew Licinianus, or the younger Licinius, who had been [d] Cæsars ever since the year [e] 317. Crispus had been consul likewise in 318, 321, and 324, and Licinianus in 319.

Crispus, son of Constantine by Minervina, was now at least 25 [f] years of age, a person of great qualifications, who had been serviceable to his father in the wars with [g] the Franks, and with [h] Licinius. Many historians relate [i] the unhappy end of this young prince. The silence of Eusebius is reckoned very remarkable: in his Ecclesiastical History, he commends Crispus; in [k] his Life of Constantine, written several years after, as [l] Tillemont observes, he repeats the same matters almost word for word, but leaves out all he had said of Crispus: and though he relates at length Constantine's victory over Licinius, in which Crispus had a large share, as he himself had related in the History, he does not now so much as name him. These silences and omissions, as the same diligent and accurate writer farther adds, speak a great deal. For Eusebius would have excused this thing, if he had been able; but he saw no other method he could take, but to pass it by in utter silence: choosing rather to expose himself to the charge of violating the laws of history, than to undertake to justify what all the world condemned.

The death of Crispus is ascribed by some historians [m] to the calumnies of Fausta. Zozimus's account is, that [n] he was accused of criminal conversation with Fausta, or of attempting it. Gregory of Tours makes [o] the crime he was charged with to be rebellion; in which charge he supposes Fausta to have been joined with him. Some historians [p] do not seem to know the

Licinium, pactâ salute, indumentum regium offerre per uxorem. Inde Thessalonicam missum, paullo post eum Martinianumque jugulari jubet. Hic Licinius annum dominationis fere post quintum decimum, vitæ proxime sexagesimum, occiditur. Victor. Epit. c. 41.

[a] Vellemus quidem eâ rebellione omni labe Constantinianam innocentiam liberari. Verum enimvero creditu difficillimum est, Licinium ad privatam fortunam redactum in bellum consurrexisse, quam Licinii perfidiam Eusebius non præteriisset. Basn. 325. n. 3.

[b] —— ob diversos mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quivere. Namque illi præter modum magnificentia, huic parsimonia, & ea quidem agrestis tantummodo inerat. Denique Constantius cunctos hostes honore ac fortunis manentibus texit, recepitque. Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere. Aur. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41.

Avaritiæ cupidine omnium pessimus, neque alienus a luxu Venerio, asper admodum, haud mediocriter impatiens: infestus literis, quas per inscitiam immodicam virus ac pestem publicam nominabat, præcipue forensem industriam. Agrariis plane ac rusticantibus, quia de eo genere ortus altusque erat, satis utilis, ac militiæ custos ad veterum instituta severissimus. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Vid. & Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 8. p. 396, 397. De V. C. l. i. c. 55.

[c] Vid. Pagi. 324. n. 3, 4. 325. n. 48. Basn. 326. n. 1, 2.

[d] Crispus & Constantinus filii Constantini, & Licinius adolescens, Licinii Augusti filius, Constantini ex sorore nepos, Cæsares appellantur. Eus. Chron. p. 180.

Filiumque suum Crispum nomine, ex Minervinâ concubinâ susceptum, item Constantinum, iisdem diebus natum oppido Arelatensi, Licinianumque Licinii filium, mensium fere viginti, Cæsares effecit. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

Vid. & Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41. Idat. Fast. Conf. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. f. Anon. Vales. p. 713. f.

[e] Vid. Pagi. Ann. 315. n. 3. 317. n. 2. Basn. 317. n. 1.

[f] See Tillem. in Constantin. Art. 41. 62.

[g] Declarant ecce rationem cupiditatemque votorum facta Crispi Cæsarum Maximi, in quo velox virtus, ætatis morâ non retardata, pueriles annos gloriis triumphalibus occupavit, &c. Paneg. x. c. 36. Vid. & c. 37.

[h] Constantinus Cæsarem Crispum cum grandi classe ad occupandam Asiam miserat —— Crispus vero cum classe Constantini Callipolim pervenit, ubi bello maritimo sic Amandum vicit, ut vix per eos, qui in litore permanserant, vivus Amandus effugeret. —— Anon. Vales. p. 714. Vid. & Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 9.

[i] His consulibus occisus & Crispus, & edidit vicennalia Constantinus Augustus Romæ. Idat. Fast.

Ad Istriam duxit prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam diremtum Constantini filium accepimus Crispum. Ammian. M. l. xiv. c. 11. p. 63.

——ut mihi non figuratius Constantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugisse versu gemello Consul Ablabius, vel momordisse, disticho tali clam palatinis foribus appenso:

Saturni aurea sæcla quis requirat?
Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Neroniana.

Quia scilicet prædictus Augustus iisdem fere temporibus exstinxerat Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni. Apol. Sidon. l. v. ep. 8.

[k] Conf. H. E. l. x. c. 9. & De V. C. l. ii. c. 19.

[l] Constantine, Art. 62.

[m] Ὅτι φησι τον Κωνσταντινον ανελειν τον ιδιον παιδα, διαβολαις της μητρυιας συναρπασθεντα. Philost. l. ii. c. 4.

At Constantinus, obtento totius Romani imperii, mirâ bellorum felicitate, regimine, Faustâ conjuge, ut putant, suggerente, Crispum filium necari jubet. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[n] Κρισπον γαρ παιδα, της τε Καισαρος (ως ειρηται προτερον,) αξιωθεντα τιμης, εις ὑποψιαν ελθοντα τη Φαυστη τη μητρυια συνειναι, —— ανειλε. Zos. l. ii. p. 685. m.

[o] Hic Constantinus anno vicesimo imperii sui Crispum filium veneno, Faustam conjugem calente balneo interfecit: scilicet, quod proditores regni ejus voluissent. Gr. T. Hist. Fr. l. i. c. 36.

[p] Quorum cum natu grandior, incertum quâ causâ, patris judicio occidisset. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41. Sed

reason of his death; which ignorance, or suspense possibly, may be ascribed to a respect for Constantine himself, or the reigning emperor, in whose time they wrote. Jerom, in an addition, inserted by him in Eusebius's Chronicle, condemns both the death of Crispus and Licinianus. 'In [a] this year,' says he, 'Crispus, son of Constantine, and Licinius the younger, son of Licinius 'and Constantine's sister Constantia, are most cruelly put to death, in the ninth year of their empire;' that is, their Cæsarean empire.

The younger Licinius could not then be more than a little above eleven years of age, if so much: he [b] is also spoken of as a hopeful youth; and St. Jerom, in the passage just cited, calls his death, as well as that of Crispus, a cruel action.

Next comes Fausta, not long after the two last. Zozimus says, that [c] Helena being extremely grieved for the death of Crispus, excited Constantine to revenge it on Fausta, the adviser of it. There is much the same account [d] in Victor's Epitome. Fausta, however, [e] is accused by some of adultery with a very mean person: but that account does not appear well founded.

These are the executions, which above all others cast a reflection upon the reign of Constantine; though there are also hints of the death of some others about the same time, with whom Constantine had till then lived in friendship.

I do by no means think, that Constantine was a man of a cruel disposition; and therefore I am unwilling to touch upon any other actions of a like nature: as [f] his making some German princes taken captive fight in the theatre, and sending the head [g] of Maxentius to Africa, after it had been made [h] a part of Constantine's triumphal entry at Rome.

At the time of the first affair Constantine was not a Christian; and but newly converted at the time of the other. These things, too, may receive an excuse from the custom of those times, and the necessity of some outward severity at the beginning of a reign, the better to settle it, and to deter from farther attemps. The Franks or Germans had been guilty of breach of faith, and therefore were punished for [i] perfidiousness. And, by the confession of Zozimus [k] himself, Constantine used his victory over Maxentius mercifully, and did no more than was necessary for his own and the public security.

As for the deaths of his relations, of which a distinct account has been given, that of Maximian, as before observed, seems a clear case; that of Bassianus lies in obscurity; of the four last, the death of Licinius is also doubtful. And what cause of displeasure there might be against Fausta, we cannot certainly say: one might be apt to suspect, that she had been guilty of unfaithfulness to the emperor's bed, or else had greatly deceived him with regard to Crispus, or some other matter of high importance. And yet it must be owned that Zozimus [l] does not approve of her death; and says, that Constantine did not mend the matter by adding one crime to another. And Apollinarius Sidonius reckons [m] the death of Fausta, as well as of Crispus, among Constantine's cruel actions. The death of Crispus is altogether without any good excuse; so likewise is the death of the young Licinius, who appears not to have been charged with any fault, and can hardly be suspected of any.

In order to judge of the general causes of these last executions, I think it worthy of observation, that they all happened very near to one another; when Constantine was come, as it were,

Sed inter hæc latent causæ, cur vindicem gladium, & destinatam in impios punitionem, Constantinus imperator etiam in proprios egit affectus. Nam Crispum filium suum, & Licinium sororis filium, interfecit. Oros. l. vii. c. 28.

[a] Crispus filius Constantini, Licinius junior, Constantiæ sororis & Licinii filius, crudelissime interficiuntur anno imperii sui nono. Eus. Chron. p. 181.

[b] Primum necessitudines persecutus, Crispum filium, egregium virum, & sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem, interfecit, mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[c] Της δε Κωνσταντινε μητρος Ἑλενης επι τω τηλικειῳ παθει δυσχεραινουσης, και ασχετως την αναιρεσιν τε νεε φερουσης, κακω το κακον ιασασθαι μειζονι· βαλανειον γαρ ὑπερ το μετρον εκπυρωθηναι κελευσας, και τελω την Φαυσταν εναποθεμενος, εξηνδρε νεκραν γενομενην. Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[d] Dehinc uxorem Faustam in balneas ardentes conjectam interemit, cum eum mater Helena dolore nimio nepotis increparet. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[e] Κακεινην δε παλιν φωραθεισαν τινι των κερσωρων μοιχωμενην, τη τε λετρε αλεα αποπνιγηναι προσαξας. Philost. l. ii. c. 4.

[f] Puberes, qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia servituti, ad pœnas spectaculi dati, sævientes bestias multitudine suâ fatigârunt. Paneg. vii. c. 12.

[g] Pari studio missum ejusdem tyranni ad permulcendam Africam caput, ut quam maxime vivus afflixerat, laceratus expleret. Nazar. Paneg. 10. c. 32.

[h] Sequebatur hunc comitatum suum tyranni ipsius fetentissimum caput.——Injiciebantur vulgo contumeliosissimæ voces. Id. cap. 31.

[i] Vid. supra not. [f]

[k] Ὁ Κωνσταντινος ολιγοις μεν τισι των επιβουλευσαντων Μαξεντιῳ δικην επεθηκε. κ. λ. Zos. l. ii. p. 677.

[l] Vid. supr. not. [c]

[m] See before p. 341.

to the top of his fortune, and was in the greatest prosperity. And both [a] Zozimus and [b] Eutropius mention the pride of his successes, as the cause and spring of these bad actions. Here then lies the general excuse, or alleviation of these faults. Prosperity is a dangerous state, full of temptation, and puts men off their guard. Now also, it is likely, Constantine was thinking how to secure the empire in his family, and perpetuate the quiet possession of it, free from disturbances. For this end, and with this view, he might be too much inclined to cut off both Licinius and his son. And possibly, on the like account, was too susceptible of impressions from Fausta; who for the same reasons, that Constantine was desirous to secure the empire in his own family, was also concerned to secure it to his issue by her.

Empire is esteemed a precious jewel; many are catching at it; and they who are possessed of it, are sensible of as much, which causeth troublesome and exorbitant jealousy. It is to be feared, that this occasioned the death of Licinius, both father and son; and possibly had, some way or other, an influence in the death of Crispus.

We should however be willing to make allowances in favour of princes, and especially of long reigns. It is next to impossible, for human wisdom and discretion in the course of many years filled with action, not to be surprised into some injustice, through the bias of affection, or the specious suggestions of artful and designing people. Though therefore, there may have been some transactions in this reign, which cannot be easily justified, and others that must be condemned: yet we are not to consider Constantine as a cruel prince or a bad [c] man.

Upon the whole, the highest stations of life are not so desirable as we imagine; the happiness of them does not compensate for all their care and toil: and for all those actions necessary to keep them, which are not consistent with innocence. Great men are rather to be pitied than envied. They, however, who steadily pursue the good of those who are subject to them, will have a great reward for all their labour and care, and attention to government: they are intitled to the highest honours from men, and shall receive a yet greater reward from God, the best friend and truest lover of mankind.

VII. If we proceed to consider the treatment of men under this reign, according to their different religious distinctions and denominations, catholic, heretic, and heathen, we shall observe several things liable to exception.

The unequal treatment of catholics and heretics, soon after the first ceasing of the persecution and the opening of liberty to the professors of the Christian religion, is not to be justified in point of religion or policy. We do not lay all the blame of this upon Constantine. If there be any fault, it will partly fall upon the Christians, both ministers and others, with whom he advised. But it seems, that Constantine should not have made himself a party with any of the sects, into which the Christian profession was then divided. It was fit, that as they had all suffered in the

[a] Επει δ' εις την Ρωμην αφικετο, μετος πασης αλαζονειας, αφ' ἑστιας ωηθη δειν αρξασθαι της ασεβειας· Κριστον γαρ παιδα, κ. λ. Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[b] Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illâ favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, &c. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[c] Some have been very severe in their censures of Constantine. They who desire to see an instance of this may read Observat. Hallens. xxiv. Fabulæ de Constantino M. & potissimum de ejus Christianismo. Others have passed a favourable judgment upon him. Nor have they scrupled to make an apology for those parts of his conduct, which are not unexceptionable. Among these latter are Balduin. de Legib. Constantini M. and Vitringa upon the Apocalypse. From this last I shall transcribe some observations. Fuitque vere Constantinus talis, qualis hic pingitur, vir fortis, & non minus decoro corporis habitu, quam animi magnitudine & virtute insignis. Vitring. in Apoc. c. 12. ver. 1—6. n. ii. p. 705. in. Fateor enim me, non videre quæ justa causa moveat Christianæ professionis homines, cur tam inclementer de hoc principe judicent, in quo Eutropius, ipse paganus homo, ejusque memoriæ, ut constat, minus favens, innumeras animi corporisque virtutes claruisse agnoscit. Id. n. iii. p. 710. Cætera autem quod attinet, si inter se comparemus, & æquâ libremus lance, quæ ab hac parte panegyrici, Eusebius & Eumenius, in ejus laudem, ab alterâ obtrectatores famæ ejus, Julianus & Zosimus, in ejus vituperium scripserunt, longe hic princeps major erit virtutibus, quam vitiis. Fuerit enim supra modum munificus, laudis amans, & quoque, quod negare nolim, plus quibusdam casibus tribuens & fidens amicis, quam sæpe prudentia suadet: quæ vitia in tanti imperii & potestatis principe non sunt ex maximis: cætera imperatorem præstitit optumum & laudatissimum, elegantiæ omnis & literarum non patronum tantum sed & cultorem. Quod enim sævitiæ quoque & crudelitatis ipsi inuratur macula, calumnia est, quam ad memoriam principis dehonestandum livor produxit paganorum. Certe quæ Zosimus tam de hoc vitio, quam de profusâ ejus liberalitate & ασωλια scripsit, ex invidiâ & odio hujus principis ab homine pagano vel maligne ficta, vel in majus aucta esse, æquo & veri amanti lectori facile patet. Quæ enim de Crispi & Faustæ conjugis nece habet ille, non tam arguunt Constantini malitiam crudelitatemque, quam illius imprudentiam, quâ factum, ut falsis accusationibus Faustæ conjugis——facilem nimis præbuerit aurem: quæ postquam detectæ fuerint, quis miretur, tantum justo dedisse dolori, ut ab eâ exegerit vindictam?——Certe si hoc vitium in principe regnâsset, non pauca, sed plurima exempla conservata essent in historiâ, quæ spatio triginta, & amplius annorum, quo summa imperii penes ipsum fuit, edidisset. Nec neglexissent gentiles, iniqui omnes hujus memoriæ principis, eadem ad obscurandam ejus laudem committere posteritati. Ib. n. iv. p. 712, 713.

late persecution, so they should all share in the liberty now granted. If any, whether catholics or others, were not contented with enjoying equal rights and privileges together with their brethren, fellow-creatures, fellow-sufferers, and fellow-subjects, they were unreasonable men, and shewed, that they were not to be humoured.

The following treatment of those called heretics, when Constantine's government was more firmly established, was still more severe, and consequently more unreasonable than the unequal regards to Cæcilian and his party, and the Donatists in Africa. For then as Eusebius has assured us, the private assemblies of all heretics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Cataphrygians, and others, were prohibited.

It is surprising, that our ecclesiastical historian should relate these things with such manifest tokens of approbation and satisfaction. According to that edict, Tertullian, who in the time of the emperor Severus published so noble an apology for the Christian religion and its professors, could not have had liberty of public worship under a Christian emperor: no, according to law, he could not now, any more than in his own time, have joined with his friends in the worship of God, in the most private place whatever. In short, liberty was still given to those only, who were of the emperor's religion: and little regard was had for those, who preserved a supreme reverence for him, who is King of kings, Emperor of all emperors, Sovereign Lord of the whole world, and Judge of the thoughts, reasonings, and determinations, as well as the outward actions of his rational and intelligent creatures. Certainly, there remains a rest for the people of God; there is a future recompense in another world for the strictly and inflexibly virtuous of all denominations. For in this world they scarce ever have security and protection; but under almost all governments, without any offence whatever against the state, they are treated as impious, profane, and disaffected.

It cannot be reckoned strange, that in this place, and upon occasion of this partiality toward Christians by the first Christian, emperor, I freely deliver my thoughts upon it, considering the sad influence of this precedent: and that in consequence of it, and the principle from which it proceeded, not long after this, sometimes Arians, sometimes Homousians, were under persecution, and all its penalties: or else were advanced, without respect to virtue, only in regard to external agreement of opinion and denomination, to the great prejudice of true religion and virtue, in every age from that time to this.

The several laws of Constantine against heathens are not to be justified. How should Constantine have a right to prohibit all his subjects to sacrifice, and worship at the temples? Would he have liked this treatment, if some other priest had become a Christian at that time, and he still remained a heathen? What reason had he to think, that all men received light and conviction when he did? And if they were not convinced, how could he expect that they should act as he acted?

Now also the Christians, with whom Constantine advised, come into a share of blame with him. It may be said, indeed, that the heathen people had given the Christians great provocation by their former terrible persecutions. But did not every Christian know, that they ought to forgive injuries? and that they should not return evil for evil? And had they not pleaded a right to worship God according to their consciences, though the rest of the world around them were of a different sentiment?

It may be again said, that the Christians, or this Christian emperor, did not put men to death for heathenism: but this is no sufficient apology. It would have been strange, beyond all instances of infatuation, if the Christians had returned all the tortures which they had suffered. But indeed the lesser degree of persecution is but a small honour to the Christian virtue. For whatever was their inclination, it could not be prudent to exasperate the heathens at first by laws of the utmost severity. But it seems, that as Constantine's government and the Christian profession were established, the severity of the laws against the heathen people increased.

A prince has the advantage of a right to do many things for the service of truth and virtue. He can protect men in detecting and exposing frauds. He may prohibit nocturnal, and all secret, clandestine assemblies; and may require men to perform their religious rites by day-light, and in public view, with their temple doors open. He has the right and power of punishing evil-doers of all sorts, and of restraining and punishing all actions injurious to particular persons, or contrary to good manners, and the peace of society in general. He can protect and defend peaceable, innocent men, in their several civil employments, and in their pursuits of truth, and the profes-

sion of the principles of religious or philosophic science. Nor have any like him ability to reward and encourage the virtuous and the skilful. All this is the high privilege of those, whom Divine Providence intrusts with the reins of civil government: and he who improves this prerogative to the utmost, without exceeding its due bounds and limits, must be an amiable and glorious character. And if this kind of government had obtained, and been thankfully received and heartily approved and applauded by Christian people for some ages, I cannot but think, that the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ would have been before now, the universal religion of mankind.

All those things before-mentioned, a supreme magistrate has a right to do: but for a prince to pull down men's temples, where nothing is done contrary to the peace of society, to deprive them of their statues and other consecrated ornaments, and to forbid them to worship in the way they approve, and that under heavy penalties; what is this but to vindicate, so far as he is able by his conduct, all instances of persecution in times past? and to encourage and excite to the like injustice in time to come, all princes and emperors toward such as differ from them: and, as it may happen, those of his own religion?

As the late Mr. Le Clerc said, 'They [a] that continued heathens, were no doubt extremely 'shocked at the manner in which the statues of their gods were treated; and could not consider 'the Christians as men of moderation. For, in short, those statues were as dear to them, as any 'thing, the most sacred, could be to the Christians.'

And, as the same learned and judicious writer says in another place, speaking of the Christians below the period we are in, (as was also the former observation): 'Thus [b] the Christians 'went on, returning to the heathens what they had suffered from them, during the first three 'centuries; instead of gaining them by the patience and gentleness, which they had so much 'taught and recommended, when they were the undermost.'

It is not a little surprising, that Eusebius should triumph over the philosophers, as he does, upon Constantine's soldiers pulling down a temple of Æsculapius, without being hindered by that pretended deity. Had not Eusebius often heard with his own ears, and read in the history of ancient martyrs, the insults and triumphs of the heathens over the Christians, that they professed themselves the worshippers of the great, and only true God, and yet every body, that pleased, was able to molest and destroy them, as he saw good?

To use the words of bishop Burnet, 'It [c] has been often observed, that though a plea for 'moderation is the sanctuary of all the unfortunate, yet their fortunes come no sooner to be 'changed, but they insensibly get into that principle, which was so much decried by themselves, 'when their affairs were in an ill condition: as if the only quarrel they had with persecution 'was, that they had not the managing of it themselves.'

How different is this conduct from the principles and sentiments recommended by Lactantius, near the end of the last heathen general persecution, which the Christians suffered! whose argument upon this head was at large shewn by us some time [d] ago.

And how deplorable was the consequence! The two prevailing evils of this reign, as [e] Eusebius owns, were avarice and hypocrisy. And for certain, authority and force in matters of a religious nature, will multiply hypocrites.

Thus I have shewn, that in the time of this first Christian emperor, there was a treatment given to many people, which was not agreeable to strict justice nor honourable to the Christian religion.

Besides it is likely, that a more equal treatment and protection of all sorts of people, who were quiet and peaceable, without regarding their several speculative religious sentiments or opinions, would have been more for the peace of the emperor's government; and he would also have set an example that might have been of great use to Christian governments in time to come.

In a word, the conversion of Constantine to Christianity was a favour of Divine Providence, and of great advantage to the Christians: and his reign may be reckoned a blessing to the Roman empire upon the whole. But there is nothing perfect in this world: oftentimes advan-

[a] Bibl. Univ. T. 15. p. 54.
[b] Bibl. ch. T. 8. p. 276.
[c] Preface to the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, p. 10.
[d] See p. 273—275.
[e] Και γαρ αν αληθως, δυο χαλεπα παυλα καλα τας δηλουμενας χρονους και αυθις καλεσησαιμεν, ——— ειρωνειαν τ' αλεκτον των την εκκλησιαν υποδυομενων, και το Χριστιανων επιπλαστως σχηματιζομενων ονομα. De V. C. l. iv. c. 54.

tages are not duly improved; and changes for the better do not fully answer expectations, nor turn out to all the account that might have been wished.

From what has been seen and observed by us, it appears, that the happiness of this reign was not equal to all. The heathens had not liberty of worship; for they were forbidden to sacrifice, and all their temples were shut up, which must have been exceeding grievous to them. From the beginning of the liberty to the Christians, some of them too felt the disagreeable effects of partiality. And the severity toward heretics increased: at length these measures incommoded by turns the Homousians and the Arians.

There was still one thing more, which somewhat damped the universal joy of the Christians upon the conversion of Constantine and lessened the benefit they expected from it. For the particular affection which the Christians in general had for Constantine, was one ground of the persecution raised against them by Licinius. Some of the Christian churches were pulled down or shut up by his order, that men might not meet there for their usual worship. 'For,' says [a] Eusebius, 'he who gave this order, did not think the prayers there offered were for him, being 'conscious of his own wickedness. But he thought, we did all for Constantine, and prayed for 'his prosperity only.'

Nay, the uncommon affection of the Christians for Constantine, or the suspicion of it, was prejudicial to them without the bounds of the Roman empire. It is disputed, when the persecution in Persia began: some place the rise of it in [b] the year 343, or 344, under Constantius. But Asseman thinks it [c] began in the year 330, and argues very plausibly [d] from Syrian, and other authors. Petavius [e] was of the same opinion, as Asseman also observes. Eusebius has inserted in the Life of Constantine [f] a letter, which that emperor sent to Sapor upon that occasion, as it seems. Theodoret [g] too, has a copy of it from him. And Sozomen likewise,[h] gives a particular account of it. Whatever was the time of this persecution, a notion, that the [i] Christians in Persia favoured the Roman empire, (either under Constantine or Constantius), was one pretence for it. Whether the Christians gave any just ground for such a suspicion or charge, we cannot certainly say. But if they did, they were to blame: for the Christian religion teaches men to be faithful subjects of the government under which they live, and by which they are protected. Possibly, that charge against the Persian Christians had no other foundation, but the suspicions, or pretences and insinuations of ambitious and artful, or bigotted and prejudiced men; who had some private ends to serve, or mean passion to gratify thereby. But if Constantine, or his successor, had protected the heathens, as well as the Christians, in his empire, I think he might have sent the king of Persia more forcible and effectual remonstrances against that dreadful persecution, than he did.

VIII. I proceed to observe Constantine's testimony to the scriptures.

1. Eusebius, giving an account of Constantine's conversion, says, 'From [k] that time he 'resolved to give himself up to the reading of the divine scriptures.'

2. We saw before in a passage already cited, 'that [l] Constantine had a kind of church in his 'own palace, and with cheerfulness led the way to those that assembled there with him. Taking 'the sacred books in his own hands, he attentively read and meditated upon the divine oracles.'

3. Our historian drawing a comparison between former emperors and Constantine, says, 'They [m] ordered the divine oracles to be burned: he gave directions for multiplying copies of 'them, and for magnificently adorning them at the expence of the imperial treasury.'

Whether this be something different from what is to be presently taken notice of, or the same with it, I cannot certainly say.

4. Constantine having enlarged the city of Byzantium, and consecrated it in the year 330, by the name of Constantinople, wrote a letter to our bishop of Cæsarea, to send him fifty copies of

[a] Συντελεισθαι γαρ ουχ ἡτειτο ὑπερ αυτου ταυτα ὁ τοιαδε προςαττων· συνειδοτι φαυλῳ τουτο λοιζομενος· ὑπερ δε Κωνςαντινου πραττειν παντα ἡμας, και τον Θεον ἱλεουσθαι πεπειςο. Eus. V. C. l. ii. c. 2. p. 443. D.

[b] Vid. Pagi. 343. n. 3, 4 & Basn. 344. n. 2, 3.

[c] Hæc autem persecutio cœpit sub Sapore anno Christi 330, ut in S. Simeone Barseboë statuimus, duravitque annis 40, ut in Actis Martyrum habetur, nimirum usque ad annum 370. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 183.

[d] Vid eund. ib. p. 4—9.

[e] Petav. Rat. Temp. Part. i. l. vi. c. 2.

[f] L. iv. c. 9—13.

[g] Thdrt. l. i. c. 25.

[h] Soz. l. ii. c. 15.

[i] Και διαβαλλουσι προς Σαβωρην τον τοτε βασιλεα Συμεωνην ——, ὡς φιλον οντα τῳ Καισαρι Ῥωμαιων, και τα Περσων πραγματα τουτῳ καταμηνυοντα. Soz. l. ii. c. 9. in. Vid. & Asseman. ubi supr. p. 183. a.

[k] Και αυτος δ' ηδη τοις ενθεοις αναγνωμασι προσεχειν ηξιου. De V. C. l. i. c. 32.

[l] See p. 338.

[m] De V. C. l. iii. c. 1. p. 483. A.

the sacred scriptures, for the use of the churches there. The letter probably was written about the year 332, and is to this purpose.

'The [a] city that bears our name, through the goodness of Providence, increases daily, and 'there [b] will be occasion for erecting in it many churches. Wherefore [c] we hope you will 'approve of our design, and take care to procure fifty copies of the divine scriptures, which you 'know to be necessary in churches, of fine parchment, legible, and easily portable, that they may 'be the fitter for use, transcribed by such as are most skilful in the art of fair-writing. Directions 'are given to the receiver general of the province to furnish you with all things needful. By 'virtue of this letter you may demand the use of two public carriages, for the more commodious 'and speedy conveyance of the fairly written books to us. And if you send them by a deacon 'of your church, he will be made sensible of our bounty. Which orders,' as Eusebius adds, 'were immediately obeyed by us. And [d] we sent him ternions and quaternions magnificently 'adorned, as appears by the emperor's answer contained in a letter sent to us upon another 'occasion.'

Valesius in his notes upon this place says, that books written on parchments were generally bound up in ternions and quaternions. The former consisted of three, the latter of four sheets. So that a ternion had twelve, a quaternion sixteen pages. And upon the last page of these several divisions was written its number, 1, 2, 3, and the rest.

It is commonly supposed, that hereby is to be understood so many copies of the sacred scriptures both of the Old and the New Testament. But I have sometimes suspected, that two carriages were scarce sufficient for fifty copies of the Bible, fairly written upon parchment, and handsomely done up. If that were the case, it might lead us to think, that Constantine wrote only for copies of the New Testament.

The tenor of Constantine's letter leads us to suppose, that these copies of scripture were not for private use, but for the use of churches; and probably for the public readings there. However, I may add, that before the end of the fourth century it seems to have been customary, in some places at least, to have a bible, or some part of the sacred scripture, lodged [e] in some part of the church, for people to read in at their leisure.

5. Eusebius mentions it to the honour of Constantine, that [f] he persuaded many, both men and women, to seek the true nourishment of their souls in reading the holy scriptures.

6. Theodoret says, 'that Constantine recommended to the bishops assembled in the council 'of Nice to decide all things by the scriptures. It is pity, he said, that now when their enemies 'were subdued, they should differ, and be divided among themselves; especially when [g] they 'had the doctrine of the Holy Ghost in writing. For, as he added, the writings of the evange-'lists and apostles, and the oracles of the ancient prophets, clearly teach us how we ought to 'think of God.'

So Theodoret. But as this is no where distinctly related by Eusebius, perhaps it may be best not to rely entirely upon this account.

7. I add no more. This is sufficient to satisfy us of Constantine's sincere respect for the sacred scriptures. Nor can there be any question made, but he received all those books of scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, which were generally received by the Christians of his time.

[a] De V. C. l. iv. c. 36.

[b] ——και εκκλησιας εν αυτη καλασκευασθηναι πλειας. ibid.

[c] ——οπως αν πενηκονλα σωμαλα εν διφθεραις εκκαλασκευοις ευαναγνωςα τε και προς την χρησιν ευμελακομιςα, ὑπο τεχνιλων καλλιγραφων, και ακριβως την τεχνην επιςαμενων, γραφηναι κελευσειας· των θειων δηλαδη γραφων, ὡν μαλιςα την τ' επισκευην και την χρησιν τω της εκκλησιας λαῳ αναγκαια ειναι γινωσκεις. ib. p. 544. A.

[d] ——εν πολυτελως ησκημενοις τευχεσι· τρισσα και τετρασσα διαπεμψαντων ἡμων. ib. c. 37.

[e] Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.
Paulin. Nolan. ep. 12. ad Severum.

[f] Τις γυναια και μυρια πληθη ανδρων ανεπεπεικε, δι' ενθεων αναγνωσμαλων ανθικαταλαξεσθαι των τε σωμαλος τροφων; De Laud. Constant. c. 17. p. 661. C.

[g] ——και τε παναγιε πνευματος την διδασκαλιαν αναγραπλον εχοντας. Ευαγγελικαι γαρ, φησιν, βιβλοι, και αποςολικαι, και των παλαιων προφητων τα θεοπισματα, σαφως ἡμας, ἁ χρη περι τε θειε φρονειν εκπαιδευσι. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 7. p. 25. C. D.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

I. *The occasion of the Council.* II. *Convened by Constantine.* III. *The number of the bishops present.* IV. *Were chiefly of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.* V. *Who presided in the Council, and the place of meeting.* VI. *Its time and duration.* VII. *Whether the Bible was placed before them?* VIII. *The points debated by them, with their Creed, Epistle, and Canons.* IX. *All the bishops signed the Creed, except a very few.* X. *The sentence passed upon Arius.* XI. *The judgments of ancients and moderns upon this Council.* XII. *The determination of the Council concerning Meletius.* XIII. *Concerning the time of keeping Easter, with remarks.* XIV. *Concerning the Arian controversy, with remarks.*

I. WHEN Constantine became master of the East, in 323, or 324, after the final defeat of Licinius, a warm controversy was on foot in Egypt and the neighbouring countries, which gave the emperor a great deal of uneasiness. In order to put [a] an end to it, and to restore peace to the churches, he sent as [b] Eusebius says, a bishop of great note, (Hosius bishop of Corduba, as Socrates [c] informs us,) with a letter addressed to the bishop Alexander, and the presbyter Arius, the two principal contending parties. But notwithstanding the arguments and intreaties of the emperor's letter, and the utmost endeavours of the good man who carried it, the contention, as [d] Eusebius assures us, grew still warmer, and spread wider: or, as Socrates says, neither [e] Alexander nor Arius were softened thereby, and among the people disturbances increased.

II. Whereupon some time in the year 324, Constantine sent letters into the several provinces of the empire, inviting the bishops to come and assemble themselves at Nice in Bithynia: at the same time giving orders also for furnishing them with beasts, or carriages, and for bearing the expences of their journey. And according to what Eusebius writes, 'there came thither [f] 'bishops from Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, Thebais, Libya, Mesopotamia. 'There was also at the synod a bishop from Persia. Nor were there wanting some from Scythia. 'And the most eminent of their bishops came also from Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, 'Asia, and Phrygia. Likewise from Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, Epirus. From Spain a bishop 'of great note. The bishop of Rome did not come, because of his great age: but there were 'presbyters deputed by him.' Their names, in [g] Sozomen, are Vito and Vincentius.

III. The bishops who met in this council, as Eusebius says, were [h] more than 250, beside presbyters, and deacons, acolythists, and others, whose number could not be easily counted. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, as cited by [i] Theodoret, says, there were about 270 bishops. Athanasius reckons the numbers differently. In one place, he says, they were [k] 318, in another [l] about 300, in other places [m] 300. Sozomen computes the number at [n] about 320. Socrates, transcribing the passage of Eusebius, before referred to, puts down [o] above 300. And afterwards he says they were [p] 318. Constantine, in his letter to the people of Alexandria, as exhibited by Socrates, speaks of the synod's consisting of [q] more than 300. Afterwards [r] of 300. Theodoret, who cites the passage of Eustathius above referred to, does himself count [s] them 318. This is the number which has been generally followed. And divers ancient writers have observed a

[a] They who are desirous to inform themselves farther about the council of Nice, may consult Tho. Ittigi Hist. Conc. Nic. Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. vi. Pagi crit. in Baron. Ann. 325. 327. 340. & Basnage Ann. &c. &c.

[b] De V. C. l. ii. c. 61, &c.

[c] Socr. l. i. c. 7. in. [d] Ib. c. 73.

[e] Οὔτε γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρος, οὔτε Ἀρειος ὑπὸ των γραφεντων εμαλασσοντο. Socr. ib. c. 8. in.

[f] De V. C. l. iii. c. 6, 7, 8. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. 8. Sozom. l. i. c. 16. [g] L. i. c. 17.

[h] De V. C. l. iii. c. 8. [i] L. i. c. 8. in.

[k] Ad Afr. Episc. c. 2. p. 892. A.

[l] Τριακοσιοι πλειον η ελαττον. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. c. 66. p. 383. D.

[m] Οἱ των τριακοσιων. κ. λ. Apol. contr. Arian. n. 23. p. 143. D. Των τριακοσιων την ψηφον. Ib. n. 25. p. 144. F. Vid. & de Synodis, num. 43. p. 757.

[n] Soz. l. i. c. 17. p. 430. B.

[o] Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 19. D.

[p] Ib. p. 23. A. [q] Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 30. D.

[r] Ib. p. 31. A. [s] L. i. c. 7. p. 24. B.

mystery in it, that [a] the synod should consist exactly of the same number of men, with which Abraham [b] overcame his enemies. Epiphanius says, the number was 318, as [c] appeared from the subscriptions then in being. And yet Eustathius, in Theodoret, does most expressly say, that [d] he did not exactly know the number: which is somewhat strange, if there be any truth in what Epiphanius says.

The late Mr. Beausobre, who did not implicitly embrace the prevailing opinions of the times in which he lived, and allowed himself to consider impartially what he met with in antiquity, has some thoughts upon this point, which may be placed here. 'Eusebius, [e] who made a great 'figure in the council of Nice, makes it not to consist of more than two hundred and fifty bishops. 'Eustathius of Antioch, who complimented Constantine in an oration, counts them about two 'hundred and seventy... Athanasius, who in two places says, they were three hundred more or 'less, and elsewhere three hundred, in his letter to the African bishops says at length, they were 'three hundred and eighteen. I suspect, or rather I make no doubt, but this last place has 'been altered. It is not likely that Athanasius, who several times expresseth himself loosely, 'should in one place be so precise.' So that acute author. He afterwards observes several other alterations of numbers in ancient authors, concerning this very matter; and then concludes: 'If the [f] fact were capable of proof, I could venture to be positive, that the number of bishops 'present in the council of Nice was not fixed at three hundred and eighteen, till after the mys-'tery of it had been found out.'

IV. I hope I may be excused for not giving a particular account of the names and characters of the bishops, known to have been present at the council: whether Homousians, or favourers of Arius. For this I would refer to the ancient [g] ecclesiastical historians and their commentators. I would nevertheless observe, that the council consisted chiefly of bishops from the several parts of the East. It does not appear that there were many out of Europe: or that there were any from Africa, exclusive of Egypt and parts adjacent, except Cæcilian bishop of Carthage.

V. I forbear to enquire who presided in the council; whether the legates of the bishop of Rome, or Eustathius of Antioch, or some other: and who [h] complimented the emperor in a short oration upon his coming into the assembly; whether Eustathius before named, or Eusebius of Cæsarea: as also where the council was held; whether in a church, or in the emperor's palace. They who have a curiosity to be satisfied upon those heads, may consult the authors referred to in a note at the beginning of this chapter.

VI. The council was assembled at Nice in Bithynia in the year of Christ 325. How long it sat is not absolutely certain. Some have made it last two or three years; but learned moderns generally contract it within a small space. Basnage thinks it [i] did not continue longer than six weeks, beginning the 19th of June, and ending the 25th of July. But for the most part learned men are of opinion, that it sat somewhat above two months, beginning the 19th of June, and rising the 25th of August. So [k] Cave, and [l] others, following [m] Pagi; with whom Beveridge [n] likewise agrees.

VII. Some have supposed, that [o] the Bible, or the New Testament at least, was placed upon a table in the midst of the council, to imitate what was the rule by which they ought to decide. James Basnage, in his History of the Church, expressly says [p] so: which I wonder he should do, without referring to some authority. The passage of Theodoret, alledged by me [q] elsewhere, is no direct

[a] Vid. Hilar. de Synod. n. 86. & 118. Ambr. de Fid. n. 5. & passim. Liber. ap. Socr. l. iv. c. 12. p. 223. A. B.

[b] Gen. xiv. 14.

[c] —— ὧν και τα ονομαλα εις ἓλι δευρο σωζεται τριακοσιων δεκα και οκλω επισκοπων. H. 69. n. 11.

[d] Το γαρ σαφες δια τον της πολυανδριας ογλον ουχ οιός τε ειμι γραφειν. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 8. in.

[e] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 529. [f] Ib. p. 531.

[g] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15. Soz. l. i. c. 10, 11. Thdrt. l. i. c. 11.

[h] Vid. Euseb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 11. & Thdrt. l. i. c. 7. Soz. l. i. c. 19.

[i] Nos sesqui fere mensis spatio circumscriptum esse putamus . . . cum a Junii xix. quo synodus incepit, ad usque Julii xxv. spatii satis foret absolvendis negotiis omnibus, quorum patres causâ convenerant. Basn. An. 325. n. 13.

[k] Et ita quidem post menses duos, & sex dies, die nempe Augusti xxv. celeberrimæ huic synodo finis imponitur. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 352.

[l] Vit. Ittig. Hist. Conc. Nic. n. 10.

[m] Vid. A. 325. n. 6. 7.

[n] Bever. Annot. in Can. Conc. Nic. p. 42. f.

[o] 'Did not Constantine the emperor, at the opening of the 'first general council, lay the bible before them, as the only 'rule, according to which they were to proceed, and this with 'the approbation of all those holy fathers that were assembled 'in that council?' Tillotson's Serm. viii. Vol. 2. p. 64. folio.

[p] Enfin la décision... étoit claire, & conforme à l' Evangile qu' on avoit placé au milieu du concile, afin d' être la régle de la foi. Hist. de l'Eglise, T. i. p. 494. n. 2.

[q] See p. 347.

or full proof. The gospels were so placed in the council of Chalcedon; which may have been the case likewise in this council; but I do not know of any clear evidence of it.

VIII. The three points debated and determined there, as appears from all the ecclesiastical historians, and from the synodical epistle of the council itself, were the Arian controversy before mentioned, the time of keeping Easter, and the affair of Meletius in Egypt.

There is nothing remaining of this council, but [b] the creed, the [c] synodical epistle, and [d] twenty canons: in [e] which last there is no catalogue of the books of scripture. But if the story of Paphnutius, related by [f] Socrates, and [g] Sozomen, be true, it may be thence argued, that this council received the epistle to the Hebrews.

IX. All the bishops present at the council did at last sign the creed, except Secundus bishop of Ptolemais, and Theonas of Marmarica, both in Egypt. Sozomen's account is, 'that [h] at 'length they all in general decreed, that the Son was consubstantial to the Father. It was said, 'that there were seventeen who at the first favoured the doctrines of Arius: but at length most of 'these came over to the common opinion.' Socrates seems to say, that [i] there were five who stood out to the last, and would not receive the consubstantial doctrine: namely, the two Egyptian bishops above named, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and Maris of Chalcedon. But the truth is, that though these three last hesitated for a time, all subscribed in the end, except Secundus and Theonas. So Philostorgius says [k] expressly; and to the like purpose [l] Theodoret: and it is manifest from the words of the council itself, in [m] their synodical epistle, to be quoted presently.

X. The synod excommunicated Arius, and those who agreed with him, and forbade his going to Alexandria, as [n] Sozomen writes. He adds, 'The [o] emperor banished Arius, and also published an edict, that Arius and his followers should be esteemed impious: that wherever any of his writings were found, they should be burned; and that if after this any were detected concealing his books, they should be liable to death.' Socrates speaking of the same edict says, one part of it was, that [p] Arius and his followers should be called Porphyrians, as having deserved the same brand of infamy, that had been affixed on Porphyry for writing against the Christian religion.

This whole sentence therefore all the adherents of Arius were involved in, equally with himself, except what relates to his writings. And every part of this sentence, I think, had been decreed before the council broke up, and is included in these modest, or artful expressions of the synodical epistle. 'And [q] the things that have been decreed concerning him either you 'have already heard, or will hear; that we may not seem to insult a man, who has received the 'just reward of his iniquity. And [r] so far as his impiety prevailed, as to draw into the like perdition 'Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. For the same sentence has been passed 'upon them and him.'

XI. This council has received great commendations from many, both ancients and moderns. Athanasius, agreeably to the sense of many others in his own time, says, that one council was sufficient without any other.[s] These Epiphanius [t] reckoned to be the two great benefits, which the church received from Divine Providence by means of Constantine: that by calling the council of Nice, he procured a determination of faith against Arians, and a certain rule for keeping Easter.

By moderns this [u] is said to be not only the first œcumenical council, but also the most cele-

[a] —— προκειμενȣ εν τῳ μεσῳ τȣ ἁγιωτατȣ και αχραντȣ ευαγγελιȣ. Labb. Conc. T. 4. p. 93. C.

[b] Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 8. p. 22, & 25.

[c] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 9. Thdrt. l. i. c. 9.

[d] Thdrt. l. i. c. 8. f. Soz. l. i. c. 23. in. Epiph. H. 69. n. 11. p. 735. A.

[e] That it made no catalogue of sacred books, see Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. sect. v. p. 12. Tillem. Concil. de Nicée, art. xvi. fin. Basnage Hist. de l' Eglise, l. viii. ch. 8. n. 1.

[f] Socr. l. i. c. 11.

[g] Soz. l. i. c. 23.

[h] —— συνεβησαν αλληλοις παντες οἱ ιέρεις, και ὁμοȣσιον ειναι τῳ πατρι τον υἱον εψηφισαντο. κ. λ. Soz. l. i. c. 20. in.

[i] Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 23. A. B.

[k] Vid. Philost. l. i. n. 8, 9.

[l] Theod. l. i. c, 8. fin.

[m] Ap. Socrat. l. i. c. 9.

[n] Soz. l. i. c. 21. p. 435. C. D. & 436. A. B.

[o] Soz. ibid.

[p] Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. A. B.

[q] Ap. Socr. ib. p. 28. A. B.

[r] Τοσȣτον δε ισχυσεν αυτȣ ἡ ασεβεια,...των γαρ αυτων κακεινοι τετυχηκασιν. Ap. Socr. p. 28. B.

[s] Τις ἡ χρεια των συνοδων, αρκȣσης της εν Νικαιᾳ γενομενης προς τε την Αρειανην και τας αλλας αἱρεσεις; de Synod. n. 6. p. 720. A.... Αλλα μονον κρατειτο εν ὑμιν ἡ εν Νικαιᾳ παρα πατερων ὁμολογηθεισα πιστις.... Αὑτη γαρ ἡ εν Νικαια συνοδος αληθως στηλογραφια κατα πασης αἱρεσεως εστιν. Ad African. n. 10. & 11. p. 889. D.

[t] H. 70. n. ix. p. 821. B. C.

[u] Œcumenicarum prima, omnium post apostolicas celebratissima synodus. Beverig. Annot. p. 42.

brated council, since the time of the apostles. It is [a] the most famous, and the most venerable of all councils: than [b] which the church has nothing more illustrious.

It has also been censured by some of former, as well as later ages. Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, one of those Arians, which were called Macedonians, who wrote a history of councils, and is often cited by Socrates, called [c] the bishops of the council of Nice weak and illiterate men. Among moderns some have not scrupled to say, that in this, as well as in most other councils, party, passion, and intrigue, bore a great sway. I put down [d] at large in the margin one censure of this kind.

XII. Let us in the next place observe the several points brought before this council.

One was the Meletian controversy, or schism. Of which I intend not to give any farther account than was done [e] formerly. I only add, it seems to me, that there could be no occasion to call a general council for the sake of it. It might have been determined by the Egyptian bishops, and their neighbours.

XIII. Another point brought before them, and one [f] occasion of their meeting, was the disagreement of the churches in several parts of the world about the time of keeping Easter: which the council now determined should be observed by all on the Sunday, which followed immediately after the 14th of the moon, that happened next after the vernal equinox: which (equinox) happened that year on the 21st day of March.

Upon this we may make several remarks.

1. There was no great harm in appointing Easter to be kept by Christians in general at one and the same time, provided this rule was not too rigorously enforced. But generally, when once determinations are made concerning the most indifferent matters by a respected authority, the consequence is, that in a short time they are imposed with great rigour and severity. Proofs of it in this very case may be seen in [g] Bingham.

2. There was no necessity of a determination for fixing the time of keeping Easter. Christians might have been every where left at liberty to take the time they liked best, or not to keep it at all. For, as Socrates says, it [h] was not the design of the apostles to deliver laws about festivals, but to teach men virtue and piety. And some learned and acute men of late times have been of opinion, that [i] so trifling a thing did not deserve all the pains that was taken about it: and that the ancients were more solicitous to procure an agreement than they should have been.

3. Notwithstanding all the care to bring men to uniformity in this practice, it was not obtained. Even they who were willing to keep Easter according to the order of the council, differed in their computations. Bingham says, it sometimes happened, that [k] the churches of one country still kept it a week, or a month, sooner than others: of which he gives several instances.

[a] Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. x. ch. 2. n. ii.

[b] —— hunc Nicænum patrum consessum, quo nihil deinde unquam illustrius habuit ecclesia. Balduin. De Leg. Const. M. l. i. p. 55.

[c] Τὰς μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, ὡς ἀφελεῖς καὶ ἰδιώτας διεσυρε. Socr. l. i. c. 8 p. 22. A. Ἀλλ' ἰδιώτας, καὶ μὴ ἐχειν γνῶσιν, τὰς ἐκεῖ συνελθούσας φησιν. c. 9. p. 31. D.

[d] Quod ad cætera post [apostolicum] consecuta symbola, quæ in conciliis œcumenicis, ut vocantur, cusa fuerunt, ea, quia recentiora sunt, cum his comparari non merentur. Et, si quod res est dicendum est, ea ab episcopis inter se magnâ cum æmulatione jurgantibus & contendentibus, ex fervore, si non furore, partiumque studio insano ac male feriato, præcipitata potius videri debent, quam a compositis animis profecta. Vide P. Martyrem in Comm. in 1 lib. Reg. cap. xii. Unde & eadem veluti poma Eridos fuerunt in Ecclesiâ, et non litium tantum & rixarum, sed tristissimarum divisionum, seditionum, factionum & persecutionum seminaria fuerunt. Exinde quis sine lacrymis legere potest, quot contentiones inter Orientales & Occidentales ecclesias, post conditum symbolum Nicænum de voce ὁμοούσιος viguerint... Videatur Sozom. l. ii. cap. 8. Socr. l. ii. cap. 37. Thdret. l. ii. c. 18, 19, 21. Episc. Inst. Theol. l. iv. c. 34. p. 340.

[e] See p. 129—131.

[f] Vid. Euseb. V. C. l. iii. cap. v.

[g] Having spoken of this controversy, as it had been managed in the time of Pope Victor, he adds: 'But when the 'great council of Nice had once undertaken to determine 'this matter, such a deference was thought proper to be paid 'to her decree,...that from this time, the opposers of the 'decree are commonly censured either as heretics or schisma-'tics. The Audians railed at the council of Nice for intro-'ducing a new custom ...and made a separation in the 'church ....upon which Constantine banished Audius their 'leader into Scythia.... And for this reason the imperial laws 'were often very severe upon the Quartodecimans. Theodo-'sius the Great, in one of his laws, ranks them with the 'Manichees, forbidding their conventicles, confiscating their 'goods, rendering them intestate, and liable also to capital 'punishment.' Bingham's Antiq. B. xx. Ch. v. vol. x. p. 102, 103.

[h] Σκοπος μεν ην γεγονε τοις αποστόλοις ε περι ἡμερων εορταστικων νομοθετειν, αλλα βιον ορθον και την θεοσεβειαν εισηγησασθαι. Socr. l. v. c. 22. p. 283. D.

[i] De die Paschæ quæstio res levior videri poterat.... Superstitiosior fortassis fuit posteritas in hoc genere, quam opus erat. Atque ut eam puniret Deus, passus est, sensim vitiatâ anni mensiumque supputandorum verâ ratione, & æquinoctiorum diligenti consideratione neglectâ, eo rem recidere, ut integro prope mense imprudentes plerumque dissideamus ab eo, quem Nicæni Patres præfixerant, die Paschæ. Balduin. de Leg. Const. M. l. i. p. 62, 63.

[k] Bing. Antiq. B. xx. Ch. v. Vol. 9. p. 107. &c. Conf. Ittig. Hist. Conc. Nic. p. 60, 61, 104.

4. Once more, the council's determination concerning this point has not been approved by all moderns, any more than by all of that time. I place some proofs of this at the bottom of the [a] page.

XIV. But the principal determination of the council of Nice relates to the Arian controversy.

1. And the first remark to be made here is, that [b] their decision had not the intended effect; peace and unity were not thereby restored to the churches. Of this we have full assurance from the two ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and Sozomen. The first of which writes to this purpose: 'Eusebius [c] Pamphilus says, that [d] soon after the synod, the Egyptians quarrelled 'among themselves; though he does not say why.—But as we have perceived by several letters, 'which the bishops wrote to one another after the council, the word consubstantial was dis-'agreeable to some. And whilst they indulged too curious inquiries about that expression, 'they raised an intestine war among themselves, which may be said to have been not unlike 'fighting in the dark: for neither side seemed to know why they reproached each other. But 'they who disliked the word consubstantial, supposed that they who approved of it, intended to 'advance the sentiment of Sabellius, or Montanus: and therefore charged them with blasphemy, 'as [e] denying the existence of the Son of God. On the other hand, they who were for main-'taining the term consubstantial, supposing their adversaries to introduce polytheism, charged 'them with a design to revive heathenism. Eustathius bishop of Antioch reproached Eusebius 'with corrupting the Nicene faith. Eusebius answers, that he does not at all depart from that 'faith, and accuseth Eustathius with introducing Sabellianism. By this means they were 'induced to write against one another, as enemies. And though both sides maintained, that [f] 'the Son of God was a distinct person, and had a proper existence, and owned one God in three 'persons, they made a shift, one knows not well how, to differ with each other; nor could they 'live in peace and quietness.' And to the like purpose [g] Sozomen.

The history of the church in the fourth century, fully justifies the observation of those writers. In short, notwithstanding the professions made by many, of a high veneration for councils, men do not value them any farther, than they countenance their own particular opinions; and if they are under no restraints of external force, they contradict their decisions without scruple.

2. No man, or number of men, separate, or united in council, since the times of Christ and his apostles, have any right to decide in matters of faith. It is inconsistent with the respect due to Jesus Christ, to attempt it: unless they can shew themselves to be inspired, and work miracles, to manifest evidently a divine commission. And if any such case as that should happen (which is very unlikely,) I think that what even such persons should propose, must be tried and examined by the doctrine of the gospel, delivered in the New Testament. This is agreeable to many things said by our Lord, particularly Matt. xxiii. 9, 10; "And call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, even Christ." Compare 1 Cor. iii. 11—23.

3. The introducing force and authority in matters of a speculative nature, is subversive of true religion and virtue. For what avail human decisions, when they are not satisfying? If you can bring reason or scripture for any doctrine, men will assent: but [h] to say, that the bishops

[a] Rectius facturos fuisse theologos Nicænos, si Pascha, æque ac Christi festum natale, jussissent eo die celebrari, quo resurrexisse credimus Christum, in quemcunque diem hebdomadis hoc festum incideret, censet Lutherus noster in libro de Conciliis in T. vii. Witteb. Germ. f. 478. Nunc tamen morem tot seculis usitatum migrandum esse, negat. Recte etiam summus ille mathematicus, Jo. Bernullius, in suo ad senatum Basileensem responso, de die, quo celebrandum Pascha, censet, negligi debuisse tam canones Nicænos, quam operosam supputationem astronomicam plenilunii Paschalis. Ejusdem hæc sunt: Melius fuisset, si Protestantes non essent secuti statuta concilii Nicæni, sed quemdam solis diem in principium veris incidentem: e. g. primum post æquinoctium vernum, determinàssent, ac decrevissent, ut eo die annuatim festum Paschatis celebretur. Hac methodo omnes lites tolli possent, quæ superfluis subtilitatibus ortum suum debent. Heumann. Diss. de Vero Paschate. p. 13. not. m.

[b] . . . . quo Arianorum contentio damnata est, cusumque symbolum, quo filius Dei 'genitus,' non 'factus' Patrique 'consubstantialis,' affirmabatur. Verum, neque hac definitione, neque illorum exiliis, qui subscribere renuerunt, finis malo allatus est. Quippe Ariani, tum ultimis Constantini annis, tum in primis sub Constantio, Ariano ipso, vires resumsere, nec uno in concilio prævaluere. Turret. Compend. H. E. p. 33, 34.

[c] Socr. l. i. c. 23. p. 58. A. B. C. D.

[d] Vid. de Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 23.

[e] Ὡς αναιρεσιλας την ὑπαρξιν τε Υἱε τε Θεε. ib. C.

[f] Αμφοτεροι τε λεξοντες ενυποστατον τε και ενυπαρχοντα τον Υἱον ειναι τε Θεε, ἑνα τε Θεον εν τρισιν ὑποστασεσιν ειναι ὁμολογουντες. κ. λ. p. 58. D.

[g] L. ii. c. 18. p. 468. C. D.

[h] Conciliis non majorem, quam Aristoteli, tribuit auctoritatem Danhauerus in Hodosophiâ, p. 129. Utrisque enim ideo fidem habendam, quod, quæ statuerunt, recte statuerunt, & vel Scripturæ sacræ vel rationi convenienter. Heumann. Diss. de vero Pasch. p. 13. not. [m]

of such a council have so declared and determined, is not convincing: therefore it ought not to be expected, that men should confess and act, as if they were convinced. If you make use of any methods, beside those of rational arguments, to induce men to profess and act as you desire, you do what lies in your power to make them lie and prevaricate. So did this council of Nice.

It has been sometimes said, that they shew their moderation in their manner of speaking, concerning the sentence passed upon Arius. But I own I can discern no such thing. There may be art and dissimulation, but there is no real moderation, or sincere kindness in what they write. Whatever the sentence was, they approved of it: if it had not been agreeable to their mind, Constantine would not have banished Arius, or his adherents. Moreover, before the meeting of this council, Alexander and his synod had excommunicated Arius, and banished him from the city of Alexandria.

Thus this council of Nice introduced authority and force in the church, and the affairs of religion. Or, if authority had been introduced before, they now openly countenanced it, and gave it a farther sanction.

This way of acting, may be supposed to have been the chief cause of the ruin of the Christian interest in the east. This and the like determinations of speculative doctrines, and the violent methods, by which they were enforced, may be reckoned to have paved the way for Mahometanism, more than any thing else. By these means ignorance, and hypocrisy, and tedious rituals, came to take place of honesty, true piety, and undissembled, spiritual, and reasonable worship and devotion.

In about three hundred years after the ascension of Jesus, without the aids of secular power, or church-authority, the Christian religion spread over a large part of Asia, Europe, and Africa: and at the accession of Constantine, and convening the council of Nice, it was almost every where, throughout those countries, in a flourishing condition. In the space of another three hundred years, or a little more, the beauty of the Christian religion was greatly corrupted in a large part of that extent, its glory defaced, and its light almost extinguished. What can this be so much owing to, as to the determinations and transactions of the council of Nice, and the measures then set on foot, and followed in succeeding times?

These impositions poison the waters of the sanctuary at the very fountain. They require the ministers of Christ, the officers of his church, to subscribe certain articles upon pain of heavy forfeitures: and a subscription to these articles, whether believed or not, gives a right to preferment. If any subscribe what they are not satisfied about, and so enter into the service of the church (which is very likely to happen,) they gain and hold their offices by the tenure of hypocrisy. How can religion flourish in this way? Will the persons who have so subscribed, (without conviction, or against it,) be sincere and upright ever afterwards? Will they, upon all other occasions, speak the truth without fear or favour, who have once solemnly and deliberately prevaricated? and can others entirely confide in them? or can they heartily reverence them, as upright and disinterested men?

The temptation upon some occasions must be exceeding strong, and many specious things may be offered, to put a fair colour upon unrighteousness. Even an appearance of religion may concur with secular interest, to impose upon the mind, and lead to what is not to be justified. Has a person at great expence of study and labour qualified himself for the service of the church, with a sincere view of usefulness in an important station? how grievous must it be, to be after all disappointed and excluded! If any obstacles lie in the way, there is great danger of compliance, not quite consistent with duty and conscience, provided those bars cannot be removed.

The temptation may be still stronger to some, who are already settled in agreeable stations. How trying is this case! This was the case of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea; he was in a station of great honour and usefulness, beloved by his people, and they by him: moreover he might imagine, and reasonably, that his usefulness as an author, depended much upon his continuance in that station. Without the advantages which he there enjoyed, he could not carry on his various designs for composing useful books, which he hoped might be of extensive service to the Christian religion, in that and future times. Was not this a temptation to sign what he did not approve of?

I beg leave, however, to add here, that I would be cautious of condemning particular persons, whose circumstances I am not exactly acquainted with. Nor do I absolutely condemn Eusebius:

the reason is, that he was present at the drawing up of the Nicene Creed, and declared in what sense he understood the word consubstantial. This is an advantage which may not be allowed to all: when they have not a liberty to explain themselves, it will cause a diversity of case.

Tillemont has these words: 'It [a] was then, fear of banishment, and of the shame of having 'so illustrious an assembly the witness of their ignominy, that induced the Arians to make haste 'to renounce the doctrines that had been condemned, to anathematize them, and subscribe the 'consubstantial faith, after all the other bishops; being led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, to confess 'with the mouth the faith of the church, without having it in the heart, as the event shewed.'

How can any man speak in this manner! how can any man triumph in the falls of his fellow-creatures, who has any respect for the Lord Jesus, any love of truth and sincerity, any tenderness of conscience, any sense of equity and goodness! Those Arians confessed with the mouth, and signed with the hand, what they did not believe. For that they are to be blamed. But how came they to do so? It was owing to a fear of ignominy and banishment. But why were they put in fear? Why was a law made to banish such as did not believe the consubstantial doctrine? They offended, who signed; it is allowed: and are they innocent, who laid before them a temptation to sign? Was there a necessity, that they should be required to sign, whether they believed or not? Can you shew any ground or authority from reason, or from Jesus Christ, whereby you are allowed or enjoined to require your brethren to sign certain speculative articles, whether they believe them or not? Nay, is not this quite contrary to the design and example of the Lord Jesus, who never proposed to men any arguments, but such as were suited to gain the judgment? and who, when many forsook him, who had followed him for a time, took that opportunity, to refer it to the choice of those who still stayed with him, whether [b] "they also would go away?"

If any pretend it to be of importance, that others should sign or profess certain doctrines, supposed by them to be true; I would answer, that sincerity is of yet greater importance. And you ought never to endeavour to secure the interest of speculative points, with the prejudice of what is of greater moment, honesty and integrity.

4. It remains, that when this council met, instead of deciding by their authority, and enforcing by worldly menaces or recompences, any speculative doctrines, they should rather have recommended forbearance and moderation to all parties.

They ought to have advised men to practise love and forbearance one to another, and should have intreated them, if there be any "bowels [c] and mercies," and for the love of Jesus, "to receive [d] one another in love," as the apostle says, "but not to doubtful disputations: that is, to own each other for brethren, and communicate together as Christians, notwithstanding some differences of opinion. Or, if any could not persuade themselves to do this, that yet they should allow each other full liberty to profess their principles, and carry on their worship, according to their own sentiments, in their religious assemblies, in their own way. This at least they should have recommended, and with the utmost earnestness, as altogether reasonable, agreeable to the gospel, and absolutely necessary for the honour of the Christian name. And they should have humbly recommended it the emperor, to take care accordingly, and in his great wisdom to provide, that all who acted peaceably should be protected, in the several cities, where they dwelt: and that all who caused tumults and disturbances, or by any outward act infringed the liberty of their neighbours, on account of diversity of opinion, should be restrained and punished, as the nature of their offence required.

Possibly some may say, that such thoughts as these are founded upon the experience and observation of later ages; and that all this is more than could be reasonably expected of any men, however wise, at that time.

To which I answer, that it is no more than might have been expected: for it is not more than what men are taught by the common principles of equity. The gospel too, teaches and enacts moderation and forbearance, and condemns all imposition on the consciences of men, and all force and violence in things of religion.

Farther, what has been here suggested, is no more than what the Christians had before demanded and expected of heathens in power, as just and reasonable; they were therefore self-condemned in acting otherwise. If it was reasonable, that they should be tolerated and pro-

[a] Le Concile de Nicée, Art. x. near the end. Mem. Tom. vi.
[b] John vi. 67.
[c] Philip. ii. 2.
[d] Rom. xiv. 1.

tected by heathen emperors; much more was it reasonable and evident, that all other sects of Christians should be tolerated and protected by that sect which happened to be the most numerous and powerful.

Finally, for the main part, this is no other than the advice sent[a] by Constantine, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, which the bishops assembled in council should have stood to. Nothing could have been more for their honour, and the interest of religion, than for them to have enforced with all their credit, the sage, and pious, and moderate counsels of the emperor.

I have taken all this freedom, thus to propose these thoughts. But I do not mention them so much by way of blame and censure, as with a view of amendment; that Christians in general may at length be so wise, as to consult the true interest of their religion: and hoping, that they who are in high stations in the church, and have a powerful influence, will improve all opportunities, and use their best endeavours, that "the[b] moderation of Christians may be known unto all men."

CHAP. LXXII.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

I. *A brief account of his life.* II. *His works.* III. *General remarks upon his works.* IV. *Whether he was an Arian?* V. *His character.* VI. *Select passages.* VII. *Four passages concerning the books of the New Testament.* VIII. *Remarks upon those passages.* IX. *Books of the New Testament received by Eusebius himself.* X. *Of the controverted and spurious writings mentioned by him.* XI. *The time of writing St. Matthew's gospel, according to Eusebius.* XII. *The language of St. Matthew's gospel, and of the epistle to the Hebrews.* XIII. *Various readings.* XIV. *Of the canon of the Old Testament, received by this writer.* XV. *General divisions of scripture.* XVI. *Respect for the scriptures.* XVII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. 'EUSEBIUS bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine,' says[c] Jerom, 'a man most studious in the divine 'scriptures, and together with the martyr Pamphilus, very diligent[d] in making a large collection of ecclesiastical writers, published innumerable volumes, some of which are these: The 'Evangelical Demonstration in twenty books: The Evangelical Preparation, in fifteen books: 'Five books of the Theophanie: Ten books of Ecclesiastical History: Chronical Canons of 'universal history, and an Epitome of them: and Of the Difference between the Gospels: Ten 'books upon Isaiah: Against Porphyry, who at the same time wrote in Sicily, thirty books as 'some think, though I have never met with more than twenty: Topics in one book: An Apology 'for Origen in six books: The Life of Pamphilus, in three books: Several small Pieces con'cerning the Martyrs: most learned Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, and many other 'works. He flourished chiefly under the emperors Constantine and Constantius. On account 'of his friendship with the martyr Pamphilus he received his surname from him.'

Eusebius, as is generally thought, and with some good degree of probability, was born at

[a] Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 64. &c. et Socr. l. i. c. 7.

[b] Philip. iv. 5.

[c] Eusebius, Cæsareæ Palæstinæ episcopus, in scripturis divinis studiosissimus, & bibliothecæ divinæ cum Pamphilo martyre diligentissimus pervestigator, edidit infinita volumina, de quibus hæc sunt: Ευαγγελικης Αποδειξεως libri viginti: Ευαγγελικης Προπαρασκευης libri quindecim: Θεοφανιας libri quinque: Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libri decem: Chronicorum Canonum omnimoda historia, & eorum Επιδομη: Et de Evangeliorum Diaphoniâ: In Isaïam libri decem: Et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Siciliâ, ut quidam putant, libri triginta, de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt: Τοπικων liber unus: Απολογιας pro Origene libri sex: De Vita Pamphili libri tres: De Martyribus alia opuscula: Et in centum quinquaginta Psalmos eruditissimi commentarii, & multa alia. Floruit maxime sub Constantino imperatore & Constantio. Et ob amicitiam Pamphili martyris ab eo cognomentum sortitus est. Hieron. de V. I. c. 81.

[d] That interpretation was justified formerly. See p. 116, 117. And it is the sense in which the words were always understood, till very lately. Says Valesius, speaking of Pamphilus: Qui cum literarum sacrarum singulari amore flagraret, omnesque ecclesiasticorum scriptorum libros summo studio conquireret, celeberrimam scholam ac bibliothecam instituit Cæsareæ. De Vit. & Scriptis Euseb. Cæs. sub init.

Cæsarea in Palestine, about [a] the year 270, or, as some [b] think, sooner. We have no account of his parents, or who were his instructors in early life. Nor is there any thing certainly known of his family and relations: for Pamphilus, as is evident, was only a friend. Arius, in a letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, calls our Eusebius his [c] brother. But I do not think, that the word ought to be understood literally. It is not common for two brothers to have one and the same name. Eusebius of Nicomedia, speaking of him [d] of Cæsarea, calls him [d] his lord. And the bishop of Cæsarea calls him of Nicomedia the great [e] Eusebius: but neither says he was related to the other. Arius therefore, it is likely, gives our Eusebius the title of brother of the other Eusebius, as he also was bishop, and they were good friends, and so intimate, that they were both of the same opinion upon the doctrine controverted at that time.

It is somewhat probable, though not certain, that our Eusebius was ordained presbyter by Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea, of whom he has made a very honourable [f] mention. He had a long and happy intimacy with Pamphilus, presbyter in that church, who was imprisoned in the year 307, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in 309. During the time of that imprisonment Eusebius was much with his friend. After the martyrdom of Pamphilus he went to Tyre, where he saw [g] many finish their testimony to Jesus in a glorious manner. From thence, as it seems, he [h] went into Egypt; where too he was a spectator of the sufferings and patience of many of his fellow-christians: where likewise he seems to have been imprisoned. And because he did not suffer, as some others did, it has been insinuated, that [i] he procured his liberty by sacrificing or some other mean compliance, unbecoming a Christian. But that is a general accusation without ground. No one was ever able to specify any mean act of compliance in particular, as appears from Potamon's charge in Epiphanius. If [k] Eusebius had sacrificed, or done any thing like it, he would not have been made bishop of Cæsarea, nor invited to the see of Antioch. Eusebius either made Pamphilus many visits, or was shut up with him in prison: and yet he has never been reproached, that I know of, because he did not suffer with him. In like manner he may have been for some time in prison in Egypt, and released without any thing dishonourable in the [l] affair.

Agapius succeeded Theotecnus in the see of Cæsarea. And it is the more general opinion, that [m] Eusebius succeeded Agapius in 315. But some place [n] Agricolaus between Agapius and him. Nevertheless that will not much [o] protract the time of our author's episcopate. This is certain, that [p] he was bishop of Cæsarea in 320 at the latest. After which we can perceive, that he was present at most of the synods held in that part of the world. He died in the year 339 or 340.

I omit many particulars, desiring to be as concise as possible. If we had Eusebius's life, written by his successor [q] Acacius, we should have the pleasure to be informed of many things which we are now ignorant of.

[a] Natus—circa annum, si divinare liceat, 270. Cav. H. L. in Euseb. Cæs.

[b] Tillemont argues, that he was born about the year 264. Euseb. Art. i. Vid. & Vales. de Vit. & Script. Euseb. Cæs. sub init.

[c] Ευσεβιος, ὁ αδελφος σε εν Καισαρειᾳ. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 5. p. 21. A.

[d] —— τῳ δεσποτῃ μου Ευσεβιῳ. A. Thdrt. l. i. c. 6. in.

[e] ——προς Ευσεβιον τον μεγαν. Cont. Marcell. l. i. p. 18. D.—— αλλα και τον μειζονα Ευσεβιον, κ. λ. ib. p. 20. A.

[f] H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 288. C.

[g] Vid. ib. l. viii. c. 7. p. 299. A.

[h] Ib. c. 8, 9.

[i] Vid. Epiph. H. 67. n. 7. & Athan. Apol. contra Arian. p. 130. F.

[k] Vid. Euseb. in Cav. H. L. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. 18. Vales. de Vit. & Script. Euseb. p. 3. m. Du Pin, Eusébius de Césarée init. Martin. Hank. de Byzant. Hist. Scriptorib. in Vit. Euseb. cap. 120.

[l] I cannot tell, whether it will not be thought too trifling to observe the conduct of the Benedictine editors of St. Athanasius upon this head. Athanasius having said in his Apology, that Eusebius of Cæsarea was accused by some confessors of having sacrificed, they put this note at the bottom of p. 130. Epiphanius ait, Eusebium C. a Polemone Ægyptio objurgatum fuisse——Quæ fusius in Athanasii vitâ agemus. But in their Vit. Ath. p. 21. having cited at length the passage of Epiphanius, they add: Non desunt tamen, qui Eusebium purgare curent a crimine vel suspicione oblati diis sacrificii. Verum nobis ad ulteriora properantibus hæc non licet subtilius explorare. But if Eusebius had been a favourite of theirs, I am apt to think, they would have stayed a while, to offer a word or two in defence of him. And were they not obliged by the fore-mentioned note to be a little more particular?

[m] Eusebii, Cæsariensis episcopi——obitus recte hoc anno a Baronio consignatur. Mortuo Agapio——cum persecutio jam sedata, & pax ecclesiæ reddita esset, Eusebius communi omnium consensu in ejus locum substitutus erat. Alii successorem Agapii ponunt.——Verum, ut observat Valesius,—— Pagi. 340. n. 23.

[n] Defuncto, qui Agapio successerat, Agricolao, quem vel invitâ Valesii chronologiâ retinendum esse putamus, ecclesiæ Cæsariensis episcopatum iniit anno circiter 315. Basn. Ann. 326. n. 18.

[o] See the preceding note.

[p] See Tillemont, in Eusébius de Césarée, sect. ii. Mem. Ecc. Tom. vii.

[q] Vid. Socr. l. ii. c. 4.

II. I must give some account of Eusebius's works: though, for the sake of brevity, I should have been very glad to be excused.

When an author's works are somewhat numerous, learned moderns generally speak in the first place of such as are still in being, then of those which are lost. The order of time pleaseth me best, in this instance at least. I therefore shall speak of Eusebius's writings, extant and not extant all together in the continued order of time, so far as I can attain it. And as I do not reckon myself obliged to give a particular account of all his pieces, mentioned in ancient authors, I refer to[a] several learned moderns, some of which have treated largely of them.

1. An exact edition of Origen's Hexapla. This, so far as I recollect, is very seldom[b] taken notice of by learned moderns in their accounts of Eusebius's works: but I think it should not have been omitted. It is likely, that it was one of our author's first undertakings. He had the assistance of Pamphilus in this work: which therefore we may suppose was finished about the year 306, before that excellent man and martyr came into trouble. I need say nothing of it here, having given an account of it[c] formerly.

2. An Apology for Origen in six books: in five of which he had likewise the assistance of Pamphilus in prison. The sixth was written by Eusebius alone, after the martyrdom of Pamphilus. It was composed therefore in 308 and 309. The first book remains in a Latin translation of Rufinus: I spoke of this work[d] formerly.

3. The Life of Pamphilus in three books, probably written in 309 or 310, but not extant. I have spoken sufficiently of it[e] already.

4. A book of the Martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximin, written about the year 311 or 312. This has been reckoned by some a part of the eighth book of the Ecclesiastical History: but Valesius has more properly placed it by itself, after that book, as a supplement to it.

5. Among Eusebius's Works Jerom mentioned several small pieces concerning the martyrs. And, as Tillemont[f] observes, 'beside that just mentioned, there was another book, which 'Eusebius quotes[g] several times in his Ecclesiastical History. It was a collection of the Acts of 'the ancient martyrs, wherein he had placed at length the history of the martyrs of Lyons in 'the time of Marcus Antoninus: Apollonius the Roman senator in the time of Commodus, with 'his Apology: The Acts of Pionius, martyred at Smyrna, and others.' But of this work, as[h] just hinted, Eusebius inserted several things, by way of extract at least, in his Ecclesiastical History. This collection may have been made in 312 or 313, or soon after.

6. One book against Hierocles, who had made a comparison of Apollonius Tyanæus with our Saviour Jesus Christ: a small piece, not mentioned by Jerom, but undoubtedly genuine, and still extant[i] in the original Greek. It may have been composed in 312 or 313, or sooner; for we do not know the exact time.

7. A confutation of Porphyry in thirty books. Valesius was of opinion, that this work was not composed until after the Ecclesiastical History: because in[k] the sixth book of that work, Eusebius quotes a passage of Porphyry's third book against the Christians, without taking notice of his own answer to him. But that argument does not appear to me decisive. Eusebius had many fair occasions in several of his writings to refer to his Confutation of Porphyry, but has never done so that I remember. Nevertheless we cannot hence conclude, that it was written after all his other works, which is very improbable. Jerom supposes, that Porphyry was living at the same time in Sicily; which is an argument, that he thought this one of our author's most early performances. If it was so, that may have been one reason why it was not much esteemed as being written before Eusebius had attained to all that maturity of knowledge and understanding, by which he was afterwards distinguished. For that reason too he might not be disposed to quote it himself. It is observable, that Apollinarius wrote against Porphyry after him: which may be reckoned an argument, that in this work Eusebius had not fully answered the expectation of the public. Nay, Philostorgius made no scruple to say, that[l] in his books against Por-

[a] H. Vales. de vit. & scriptis Euseb. Cæsar. Tillem. Mem. E. T. vii. Eusebius art v.—viii. Cav. H. L. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 4. T. vi. p. 30. &c. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ec.

[b] It is mentioned by Du Pin, T. ii. p. 3.

[c] See p. 121.

[d] P. 117, 122, 123. [e] P. 118, 119.

[f] Euseb. de Cæs. art. vii.

[g] —— τῃ των μαρτυρων ἡμιν καταλελειπται συναγωγῃ. H. E. l. 5. Procem. —— τῃ των μαρτυρων συναγωγῃ προς ἡμων. ib. c. 4. fin.

[h] See note [g].

[i] Ad. Calcem libr. de Dem. Ev. p. 511.—545.

[k] H. E. l. vi. c. 19.

[l] Ὁτι φησι, Απολλιναριος κατα Πορφυριε γραψας επι πολυ κρατει των ηγωνισμενων Ευσεβιῳ καθ' αυτε. Phil. l. viii. c. 13.

phyry, Apollinarius greatly excelled our author. St. Jerom, as it seems, did not[a] esteem this one of Eusebius's best books. I might farther add: if this voluminous confutation of Porphyry had been written after Eusebius became acquainted with Constantine, it is likely he would have dedicated it to the emperor, and we should have had it distinctly mentioned in the life of Constantine. Le Clerc[b] thought the loss of this work to be the greatest loss we have sustained, as to any writings of this author. And indeed it is very probable, that we of these times should have been pleased to see Porphyry's objections in his own words, as alleged by Eusebius. In other respects, I imagine, it would not have equalled the remaining work of the Evangelical Preparation, or the still extant books of the Demonstration. After all, I do not know the exact time when this work was published; but I am inclined to think, it must have appeared before the council of Nice.

8. Photius speaks of two books of our author, entitled[c] 'A Confutation and Apology, in 'which he proposes several heathen objections, and answers them very well.' This work is not extant; nor do we know the time of writing it. It deserved, however, to be mentioned, as one of the many writings of this bishop, in defence of the Christian religion.

9. Five books of the Theophany, or the coming of the Messiah: mentioned by Jerom; not extant, nor do we clearly know the design of it.

10. Of the difference between the Gospels: mentioned by Jerom, not extant, but undoubtedly designed to reconcile the seeming contrarieties in the accounts of the several evangelists.

11. Ten Evangelical Canons, with a letter to Carpianus, shewing what things are related by four, what by three, what by two, what by one. These canons, with the letter to Carpianus, are usually prefixed to the best editions of the New Testament, and the letter may be also seen[d] elsewhere. We do not know the exact time of this work.

12. A letter to Euphration, mentioned by[e] Athanasius, and certainly written before the council of Nice.

13. St. Jerom says, that[f] Eusebius and others had largely explained the first epistle to the Corinthians. But whether he intends a distinct work I cannot tell. However, Tillemont's expressions are, that[g] he made a large Commentary upon that epistle.

14. Of the Fruitfulness of the Ancients: expressly mentioned by our author in[h] his Evangelical Preparation, and probably referred to, and intended by him in a passage of the[i] Demonstration.

15. The Evangelical Preparation, in fifteen books, as mentioned by Jerom, still extant. This work, as well as the Chronicle, and the History, are with great justice highly commended by[k] Joseph Scaliger.

16. The Evangelical Demonstration in twenty books. Which work Eusebius promiseth at the end of the former. The last ten books are lost. And until lately the beginning of the first book, and the conclusion of the tenth, were missing: but were published by Fabricius[l] with great applause in 1725. This work Eusebius evidently mentions at the beginning[m] of his Ecclesiastical History, and therefore it was first written.

17. An Epistle[n] to the church at Cæsarea, concerning his subscribing the Nicene Creed.

18. An Oration in the twentieth year of Constantine's[o] reign, 325, pronounced in the presence of Constantine and the fathers of the Nicene council. Not extant.

19. The Chronicle, in two books: or as Jerom said, Chronical Canons of Universal History, and their Epitome. It is likely, that by their Epitome he means the second book, which was shorter than the first, and represented in a summary way the substance of it. In another place

[a] Fortissimos libros contra Porphyrium scribit Apollinaris. Ecclesiasticam pulchre Eusebius historiam texuit. Ad Pammach. & Ocean. Ep. 44. al. 65. p. 342. supr. m. Vide ejusdem. Præf. ad Dan.

[b] Bib. Univ. T. x. p. 495.

[c] Ευσεβιου ελεγχω και απολογιας λογοι δυο. κ. λ. Cod. 13. p. 11.

[d] Vid. Fab. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 97. &c.

[e] De Synodis, c. 17. p. 730. E.

[f] Origenes —— Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis —— latissimo hanc epistolam interpretati sunt. Hieron. Ep. 31. al. 52. p. 243. f.

[g] As before, sect. 10.

[h] —— εν οις επραγματευσαμεθα περι της των παλαιων πολυπαιδιας. Præp. E. l. vii. c. 8. p. 310. f.

[i] Dem. l. i. c. 9. p. 33. C.

[k] Taceo auctoris multiplicem eruditionem —— summam vetustatis peritiam, qui, in omnibus priscorum auctorum monimentis peregrinatus, illum divinum προπαρασκευης thesaurum collegit. Prolegom. in Chr. p. 18.

[l] Vid. Syllab. auctor. de Veritate Relig. Christian.

[m] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 2. fin.

[n] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 23, 24. Thdrt. l. i. c. 12.

[o] Vid. de Vit. C. l. i. in Procem. & Vales. Annot.

this work is called by Jerom,[a] Chronological Canons. The original is lost, except some fragments preserved in Greek authors. We have only a Latin version of Jerom, who in this, as well as other things, is both an author and interpreter. His additions relate chiefly to the affairs of the western part of the Roman empire, with which Eusebius was little acquainted. The Chronicle was published in 325, as Pagi[b] says. And Jerom assures us, that[c] it came down to the twentieth year of Constantine. Nevertheless Eusebius refers to it in[d] his Preparation. Tillemont therefore thinks there must have been two editions. But perhaps in the Preparation he only speaks of the work, as then in hand, though not published: which may well be the case sometimes with an author who writes much. The Chronicle was a work of prodigious labour and learning.

20. The Evangelical History, in ten books, published, as it[e] seems, in 326. Du Pin having shewn the importance of this work adds: 'It must be owned however, that[f] Eusebius's History 'has not all the perfection which one could wish: that it is not written in an agreeable manner: 'that it is not exact: that the author often enlarges on things that might be lightly passed over, 'and mentions other things succinctly, which should have been related at large.' Tillemont says: 'Notwithstanding[g] some defects, which may be observed, it will be always a most valuable 'and most important work, and most useful to the church. Without Eusebius we should scarce 'have had any knowledge of the history of the first ages of Christianity, or the authors who 'wrote in that time. All the Greek authors of the fourth century, who undertook to write the 'history of the church, have begun where Eusebius ended, as having nothing considerable to 'add to his labour.'

21. The Topics, so called in Jerom's catalogue: consisting of two books, the second of which is still extant in Greek, somewhat altered, with Jerom's version, who says, 'that[h] after 'the Ecclesiastical History, and Chronological Canons, Eusebius published a Geographical 'Description of Judea, according to the divisions of the several tribes, with a map of Jerusalem, 'and the temple, and proper descriptions: and at last this small book, containing the names of 'the cities, mountains, and rivers of the country, according to the order of the letters of the 'alphabet.' It was a kind of dictionary of places mentioned in the scriptures.

22. A Treatise concerning Easter, mentioned[i] by Eusebius in the Life of Constantine, and by Jerom in his Catalogue, in the article[k] of Hippolytus. This work is not extant. It might be written about the year 334.

23. An[l] Oration in praise of Constantine, still extant, spoken at Constantinople in the emperor's presence, before[m] the end of the year 305. It is as much an argument for the truth of the Christian religion, as a panegyric upon the emperor. It is, in my opinion, a fine performance: and has been already commended by Du Pin[n] for its eloquence and politeness, as well as on other accounts.

24. A Description of the[o] Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and its ornaments, and the presents sent thither by the emperor: composed in 335.

25. Five books against Marcellus: or, as they are generally divided and entitled, Two books against Marcellus, and three books of Ecclesiastical Theology, written in 336: and Eusebius handles his antagonist very roughly. Marcellus, he says, teaches Sabellianism, and[p] thereby apostatizes from Christ and the grace of the gospel. Marcellus revives[q] the impious and atheistical heresy of Sabellius. His heresy exceeds[r] all the impious heresies that ever were, and the like.

26. The Life of Constantine, in four books, written in the latter part of the year 337, or the beginning of 338. Some few have denied this[s] to be a work of Eusebius: but certainly without all reason. It has many internal characters of genuineness; for it is entirely in Eusebius's

[a] Post temporum canones. Præf. ad lib. de Loc. Hebr.
[b] An. 325. n. 51.
[c] Vid. Euseb. Chr. p. 4, & 181.
[d] —— εν τοις πονηθεισιν ἡμιν χρονικοις κανοσιν. Pr. E. l. x. p. 484. D.
[e] Pagi Ann. 326. n. 8.
[f] Bibl. T. ii. p. 5, 6.
[g] Euseb. vi. Mem. T. vii.
[h] Hier. Pr. in libr. de situ & nominib. locor. Hebr. T. 2. p. 382, 383.
[i] De V. C. l. iv. c. 34, 35.
[k] De V. I. c. 61.
[l] De V. C. l. iv. c. 33, & 46.
[m] Vid. Pagi Ann. 335. iii. & 336. iii.
[n] Ubi supr. p. 4. a.
[o] Vid. de V. C. l. iv. c. 33, & 46.
[p] —— της δε εν Χριςω γνωσεως τε και χαριτος ηλλοτριωμενος. Contra Marcell. l. i. p. 5. A.
[q] —— ως αθεα και δυσσεβη τολμωντα. De Ec. Th. l. i. c. 5. p. 63. C. D.
[r] —— καινοτερον η καια πασαν αθεον αιρεσιν. l. ii. p. 33. C.
[s] Vid. Pagi Ann. 340. n. 25.

manner, and here are letters of the emperor to the author. Not only [a] Socrates, but [b] Photius also, and other ancient writers, speak of it as his. Jerom's silence is of no importance. He owns, that Eusebius wrote many books beside those expressly mentioned by him. This work has been generally reckoned [c] rather a panegyric than [d] history.

27. A Commentary upon the 150 Psalms, mentioned and commended by Jerom in his Catalogue: but wanting in late ages, till Montfauçon in the year 1705 published it as far as the 119th Psalm. That learned writer says, there is not any the least reason to doubt the genuineness of what is published by him. Eusebius has no where in his remaining works quoted this Commentary: for which reason it may be argued, that [e] it is one of his last works. It is probable, that it was written [f] some good while after the respect shewn to our Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem, in 326 or 327.

28. A Commentary upon the prophecies of Isaiah, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue, and elsewhere: published likewise by Montfauçon. It seems to me, that some things not Eusebius's have been inserted in these Commentaries, especially in that upon Isaiah, as we now have it, taken from the Greek Chains. Beside some things inserted, probably, afterwards, there seem likewise to be observations, or interpretations, taken by the author from Origen, or other commentators, more ancient than himself.

29. Fourteen small pieces in [g] Latin, published by James Sirmond, who makes no doubt of their being genuine. Cave [h] was rather inclined to think, they were written by Eusebius Emisenus. Fabricius [i] dislikes that opinion, and is willing, that our Eusebius should be reckoned author of them.

(1.) The first two are against Sabellius. 'These, says [k] Tillemont, manifestly oppose Marcellus, and may have been written by Eusebius in the latter part of his life.' On the other hand it may be said: What occasion had our author to write any thing against Marcellus, beside the five books before mentioned? I have sometimes suspected, that Eusebius's known aversion for Sabellianism induced some transcriber of these pieces, to put his name at the head of them.

It is generally allowed, that they are translated from the Greek. But here are abundance of studied antitheses, and some [l] jingles of Latin words, as if they were written in that language. The empire was become [m] Christian, when these pieces were written.

(2.) The third piece is a homily concerning the Resurrection, by Tillemont reckoned not worthy of Eusebius. However, here [n] is a good argument for a future state from reason.

(3.) The fourth, upon the Resurrection and Ascension, is, in the main, a fine performance. The author [o] argues exceeding well for the truth of Christ's resurrection, and of the Christian religion from the former character of Christ's apostles, from the gifts of the Spirit poured down upon them, and from their conduct and success after the crucifixion of Jesus.

(4.) I shall give no distinct account of the rest of these pieces. I shall, however, refer to some remarkable things in them.

(5.) Here are some observations [p] upon the third chapter of Zecharia, and the beginning of the book of Job, that deserve the notice of the curious.

(6) Moses, that [q] author says, was as a lamp or candle in a house: but Christ as the sun enlightens the world.

(7.) Here are references to [r] the first chapter of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. The [s]

[a] Socr. l. i. c. 1. & l. v. c. 22. p. 285.
[b] Cod. 127. p. 305.
[c] Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 1. p. 5. A. B. & Thdrt. l. i. c. 13. in.
[d] Vid. ejusd. Prælim. cap. 3. sect. i. ii.
[e] Vid. Montf. Prælim. cap. 2. sect. i.
[f] Ib. c. 3. sect. vi. [g] Ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. iv. init.
[h] H. L. in Euseb. [i] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 103.
[k] As before, sect. ix.
[l] Mortuus est, ut occideret mortem. Condemnatus est, ut condemnaret corruptelam, p. 5. E. Misit filium obedientem, ut salvaret hominem inobedientem. ib. C.
[m] Adorant nobiscum & reges & judices p. 21. C. Si autem reges, exercitus, & leges pro religione sunt. p. 22. C.
[n] P. 10. D. E. F.
[o] ——Unde & majora servata sunt mirabilia post mortem, quam ea quæ ante mortem sunt facta.——Si enim stant eorum templa, non resurrexit.—p. 17. C. Putas, in quinquaginta diebus piscator rusticanus ex vico studuit omnem linguam? p. 21. E. Vid. & F. G. H. Cogitaverunt autem piscatores ad mundum exire——sine literis, ad eruditos imperiti, ignobiles ad ingenuos? p. 22. A. B. C. Præconum autem abjectio, ignobilitas, nulla doctrina, egestas, numerus parvus. ib. D. E.
[p] P. 24. E. &c. p. 25. B. E.
[q] Quid valuit lucerna Moÿses?——Si autem unum populum per signa non suasit, Jesus autem per crucem, per scandalum, & non per signa aut prodigia, mundum transtulit ad Dei cultum. Moÿses lucerna ne quidem uni domui sufficit: Jesus autem sol justitiæ. p. 20. D.
[r] P. 44. A. B.
[s] In Actibus enim scriptum est Apostolorum. p. 21. A. 22. A. & passim.

Acts of the apostles are much and often quoted. And [a] the gospels are called sacred and divine.

(8). He speaks [b] of the gospels, the Acts, and Paul's epistles, as open to be read by all who please.

(9.) He expresses a great respect for the scriptures, and is for [c] having all controversies in things of religion decided by them.

III. Of all Eusebius's works the Ecclesiastical History is the most valuable: but, as it seems to me, the least accurate of all his large works, that are come down to us in any good measure entire. Some faults may be owing to haste, others to defect of critical skill, others to want of candour and impartiality. For our great author, as well as most other men, had his affections. He was favourable to some things, and persons, and prejudiced against others.

1. He was a great admirer of Origen: in which he was in the right. Nevertheless, he should not have therefore omitted all notice of Methodius, because [d] he was Origen's adversary.

2. He had a great zeal for the Christian religion: and so far, undoubtedly, he was in the right. Nevertheless he should not have attempted to support it by weak and false arguments: which a good cause never needs.

3. Agbarus's letter to our Saviour, and our Saviour's letter to Agbarus, copied at length in our author's Ecclesiastical [e] History, are much suspected by many learned men not to be genuine.

4. It is wonderful, that Eusebius should think [f] Philo's Therapeutæ were Christians, and that [g] their ancient writings should be our gospels and epistles.

5. Eusebius [h] supposes Josephus to speak of the enrolment at the time of our Lord's nativity, before the death of Herod the Great, related Luke ii. 1—4; whereas, indeed, the Jewish historian speaks of that made after the removal of Archelaus, which is also referred to in Acts v, 37.

6. Our author [i] does justly allege Josephus, as confirming the account which St. Luke gives, Acts xii. of the death of Herod Agrippa. But where Josephus says, that 'Agrippa [k] casting his 'eyes upwards saw an owl sitting upon a cord over his head:' our ecclesiastical historian says, he 'saw an angel over his head.' I know not what good apology can be made for this.

7. He transcribes [l] Josephus's account of Theudas, as confirming what is said Acts v. 36; whereas what Josephus says is [m] reckoned to be a considerable objection against the Evangelical History.

8. In the Demonstration he transcribes a passage of Josephus relating to the wonderful signs preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, and then adds, 'These [n] things he writes, as happening 'after our Saviour's passion:' though they did not happen till above thirty years afterwards. To the like purpose in the [o] Chronicle. And in [p] the Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius transcribes largely that passage of Josephus, as giving an account of the signs before the Jewish war. Concerning this matter may be seen [q] Joseph Scaliger.

9. If the testimony to Jesus, as the Christ, had been from the beginning, in Josephus's works, it is strange, it should never have been quoted by any ancient apologist for Christianity; and now in the beginning of the fourth century be thought so important, as to be quoted by our author [r] in two of his works, still remaining.

10. There is a [s] work, ascribed to Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius, in the Preparation, and Demonstration. If that work is not [t] genuine, (as I think it is not) it was a forgery of his own time. And the quoting it, as he does, will be reckoned an instance of want of care, or skill, or candour and impartiality.

11. I formerly complained [u] of Eusebius, for not giving us at length the passage of Caius,

[a] —— a sanctis Evangeliis & vere divinis. p. 42. G.

[b] Hi sunt gustus prædicationum Domini. Plena autem Evangelia sunt volentibus bene legere: pleni Actus Apostolorum sunt, & epistolæ Pauli. p. 23. D.

[c] Utinam solis scripturis contenti essemus, et lis nulla foret. p. 4. F. Quæ ergo debent quæri? Quæ invenimus in scripturis posita. Quæ autem in scripturis non invenimus posita, ea non quæramus. Si enim oporteret nobis esse cognita, utique spiritus sanctus posuisset ea in scripturis. Non enim sumus sapientiores spiritu sancto. P. 6. D. Vid. & G.

[d] See before, p. 98, 99, 101.

[e] L. i. c. 13. p. 31—35.

[f] L. ii. c. 17. p. 53. & seq. [g] P. 55. D.

[h] H. E. l. c. 5. [i] L. ii. c. 10.

[k] Josephus's account, with remarks, may be seen in Part i. of this work. B. i. ch. i. sect. vi. [l] L. ii. c. 11.

[m] See Part i. of this work. B. ii. ch. vii.

[n] Dem. Ev. l. viii. p. 402. D.

[o] Chr. p. 158. infr. m. [p] H. E. l. iii. c. 8.

[q] Prolegom. p. 12. m. Et Animadv. in Euseb. p. 186. Vid. & Van Dale de Orac. Diss. p. 39, 40.

[r] Hist. Ec. l. i. c. xi. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 124.

[s] Περι της εκ λογιων φιλοσοφιας.

[t] Conf. Van Dale de Orac. Diss. i. p. 14, 15.

[u] See Vol. i. p. 483, 488.

concerning the scriptures of the New Testament, or however of St. Paul's epistles. But he abridged that, and afterwards transcribed at length several passages [a] of an anonymous writer of little worth, concerning the followers [b] of Artemon. It may be reckoned somewhat probable, that Eusebius's aversion for Sabellianism, and every thing a-kin to it, led him to pay so much respect to that author.

12. I add no more at present. Many observations upon this author's works may be seen in Joseph Scaliger's Prolegomena to the Chronicle. Dr. Heumann intended [c] to write remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History; but I do not know, that he has published them: if he had, I should have read them with pleasure.

IV. It has often been disputed, whether Eusebius was an Arian. It may be proper therefore for me to refer to some authors upon this question. The ancients were not all of one mind here. Socrates, in the fifth century, inserted an Apology [d] for him in his Ecclesiastical History.

Among moderns it is needless to mention Baronius, whose antipathy to this writer is well known. Petavius [e] readily places Eusebius amongst Arians. Bull [f] vindicates him. Cave [g] and Le Clerc [h] had a warm controversy upon this head. Cave allows, 'That [i] there are many 'unwary and dangerous expressions to be found in his writings.' 'That [k] he has at best doubt-'ful and ambiguous expressions in this controverted doctrine:' 'and that [l] he was reckoned to 'be an Arian by Athanasius, and divers others his contemporaries, as well as others in the latter 'part of the fourth century, and afterwards.' Still he says, he [m] did not hold the peculiar doctrines of Arianism. Fabricius [n] and Du Pin [o] do not much differ from Cave. Valesius [p] too was favourable to our author. G. J. Vossius says, his [q] works would sufficiently manifest him to have been an Arian, if the ancients had been silent about it. Of the same opinion was [r] James Gothofred. Tillemont is clear, that [s] Eusebius shewed himself an Arian by his actions and his writings. Montfaucon says the same thing [t] exactly; and earnestly, and at large, argues on this side of the question; and that he shewed himself to be an Arian as much in his writings after the council of Nice, as before it. As for his subscribing the Nicene Creed, he supposes, that [u] Eusebius was moved by worldly considerations, and that he did not subscribe sincerely. Which is grievous to think: better had it been, that the bishops of that council had never met together, than that they should have tempted, and prevailed upon a Christian bishop, or any one else, to prevaricate, and act against conscience. Our blessed Lord has pronounced a woe upon those, by whom offences come. Matt. xviii. beg. And I am apt to think, that in the end his authority will be found superior to that of the most respected of his followers.

Pagi [x] thought this to be a very difficult question.

I presume it is not requisite that I should deliver my own opinion; especially as I have not room to say what would be sufficient to the purpose: and in the writers already referred to, may be found very good observations.

I once suspected, that in examining this question, many learned men were under a bias. As

[a] H. E. l. v. c. 28.

[b] See those passages with remarks upon them, Vol. i. p. 485—488.

[c] —— alio tempore, si vita suppeditat, copiosum exhibiturus tibi judicium de Eusebii Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ, non perfunctorie a me perlectâ. Heumann. Epist. Miscell. T. ii. p. 25.

[d] L. ii. c. 21. [e] Dogm. Theol. T. 2. l. i. cap. xi. xii.

[f] Def. Fid. Nic.

[g] Lives of the Fathers, in English. T. ii. & H. L. & Diss. tertia. De Eusebii Cæsariensis Arianismo & Epist. Apolog. ad calcem. H. L.

[h] See Bib. Univ. T. x. p. 379, &c. and Epistolæ Criticæ in the 3d vol. of his Ars Critica.

[i] See Life of Eusebius, in English, sect. xxii. To the like purpose in the Diss. before referred to, p. 43. a. m. Oxon. ——multa scriptis ejus inesse incautius, durius, periculosius dicta——sed hic pedem figo, hoc in me probandum recipio, Eusebium non fuisse Arianum.

[k] Life of Eusebius, as before, sect. xxii.

[l] In veteribus primas tenent Athanasius, Eustathius Antiochenus, Marcellus Ancyranus, Epiphanius, Hilarius, Hieronymus, &c. Diss. iii. p. 43. a. f. [m] See note [l]

[n] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 32. [o] Bib. Ec. T. ii. p. 7.

[p] Vid. de Vit. & Scrip. Euseb. Cæs.

[q] De Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 17.

[r] Vid. Not. seu Dissert. in Philostorg. lib. i. c. 8. p. 28. &c.

[s] See Eusebius de Cæs. Art. xii. M. E. T. vii.

[t] Arianum probant tam gesta quam scripta. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. cap. vi. sect. 17.

[u] Objicere solent qui Eusebii partes tutantur, ipsum in Synodo Nicænâ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ subscripsisse.——Quare id non puto esse tanti ad ejus defensionem. Quid enim exoneratus metu fecisset, experiundi potestas non fuit. Id in Præl. cap. vi. sect. 12. Ab. exordio enim Arianismi ad obitum usque cum Arianis concordissime vixit, nascenti hæresi nomen dedit; in Nicænâ Synodo, quantum licuit, catholicis obstitit. Sed qui adprime calleret concedere tempori, demum cessit & subscripsit. Sic enim suadebat timor, non diuturni magister officii. Quâ enim mente id egerit, sibi subditis populis sic enarravit, ut sibi pristina repetendi, sicubi liceret, aditum reliquerit. ib. sect. xvii.

[x] Sed prorsus incertum, an Arianis vel orthodoxis annumerandus sit—Hankius refert—tandemque concludit, viâ tutissimâ videri illos incedere, qui post Synodum Nicænam Eusebium Arianum fuisse, neque negantibus, neque affirmantibus accedentes, judicium suum suspendunt. Tot ambagibus hæc quæstio intricata est! Pagi Ann. 325. n. xxxii.

Eusebius was so eminent a man, and well acquainted with the writings of primitive Christians, they might be unwilling to have it thought, that he held a different sentiment upon the doctrine of the Trinity from what they judged to be right. But now I am desirous to drop that surmise, and to allow, that there is some real difficulty in deciding this question: for surely there must be on both sides, men wise enough to guard against prejudice. However, in this I am clear, that the principles of religion may be learned from reason and scripture: and that we ought not to pay too much regard to any man's authority, how great soever he may be. For what Arnobius says gloriously of the Christian religion, may be said of every important truth: it [a] trusts to its own evidence, and stands firm upon its own bottom; whether any man embrace it or not.

V. This author was a witness of the sufferings of the Christians in the early part of his life; and afterwards saw the splendor of the church under the first Christian emperors. Like most other great men, he has met with good report and ill report. His [b] learning, however, and knowledge of the scriptures, have been universally allowed. 'It appears from his works,' says [c] Tillemont, 'that he read all sorts of Greek authors, whether philosophers, historians, or divines, 'of Egypt, Phœnicia, Asia, Europe, and Africa.' With a very extensive knowledge of literature he seems to have had the agreeable accomplishments of a courtier. He was both a bishop, and a man of the world: a great author, and a fine speaker. He must have had a good education, though we have no particular account of it. We plainly perceive from his writings, that through the whole course of his life he was studious and diligent; insomuch, that it is wonderful, how he should have leisure to write so many large and elaborate works, of different kinds; beside the discharge of the duties of his function, and beside his attendance at court, at synods, and the solemnities of dedicating churches. He was acquainted with all the great and learned men of his time; and had access to the libraries at [d] Jerusalem, and [e] Cæsarea: which advantage he improved to the utmost. Some may wish he had not joined with the Arian leaders in the hard treatment that was given to Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, Athanasius of Alexander, and Marcellus of Ancyra. But it should be considered, that the Christian bishops in general, after the conversion of Constantine, seem to have thought, that they had a right to depose and banish all ecclesiastics, who did not agree with them upon the points of divinity controverted at that time. Finally, though there may be some things exceptionable in his writings and conduct, I am persuaded, notwithstanding [f] what some may say, that he was a good as well as great man. His zeal for the Christian religion, his affection for the martyrs, his grateful respect for his friend Pamphilus, his diligence in collecting excellent materials, and in composing useful works for the benefit of mankind, his [g] caution and scrupulousness in not vouching for the truth of Constantine's story of the apparition of the cross, as well as other things, fully satisfy me of this.

Du Pin [h] says, 'that Eusebius seems to have been very disinterested, very sincere, a great 'lover of peace, of truth, and religion. Though he had close alliances with the enemies of 'Athanasius, he appears not to have been his enemy, nor to have had any great share in the 'quarrels of the bishops of that time. He was present at the councils, where unjust things were 'transacted against Eustathius and Athanasius; but we do not discern, that he shewed signs 'of passion himself, or that he was the tool of other men's passions. He was not author of new 'creeds.....he only aimed to reconcile and re-unite parties. He did not abuse the interest he 'had with the emperor to raise himself, nor to ruin his enemies, as did Eusebius of Nicomedia; 'but he improved it for the benefit of the church.'

VI. I have omitted many descriptions of the nature and design of the Christian religion, to be found in the primitive writers, proofs of their good sense, and just sentiments of religion. But I think it not proper to pass by every thing of that kind in this celebrated bishop of Cæsarea.

1. The title of the fourth chapter of the first book of the Ecclesiastical History is to this purpose: 'That the religion published by Jesus Christ to all nations, is neither new nor strange.'

'For though,' says [i] he, 'without controversy, we are but of late, and the name of Christians 'is indeed new, and has not long obtained over the world; yet our manner of life, and the prin-

[a] Suis illis contenta est viribus, & veritatis propriæ fundaminibus nititur: nec spoliatur vi suâ, etiamsi nullum habeat vindicem. Arnob. l. iii. in.

[b] —— ανηρ των θειων γραφων και των παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητων και συγγραφεων πολυμαθεστατος ισως. Sozom. l. i. c. 1. p. 401. A.

[c] Euseb. de Cès. Art. i.

[d] Vid. H. Ecc. l. vi. c. 20.

[e] L. vi. c. 32.

[f] —— qui si quantum eruditionis, tantum sinceræ fidei laudem tulisset, vix parem admitteret. Montfaucon. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in PS. init.

[g] See before, p. 330.

[h] As before, p. 10.

[i] H. E. l. i. c. 4. p. 15. B. C. & 16.

'ciples of our religion, have not been lately devised by us, but were instituted and observed, if I 'may so say, from the beginning of the world, by good men, accepted of God, from those natural 'notions which are implanted in men's minds. This I shall shew in the following manner: It 'is well known, that the nation of the Hebrews is not new, but distinguished by its antiquity. 'They have writings containing accounts of ancient men; few indeed in number, but very 'eminent for piety, justice, and every other virtue. Of whom some lived before the flood, others 'since, sons and grandsons of Noah; particularly Abraham, whom the Hebrews glory in as the 'father and founder of their nation. And if any one, ascending from Abraham to the first man, 'should affirm, that all of them who were celebrated for virtue, were Christians in reality, though 'not in name, he would not speak much beside the truth. For what else does the name of 'Christian denote, but a man, who by the knowledge and doctrine of Jesus Christ is brought to 'the practice of sobriety, righteousness, patience, fortitude, and the religious worship of the one 'and only God over all. About these things they were no less solicitous than we are; but they 'practised not circumcision, nor observed sabbaths, any more than we: nor had they distinctions 'of meats nor other ordinances, which were first appointed by Moses.—Whence it is apparent, 'that ought to be esteemed the first and most ancient institution of religion, which was observed 'by the pious about the time of Abraham, and has been of late published to all nations, by the 'direction and authority of Jesus Christ.'

2. After the same manner, our author expresseth himself [a] in the second chapter of the Evangelical Demonstration, published by Fabricius. 'I have already shewn in the Evangelical 'Preparation, that Christianity is neither heathenism nor Judaism; but is a peculiar form of 'religion, neither new, nor absurd and unreasonable, but most ancient, observed by and well 'known to those who lived before Moses, who were dear to God, and renowned for piety and 'virtue. Nevertheless it will be proper here to shew briefly, what is heathenism, what Judaism. 'Judaism may be defined to be a republic established according to the law of Moses, subject to 'the one supreme God. As for heathenism, it may be said to be a superstition, consisting of 'the worship of many gods, according to the rites of several nations. What then shall we say 'of those men before Moses, and before Judaism, who were dear to God, of whom also Moses 'makes mention, as Enoch, to whom he bears testimony, that "he pleased God." Gen. v. '22, 24. And Noah, of whom he says, "he was a just man in his generation." Gen. vi. 9. 'And Seth and Japheth——And beside these, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Job, and others, 'who followed the same course of life. Were they Jews or heathens? They cannot be said to 'have been Jews, since the law of Moses was not yet delivered.—Nor can they be reckoned 'heathens, since they were not involved in the superstition of polytheism.—Wherefore there 'must be a third religion, neither Judaism nor heathenism, the most [b] ancient institution, and 'the most ancient philosophy, which has been lately declared to all men throughout the world. 'He therefore who forsakes Judaism or heathenism, and becomes a Christian, embraces that law 'and course of life, which had been followed by the ancient patriarchs, friends of God: which [c] 'indeed had long lain dormant, but has been now revived by our Lord and Saviour, agreeably to 'the predictions of Moses, and the rest of the prophets.'

3. He expresseth himself again to the like purpose, in the fifth chapter of the same book of the Demonstration; where he observes, that the law of Moses was suited to the one nation of the Jews only, and them living in their own land. For it could not be obeyed by the Jews themselves in foreign and distant countries, much less by all nations of the earth. I say, having observed these things, he adds: 'The law and [d] course of life instituted by our Saviour Jesus 'Christ, is a revival of the ancient religion before Moses, according to which Abraham the friend 'of God, and others before him, lived.'

4. Again, in the Preparation he largely shews, 'That [e] Abraham, and good men before him, 'had a freer and more rational religion than that of Moses, which contained ordinances about 'the sabbath, and annual festivals, and a multitude of rules about meats and drinks, and bodily

[a] Vid. Fabric. de Verit. Relig. Christian. p. 11, 12, 13.

[b] —— παλαιοτατον ευσεβειας πολιτευμα, και αρχαιοτατη μεν τις φιλοσοφια. κ. λ. ib. p. 14.

[c] —— μακρον εφησυχασαντα χρονον, αυθις ανενεωσατο. ibid.

[d] Τοιουτος δε πεφηνεν ὁ προς τȣ σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησȣ Χριςȣ νενομοθετημενος νομος τε και βιος την παλαιοτατην και πρεσβυτεραν Μωσεως ευσεβειαν ανανεȣμενος. κ. λ. Dem. Ev. p. 9. C.

[e] Ἑβραιοι δε πρεσβυτεροι Μωσεως——ελευθερον και ανειμενον ευσεβειας κατωρθȣν τροπον, βιῳ μεν τῳ κατα την φυσιν κεκοσμημενοι. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 6. p. 304. D.

'purifications, troublesome to observe. The [a] ancestors of the Jews followed right reason, and 'were truly pious:' that is, I think, the patriarchal religion consisted of those principles and duties, which are reasonable in themselves, without a multitude of positive appointments; which too, undoubtedly, is the character of the Christian religion.

5. He elsewhere speaks of true religion, as the [b] divine philosophy: 'Jesus Christ,' he says, 'was [c] no impostor, but a philosopher, and truly religious.' Again, 'The [d] Christ of God is 'the Saviour and enlightener of all nations, a teacher of piety, an example of sobriety, the cap-'tain of righteousness, the author of all virtue and right knowledge of God.'

6. Christ's apostles, when they went abroad to convert the world, did not conceal his inglorious death: but related that, as well as his miracles and [e] philosophical discourses. And through the doctrine [f] of Christ, the church of God all over the world has been taught to offer thanksgivings and reasonable services, without the smoke of burnt-offerings.

7. He asserts free-will very strongly. He says, that [g] right reason is given to men with a power to choose and act, according to the light and instruction afforded them, and thereby to intitle themselves to great recompences.

8. He says, 'that [h] Christ gave like gifts to Judas with the other apostles; that once our 'Saviour had good hopes of him, on account of the power of free-will. For Judas was not of 'such a nature, as rendered his salvation impossible. Like the other apostles, he might have 'been instructed by the Son of God, and might have been a sincere and good disciple.'

9. He thinks, that [i] by the law of the Lord, so much commended and extolled in the book of Psalms, may be meant the law of nature, binding all men.

10. His explication [k] of Isa. lxiii. 1—6. deserves to be considered by the curious.

11. He seems to say, that Christ is our propitiation, as he has taught us to propitiate for ourselves, and expiate our sins by repentance and new obedience, only offering reasonable sacrifices. Commenting upon Psal. lxix. 31. 'In [l] like manner our Saviour says in the words before 'us, I offer not a sensible bullock, but a pure and unbloody sacrifice, which I have appointed in 'my church, to be offered by a ministry that has neither fire nor blood; which will be more 'acceptable to God, than the bullock appointed by Moses. Therefore it is said, "I will magnify 'him with thanksgiving. This shall please the Lord more than a young bullock that has horns 'and hoofs." And [m] indeed the high-priests, and the whole nation of the Jews would have 'obtained forgiveness, and the expiation of their sins, if embracing the new and salutary 'covenant, they had offered such a sacrifice.'

12. He does sometimes handsomely enumerate our Saviour's miracles,[n] related in the gospels.

13. Eusebius has frequent occasion in his works, to observe the vast progress of the gospel in the world, which he does in a very agreeable manner, shewing how great a reformation it had made in the world, in respect to polytheism, idolatry, human sacrifices, polygamy, incestuous marriages, and every kind of dissoluteness. He speaks of the gospel's having been carried by the [o] apostles or their successors, not only to Rome, but into Persia, Armenia, Parthia, Scythia, India, Britain. So in one place. In another [p] he mentions Persians, Scythians, Indians,

[a] —— και προ των εγγραφων αυτω νομων, πλειους ηδη των προπατορων ορθοις λογισμοις, ευσεβειας αρξη καλεκομηθησαν. ib. c. 7. p. 305. C.

[b] —— ηγει σωφρονειν ταξαμενος, και τον εαυτω βιον αναθεινα τη κατα Θεον φιλοσοφια. In Ps. p. 314. A.

[c] —— Φιλοσοφος αρα, και αληθως ευσεβης, πολλω δει πλανης και γοης, ομολογοιτ' αν ο σωτηρ και κυριος ημων. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 127. A.

[d] —— σωτηρ και φωστηρ των εθνων απαντων, διδασκαλος ευσεβειας, σωφροσυνης καθηγεμων, δικαιοσυνης αρχηγος, αρετης απασης και θεοσεβειας αληθες αιτιος. In Ps. p. 12. A. B.

[e] —— τας τε φιλοσοφες διδασκαλιας αυτω. Dem. E. l. iii. p. 137. D.

[f] —— εν οις —— η εκκλησια του Θεου τας ευχαριστιας και τας λογικας και ακαπνες καρπωσεις αναφερειν τω Θεω παρειληφεν. In. Ps. p. 385. A.

[g] Τουτο γαρ απασι ψυχη φυσικον νομον βοηθον αυτη και συμμαχον επι των πρακτεων ο των ολων δημιουργος υπεστησατο. Δια μεν του νομου την ευθειαν αυτη παραδειξας οδον· δια δε της αυτη δεδωρημενης αυτεξουσιου ελευθεριας την των κρειττονων αιρεσιν επαινε και αποδοχης αξιαν αποφηνας, γερων τε και μειζονων επαθλων. κ. λ. Pr. Ev. p. 250. A. B. C. D.

[h] Επειδηπερ και αυτω ομοιως τοις λοιποις αποστολοις των ισων μετεδιδου χαρισματων. Επεποιθει δ' επ' αυτω ο σωτηρ, και αγαθας ειχεν ελπιδας επ' αυτω, διοτι και επ' αυτω αυτεξουσιον. Ου γαρ ην φυσεως αδυνατου σωζεσθαι Ιουδαν· αλλ' οιος τε ην, θελησας, ομοιως τοις λοιποις αποστολοις μαθητευθηναι του Υιου του Θεου, και καλος και αγαθος μαθητης αποτελεισθαι. In Ps. p. 171. B. C.

[i] —— ειη δ' αν νομος κυριου και ο καθ' ημων αυθροπεις εγεσπαρμενος. κ. λ. In Ps. i. p. 9. E.

[k] In Isa. p. 581, 582.

[l] In Ps. lxviii. p. 386. B. C. Vid. & p. 385. E.

[m] Ειυχον δ' αν αφεσεως και καθαρσεως των ημαρτημενων αυτοις οι αρχιερεις, και οι τε παντος εθνες, ει κεχρηντο ταυτη τη θυσια την καινην και σωτηριον διαθηκην παραδεξαμενοι. ib. C.

[n] Vid. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 107—109.

[o] Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 112. D.

[p] In Ps. p. 570. A. B. Vid. ib. D.

Ethiopians, Moors, Spaniards, Britons. In another place he says, 'There is no[a] nation or king-'dom, which does not in whole, or in part, acknowledge the glory of Christ.' In the third book of the Evangelical Demonstration, where he enlarges upon this subject, he says: 'When[b] I 'consider the power of this doctrine, and that great multitudes of men were persuaded, and 'numerous societies formed, by the mean and illiterate disciples of Jesus, and that not in obscure 'and ignorant places, but in the most celebrated cities, in Rome itself the queen of all other 'cities, in Alexandria, and Antioch, throughout Egypt and Lybia, Europe and Asia, and also in 'villages and country places, and in all nations; I am obliged, and even compelled to inquire 'after the cause of this, and to acknowledge, that they succeeded not in their great undertaking 'any otherwise, than by divine power surpassing all human ability, and the co-operation of him, 'who said unto them, "Go teach all nations in my name."'

14. He seems to say, that[c] still in his time some miracles were done, but not many, nor of great notice. Yet afterwards he speaks of[d] Christians casting out dæmons in Christ's name. In another place, having spoken of the miracles related in the gospels, he adds: 'And[e] still through 'the doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, men are delivered from the worship of dæmons, and 'from a blind and stupid respect for senseless idols, and obtain greater benefits than any bodily 'cures.' Which I think, seems to imply, that miracles were not then common, if they had not quite ceased.

15. He supposes, that[f] Peter and John, as well as Paul and other apostles, preached to several nations.

16. He says, all[g] the apostles suffered martyrdom; which, as[h] Montfauçon observes, cannot be shewn now.

17. In several places[i] he interprets Matt. v. 3. of worldly poverty.

18. I do not enter into the controversy, whether Eusebius was an Arian. Nevertheless, I shall transcribe the following passages, though they may seem to have some relation to it.

He speaks of the Spirit, as[k] made by the Son. Again, 'The[l] Spirit is not of the Father, as 'the Son, but is one of the things made by the Son.'

He has some ways of speaking of the Son, that are remarkable: as, that[m] he was honoured with the Father's deity. He says, 'All[n] the Father's grace was poured out upon the beloved: 'for it was the Father that spake in him.'

Again, upon Psal. lxxii. 1. 'This[o] righteousness of the Father is given to the king's son, of 'the seed of David according to the flesh; in whom, as in a temple, dwelled the word, and 'wisdom, and righteousness of God.'

Once more, referring to Isa. l. 1. and Luke iv. 18. 'Shewing,' says[p] he, 'that his was not 'a bodily anointing, like that of others; but that he was anointed with the spirit of the Father's 'deity, and therefore called Christ.'

The sense of these three last passages, taken from the Commentary upon the Psalms, falls in with the Nazarene, or Sabellian scheme. One might suspect, that they are not our author's own: but that he borrowed them from some other writer, and inserted them in his work: which was a frequent method with Christian commentators.

19. We must by all means take a fine passage of Eusebius in his Evangelical Demonstration;

[a] Ου γαρ εστιν εκ εθνος, ε βασιλεια, ἡ μη προσκυνεσα την δοξαν τε Χριστε, η απο μερους. In. Ps. p. 657. A.

[b] Αλλα παλιν αφορων εις την τε λογε δυναμιν, ὡς μυρια πληθη πεπεικεν, και ὡς συνεστηκασιν μυριανδροι εκκλησιαι προς εκεινων των ευτελεστατων και ἰδιωτικων τε Ιησε μαθητων. κ. λ. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 138. B. C. D.

[c] —— δι' ὡν αυτος ὁ κυριος ἡμων εισελι και νυν οις αν κριτειεν μικρα τινα της αυτε δυναμεως παραφαινειν εισθε. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 109. A.

[d] —— ὁ πολε εισελι θευρο πας δαιμων και παν ακαθαρτον πνευμα—τε Ιησε το ονομα φριττει. ib. p. 133. Vid. & p. 132. D.

[e] Τειων απαντων, και των αλλων παθων τε και αρρωστημαλων δια της τε σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησε Χριστε διδασκαλιας εισελι και νυν απαλλαττονται, πολυ κρειττονος η καθ' εκαστον σωμα ιασεως και ωφελειας αξιεμενοι. Dem. l. i. p. 301. D.

[f] Παυλος μεν εν απο Ἱερουσαλημ και κυκλω——Πετρος δε παλιν ἑτερων εθνων, και Ιωαννης ωσαυτως ἑτερων, και των λοιπων αποστολων εκαστος παραπλησιως. In Ps. p. 352. D. E.

[g] In Ps. p. 413. B. C.

[h] Prælim. cap. ix. n. iii.

[i] Vid. in Ps. p. 386. C. D. 387. D. 404. D. E. & 412. B.

[k] Ὁ δε Υἱος μονος παλρικη θεοτητι τετιμημενος τοιητικος αν ειη και δημιεργικος της των γενετων απαντων——και δε και της παρακλητε πνευματος ὑπαρξεως. De Ec. Th. l. iii. c. 6. p. 174. C.

[l] Επει μη εκ τε Παλρος ὁμοιως τω Υἱω, και αυτο την γενεσιν ειληφεν· εν δε τι των δια τε Υἱε γενομενων τυγχανει. Ibid. p. 175. A.

[m] Vid. note [k].

[n] Επει δε τε αγαπητε πασα ἡ παλρικη εις αυτον εκενωθη χαρις· ην γαρ ὁ Παληρ λαλων εν Υἱω. In Ps. p. 188. D.

[o] Αυτη τοινυν ἡ τε Παλρος δικαιοσυνη τω Υἱω τε βασιλεως δεδοται, τω εκ σπερματος Δαυιδ κατα σαρκα· εν ω κατωκησεν, ὡσπερ εν ναω, ὁ τε Θεε λογος, και ἡ σοφια και δικαιοσυνη. In Ps. lxxi. p. 404. B.

[p] Διδασκων——το δε πνευματι της παλρικης θεοτητος κεχρισμενον, και δια τετο Χριστον αγορευομενον. In Ps. p. 634. E.

where, among many other just observations, proving the credibility of the gospel history, against those who refused to believe the accounts of the wonderful works done by our Saviour, he says: 'The [b] apostle Matthew does not pretend to any honourable station in the former part of his life; 'but placeth himself amongst publicans, employed in heaping up money. This none of the other 'evangelists have mentioned; not his fellow-disciple John, nor Luke, nor Mark. But Matthew 'is his own accuser, and dissembles not his former course of life. Observe then, how he 'expressly mentions his name in the gospel written by himself: "And as Jesus passed forth 'from thence, he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith 'unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at 'meat in the house, behold many publicans came, and sat down with him and his disciples," 'Matt. ix. 10. And afterwards in the course of the narration, inserting a catalogue of Christ's 'disciples, he calls himself the publican. For thus he says: "Now the names of the twelve 'apostles are these; the first Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the 'son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew the 'publican," Ch. x. 2, 3. Thus Matthew out [c] of abundance of modesty, hides not his former 'course of life: but ingenuously owns himself to have been a publican, and likewise placeth him-'self after his colleague. For whereas they were joined two and two, he with Thomas, Peter 'with Andrew, and Philip with Bartholomew; he puts Thomas before himself, giving the pre-'ference to his fellow-apostle, as his superior; whilst the other evangelists have used a diffe-'rent order. Observe therefore Luke, how he mentions Matthew; he does not call him a 'publican, nor subjoin him to Thomas; but knowing him to be his superior, first mentions him, 'and then Thomas, as does [d] Mark likewise. The words of the former are these: "And when 'it was day, he called unto him his disciples, and of them he chose twelve, whom also he 'named apostles; Simon, whom he named Peter, and Andrew, his brother; James, and John; 'Philip, and Bartholomew; Matthew, and Thomas," Luke vi. 13—15. Thus did Luke prefer 'Matthew, "even as they had delivered things unto him, who from the beginning were eye-'witnesses and ministers of the word," Ch. i. 2. You may observe John to be of the same mind 'with Matthew; for in his epistles, he either nameth not himself at all, or calls himself only elder, 'no where apostle, or evangelist. In his gospel when he speaks of him "whom Jesus loved," he 'does not mention himself by name. As for Peter, out [e] of abundance of modesty, he thought 'not himself worthy to write a gospel; but [f] Mark, who was his friend and disciple, is said to 'have recorded Peter's relations of the acts of Jesus: who, when he comes to that part of the 'history, where Jesus asked, "who men said he was," and then, what opinion they themselves, 'his disciples, had of him? and Peter had replied, that they believed him to be the Christ; he does 'not relate any thing that Jesus said by way of answer to this, except that "he charged them, 'that they should tell no man of him," Mark viii. 27—30. For Mark was not present to hear 'what Jesus said, and Peter did not think fit to bear testimony to himself, by relating what Jesus 'said to him, or of him. Nevertheless, what was said to him is related by Matthew in this 'manner: "But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the 'Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered, and said unto him, Blessed art thou, 'Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in 'heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, 'and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the 'kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; 'and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," Matt. xvi. 13, 16——19. 'Though such things were said to Peter by Jesus, Mark has taken no notice of them, because, 'as is probable, Peter [g] did not relate them in his sermons. He only said, "When Jesus put 'the question to them, Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ. And he charged them, 'that they should tell no man of him," Mark viii. 29, 30. About those things Peter thought fit 'to be silent; therefore Mark also has omitted them. But what concerned his denial [of Jesus], 'he [h] preached to all men, because upon that account he "wept bitterly." You will therefore find

[a] Προς τες απειθενλας τη των τε σωτηρος ημων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 109. C.

[b] Ibid. p. 119. D.——122. A.

[c] Δι' ὑπερβολην επιεικειας. p. 120. B.

[d] See Mark iii. 17, 18.

[e] —δι' ευλαβειας ὑπερβολην. p. 120. D.

[f] Ταῦτα Μαρκος γνωριμος και φοιτητης γενομενος απομνημονευσαι λεγεται τας τε Πετρε περι των πραξεων τε Ιησε διαλεξεις. Ibid.

[g] Ὁτι μηδ' ὁ Πετρος ταυθ', ὡς εικος, εν ταις αυτε διδασκαλιαις εξητορευσεν. p. 121. B. C.

[h] ——εις παντας εκηρυξεν ανθρωπες. p. 121. C.

'Mark relating concerning that matter all these several particulars. "And as Peter was in the 'palace, there cometh to him one of the maids of the high-priest. And when she saw Peter, she 'looked upon him, and said, And thou wast with Jesus of Nazareth. But he denied, saying, I 'know not, neither understand I what thou sayest: and he went out into the porch, and the cock 'crew. And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of 'them. And he denied it again. And a little after they that stood by said again to Peter, 'Surely, thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilean. But he began to curse and to swear, I 'know not this man, of whom ye speak. And the second time the cock crew," Mark xiv. '66—72. These things writes Mark: and [a] Peter testifies these things of himself, for all things 'in Mark are said to be memoirs of of Peter's discourses.'

St. Matthew's modesty, in calling himself a publican, when the other evangelists did not, is taken notice of by [b] Jerom, upon several occasions, in his works.

20. This learned Christian apologist then proceeds to other like excellent observations, concerning the credibility of the evangelical history. But this may suffice to shew the good sense of the ancient Christians: and that, as they diligently studied the scriptures, they were also able to make judicious remarks upon them. In short we may hence perceive, that the defence of the Christian religion was in fit hands. They had a good cause; and they shewed it to be so. They had truth on their side; and they demonstrated it by arguments, suited to convince reasonable and serious men.

VII. I must transcribe several passages of this author concerning the canon of scripture: and I shall begin with such as appear to be the most material.

1. The twenty-fourth chapter of the third book of the Ecclesiastical History is entitled, Of [c] the order of the Gospels. It must be alleged here almost entire, only first observing, that in the preceding chapter Eusebius had inserted a particular relation concerning St. John, from Clement of Alexandria. 'Let us,' says he, 'observe the writings of this apostle, which [d] are not 'contradicted by any. And first of all must be mentioned, as acknowledged of all, the gospel 'according to him, well known to all the churches under heaven. And that it has been justly 'placed by the ancients the fourth in order, and after the other three, may be made evident in 'this manner. Those admirable and truly divine men, the apostles of Christ, eminently holy in 'their lives, and as to their minds, adorned with every virtue, but "rude [e] in language," confid-'ing in the divine and miraculous power bestowed upon them by our Saviour, neither knew, nor 'attempted, to deliver the doctrine of their master with the artifice and eloquence of words. But 'using only the demonstration of the Divine Spirit working with them, and the power of Christ 'performing by them many miracles, they spread the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven all 'over the world. Nor were they greatly concerned about the writing of books, being engaged 'in a more excellent ministry, which was above all human power. Insomuch that Paul, the most 'able of all in the furniture both of words and thoughts, has left nothing in writing, beside [f] 'some very [g] short [or a very few] epistles: although he was acquainted with innumerable 'mysteries, having been admitted to the sight [h] and contemplation of things in the third heaven, 'and been caught up into the divine paradise, and there allowed to hear unspeakable words. 'Nor were the rest of our Saviour's followers unacquainted with these things, as the seventy 'disciples, and many other, beside the twelve apostles. Nevertheless of all the disciples of our 'Lord, Matthew and John only have left us any memoirs: who too, as we have been informed, 'were compelled to write by a kind of necessity. For Matthew having preached to the 'Hebrews, when he was about to go to other people delivered to them in their own language the 'gospel according to him, by that writing supplying the want of his presence with those whom 'he was then leaving. And when Mark and Luke had published the gospels according to them,

[a] Πέτρος δε ταυτα περι εαυτῳ μαρτυρει. Παντα γαρ τα παρα Μαρκω τῳ Πέτρῳ διαλεξεων ειναι λεγεται απομνημονευματα. p. 122. A.

[b] Cæteri Evangelistæ in conjunctione nominum primum ponunt Matthæum, & postea Thomam. Nec publicani nomen ascribunt, ne antiquæ conversationis recordantes suggillare Evangelistam viderentur. Ille vero, ut supra diximus, & post Thomam se ponit, & publicanum appellat. Hieron. ad Matt. cap. x. Tom. iv. P. i. p. 34. f.

Quod quidem & de Matthæo Evangelistâ legimus, quod ipse Matthæus se dixerit publicanum; alii vero Evangelistæ nomen publicani tacuerint, & apostolicam tantum posuerint dignitatem; & quod in conjunctionibus apostolorum, apud se, secundus, apud alios primus sit. Id. in Is. cap. xxxvii. T. iii. p. 338.

[c] Περι της ταξεως των ευαγγελιων. p. 94. A.

[d] ——αναντιῤῥητες.

[e] Την δε γλωτταν ιδιωτευοντες. p. 94. C. Confer. 2 Cor. xi. 6.

[f] ——πλεον των βραχυταλων επιστολων. p. 94. D.

[g] See to the like purpose Origen, in a passage formerly cited, Vol. i. p. 522.

[h] See 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4.

'it is said, that John, who all this while had preached by word of mouth, was at length induced 'to write for this reason. The three first written gospels being now delivered to all men, 'and to John himself, it is said, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narra-'tion by his own testimony:' saying 'there was only wanting a written account of the things 'done by Christ in the former part, and the beginning of his preaching. And certainly that 'observation is very true. For it is easy to perceive, that the other three evangelists have re-'corded only the actions of our Saviour for one year after the imprisonment of John, as they 'themselves declare at the beginning of their history. For after mentioning the forty days fast, 'and the succeeding temptation, Matthew shews the time of the commencement of his account 'in these words: "When [a] he had heard, that John was cast into prison, he departed out of 'Judea into Galilee." In like manner Mark, "Now [b] after that John," says he, "was cast 'into prison, Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before he begins the account of the acts of 'Jesus, gives a like hint in this manner: that [c] "Herod added yet this above all, that he shut 'up John in prison." For these reasons, as is said, the apostle John was [d] intreated to relate in 'the gospel according to him, the time omitted by the former evangelists, and the things done 'by our Saviour in that space, before the imprisonment of the Baptist. And they add farther, 'that he himself hints as much, saying, "this [e] beginning of miracles did Jesus:" as also, when 'in the history of the acts of Jesus he makes mention of the Baptist, as still [f] "baptizing in 'Ænon, nigh unto Salem." And it is thought, that he expressly declares as much, when he 'says, [g] "For John was not yet cast into prison." John therefore in the gospel according to 'him, relates the things done by Christ, while the Baptist was not yet cast into prison. But the 'other three evangelists relate the things that followed the Baptist's confinement. Whoever 'attends to these things, will not any longer think the evangelists disagree with each other: for-'asmuch as the gospel according to John contains the first actions of Christ, whilst the others 'give the history of the following time. And for the same reason, John has omitted the genea-'logy of our Saviour according to the flesh, it having been recorded before by Matthew and 'Luke: but he begins with his [h] divinity, which had been reserved by the Holy Ghost for him, 'as [i] the more excellent person. This is as much as needs to be said of the gospel according to 'John. What was the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark, has been already '[k] shewn. Luke at the beginning assigns the reason of his writing; declaring, that whereas 'many others had rashly undertaken to give a relation of the matters which he most surely 'believed; he thought himself obliged, in order the better to divert us from the uncertain relations 'of others, to deliver in his gospel a certain account of those things, which he was well assured 'of from his intimate acquaintance and familiarity with Paul, and his conversation with the other 'apostles. And thus much now concerning these things: at a more proper season, we shall 'endeavour to shew by quotations of ancients, what has been said of the same by others. But 'farther, as to the writings of John, beside the gospel, the first epistle is universally acknow-'ledged, both by those of the present time, and by the ancients. But the other two are contra-'dicted. Concerning the Apocalypse there are to this very day different opinions: this contro-'versy likewise will be decided in a proper time, by the testimony of the ancients.'

2. The title of the next chapter is, Of the Scriptures universally acknowledged, and those that are not such.

'But,' says [l] Eusebius, 'it will be proper to enumerate here in a summary way,[m] the books 'of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. And in the first place are to be 'ranked the sacred four gospels: then the book of the Acts of the apostles: after that are to be 'reckoned the epistles of Paul. In the next place, that called the first epistle of John, and the '[first] epistle of Peter, are to be esteemed [n] authentic. After these, is to be placed, if it be 'thought fit, the Revelation of John, about which we shall observe the different opinions at 'a proper season. Of the controverted, but [o] yet well known or approved by the most [or 'many], are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the

[a] Matt. iv. 12. [b] Mark. i. 14.
[c] Luke iii. 19, 20.
[d] Παρακληθενία δη εν τετων ενεκα φησι τον αποστολον Ιωαννην. p. 95. D. [e] John ii. 11.
[f] Ib. iii. 23. [g] Ib. ver. 24.
[h] ——θεολογίας. p. 96. B. [i] Οία κρειττονι. ib.
[k] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 15. And see before in this work, Vol. i. 394. [l] L. iii. c. 25. p. 97.
[m] ——της καινης διαθηκης γραφας. p. 97. A.
[n] ——κυρωτεον. p. 97. B.
[o] Των δ' αντιλεγομενων, γνωριμων δ' εν ὁμως τοις πολλοις ——p. 97. B.

'second and third of John; whether they are written by the evangelist, or another of the same 'name. Among the spurious are to be placed the Acts of Paul, and the book intitled the 'Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter: and beside these, that called the Epistle of Barnabas, 'and the book [a] named the Doctrines of the Apostles. And moreover, as I said, the Revelation 'of John, if it seem meet; which some, as I have said, reject, others reckon among the books 'universally received. Among these [b] also some have reckoned the gospel according to the 'Hebrews, which the Hebrews who have embraced Christ [c] make use of. All these may be 'reckoned controverted. It was however needful, that I should put down a catalogue of these 'also; distinguishing [d] the scriptures, which according to the ecclesiastical tradition are true, 'genuine, and universally acknowledged, from those others, which are not placed in the [New] 'Testament, but are controverted, and yet appear to have been known to many: that by this 'means we may know these from such as have been published by heretics under the names of 'apostles: as [e] containing the Gospels of Peter, and Thomas, and Matthias, and of some others; 'and the Acts of Andrew and John, and other apostles. Which books none of the ecclesiastical 'writers in the succession [of the apostles,] have vouchsafed to make any mention of in their 'writings. The style also of these books is intirely different from that of the apostles: moreover 'the sentiments and doctrine of those pieces are different from the true orthodox Christianity. 'All which things plainly shew, that those books are the forgeries of heretics. For all which 'reasons, they are not so much as to be reckoned among the spurious, but are to be rejected, 'as altogether absurd and impious.'

This is an obscure chapter: certainly, with a little more care, Eusebius might have expressed himself in a clearer manner. However, we defer our remarks, until we have seen some more passages.

3. The third chapter of the same third book of the Ecclesiastical History is intitled, Of the Epistles of the Apostles; and is to this purpose:

'One epistle then of Peter, called his first, is universally received. This [f] the presbyters [or 'elders] of ancient times have quoted in their writings, as undoubtedly genuine. But that called 'his second epistle, we have been informed, [that is, by the same tradition of the elders:] has not 'been received [g] into the [New] Testament. Nevertheless, appearing to many to be useful, it has 'been carefully studied with the other scriptures. But the book entitled his Acts, and that called 'the gospel according to him, and that styled his Preaching, and the Revelation under his name, 'we know they have not been delivered down to us in the number of catholic writings: forasmuch as no ecclesiastical writer of the ancients, or of our time, has made use of testimonies out 'of them. But in the progress of this history we shall make it our business to shew, together 'with the successions [from the apostles,] what ecclesiastical writers in every age [h] have used 'such writings as these which are contradicted: and what they have said with regard to the 'scriptures received into the New Testament, and acknowledged by all, and with regard to those 'which are not such. These then are the writings ascribed to Peter, of which I know of but one 'epistle only, that is genuine, and acknowledged by the presbyters of former times. Of Paul [i] 'there are fourteen [epistles] manifest and well known. But yet there are some who reject that 'to the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of the Romans, as 'not being Paul's. What has been said of this epistle by those who were before us, I shall shew 'in due time. Nor have I understood the book called his Acts, to be placed among unquestioned scriptures. But whereas the apostle himself, in his salutations at the end of the epistle 'to the Romans, makes mention among others also of Hermas, who, it is said, is the author of 'the small book called the Pastor: it ought to be observed, that it is contradicted by some: for 'whose sake it cannot be placed among those books which are universally received. But by 'others it has been judged a most necessary book, especially for those who are to be instructed

[a] ——και των αποστολων αι λεγομεναι διδαχαι. ib. C.

[b] ——ηδη δ' εν τοις τινες και το καθ' Εβραιους ευαγγελιον καιελεξαν. C.

[c] ——ω——χαιρουσι. C.

[d] ——διακρινοντες τας τε καθα την εκκλησιαστικην παραδοσιν αληθεις και απλαστους και ανωμολογημενας γραφας, και τας αλλας παρα ταυτας, εκ ενδιαθηκους μεν, αλλα και αντιλεγομενας· ομως δε παρα πλειστοις των εκκλησιαστικων γινωσκομενας. C. D.

[e] ——περιεχουσας. Ib. D.

[f] Ταυτη δε και οι παλαι πρεσβυτεροι, κ. λ. p. 71. C.

[g] ——εκ ενδιαθηκον μεν ειναι παρειληφαμεν. p. 72. A.

[h] ——οποιαις χεχρηνται των αντιλεγομενων· τινα τε περι των ενδιαθηκων και ομολογουμενων γραφων, και οσα περι των μη τοιουτων αυτοις ειρηται. p. 72. B.

[i] Τα δε Παυλα προδηλοι και σαφεις αι δεκατεσσαρες· ου γε μην τινες ηθετηκασι την προς Εβραιους, προς της Ρωμαιων εκκλησιας ως μη Παυλε ουσαν αυτην αντιλεγεσθαι φησαντες, ουδικαιον αινοειν. Ib. B. C.

'in the rudiments of religion. For which reason it is still, as we know, publickly [a] read in the 'churches: and I have observed it quoted by some very ancient writers. This [b] may suffice for 'an account of the Divine scriptures, both those which are unquestioned, and those which are 'not received by all.'

This chapter too is inaccurate nor does it answer [c] the title. Eusebius does not here speak of all the epistles of apostles, not of all such as were universally received. But we proceed to the next chapter, which perhaps may supply the defects of this.

4. The fourth chapter of the same third book of the Ecclesiastical History is entitled, Of the first succession of the Apostles. I shall transcribe at large what has here also any relation to our present design, assuring us of the genuineness of St. Luke's two books, the gospel and Acts of the apostles, St. Peter's first epistle, and some other things.

'Moreover, that Paul in the course of his preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundation of 'the churches "from [d] Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum," is manifest both from his 'own words, and from what Luke has related in the [e] Acts. In like manner, in what provinces 'Peter preaching the gospel of Christ to those of the circumcision, delivered the doctrine of 'the new covenant, is evident from his own words in that epistle of his, which, as we have said, 'is universally acknowledged, and is inscribed by him to the Hebrews "scattered throughout 'Pontus, and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." But how many, and who of these 'were genuine followers of the apostles, and approved of as fit for the pastoral office in the 'churches they had planted, is not easy to say, excepting such as may be collected from Paul's 'own words. For he had a vast number of fellow labourers, and, as he calls them, fellow-'soldiers: many of whom are secured of everlasting remembrance by the immortal testimony 'he has given to them in his epistles. And besides, Luke in the Acts has mentioned them by 'name among the disciples of the apostle. However it is said, that Timothy was the first bishop 'of the church in Ephesus, and Titus of the churches in Crete. And Luke, who was of Antioch, 'and by profession a physician, for the most part a companion of Paul, who had likewise more 'than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the apostles, has left us in two books divinely inspired, 'evidence of the art of healing souls, which he had learned from them. One of these is the 'gospel, which he professeth to have written as [f] "they delivered" it to him, "who from the 'beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word:" with all whom, he says likewise, he 'had been "perfectly acquainted from the very first." The other is the Acts of the apostles, 'which he composed now, not from what he had received by the report of others, but from 'what he had seen with his own eyes. And it is said, that Paul was wont to refer to the gos-'pel according to him, whenever in his epistles, speaking as it were, of some gospel of his 'own he says: "According [g] to my gospel." Of the rest of the followers of Paul, Crescens [h] 'is said by himself to have ben sent "into Gaul" [or Galatia.] And Linus, whom he speaks of 'in [i] his second epistle to Timothy, as being with him at Rome, was appointed to the bishopric of 'the church of Rome, next after Peter, as was before mentioned. And moreover Clement, 'who was appointed the third bishop of Rome, is also mentioned by Paul himself, as [k] his fellow-'labourer, and fellow-soldier. And beside all these is the Areopagite, named Dionysius: whom 'Luke in the [l] Acts relates to have become a believer immediately after Paul's speech to the 'Athenians at the Areopagus: who is also said by another Dionysius, pastor of the church of 'Corinth, one of the ancients, to have been the first bishop of the church at Athens.'

VIII. Thus I have put down four chapters of our ecclesiastical historian almost entire. I think, I need not transcribe any more at length; but we may have occasion to observe hereafter divers other particular passages. At present we make a stand, to review what we have seen.

1. These passages are to be understood, chiefly, as representing the opinions of Christians in the time of our author.

2. It seems evident from what Eusebius writes, that there was not then [m] any canon of scripture, or catalogue of the books of the New Testament established by any authority, which was

[a] Ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον. Ib. B.

[b] Ταῦτα εἰς παράστασιν τῶν τε ἀναντιῤῥήτων καὶ τῶν μὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένων θείων γραμμάτων, εἰρήσθω. Ib. D.

[c] The titles were composed by Eusebius himself, and prefixed by him to the several chapters of this work, as we now have them. So Valesius in his Annotations, p. 1.

[d] Rom. xv. 19.

[e] See the Acts, from ch. xiii. to xxi.

[f] Luke i. 2, 3.

[g] 2 Tim. ii. 8.

[h] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[i] —— ver. 21.

[k] Philip. iv. 3.

[l] Acts xvii. 34.

[m] To the like purpose Basnage, who deserves to be consulted. Hist. de l'Eglise, l. viii. c. 5. n. 9, 10, 11.

universally acknowledged by Christians. Our historian does not mention any such thing. And besides, this is so apparent from different opinions here observed, that I think it needless to insist on a particular demonstration of the truth of this remark.

3. The method which Eusebius himself, and others of his time, made use of in judging concerning the sacred authority of any books, was to inquire after, and consider the testimony of the ancients, those holy and venerable Christians, whether bishops or others of former times, who lived near the age of the apostles. This is a method, of which we have seen many instances in authors before cited, and we observe it also in these passages of Eusebius. However, as to books of doubtful authority, which had not been much quoted by the ancients, they did likewise examine their style and doctrine, and compare the things contained in them with the doctrine, design and manner of the books universally owned to be of Divine and apostolical authority.

4. In these passages of Eusebius are observable several sorts of books: but how many sorts may need some consideration. Valesius [a] has a learned note upon one of the forecited passages, the substance of which is: 'That there are three sorts of sacred books, such as are universally 'received, such as are doubted of by some, and lastly, such as are universally rejected, or plainly 'spurious. But,' says he, 'Eusebius, and some other ancients, use the word spurious im-'properly for books that are only of doubtful authority, and controverted by some: whereas 'by spurious ought to be intended those which are really so, as having been forged by here-'tics, such as are mentioned at the end of that chapter. For, to speak properly, there are 'but two sorts of sacred books; those universally received, and those doubted of, or contradicted 'by some: and the spurious ought not to be reckoned among sacred books.' So that learned writer.

In order to judge of this matter, and the better to understand Eusebius, it will be very convenient to observe another passage, not yet transcribed. 'Thus far,' says he, 'of what is come 'to our knowledge concerning the apostles, and the apostolical times, and [b] the sacred writings 'which they have left us, as also of those that are contradicted, but yet are publickly used [or 'read] in most churches, and of such as are altogether spurious, and far different from the 'apostolical doctrine.'

Here are three sorts of books expressed, with a fourth implied. For if some are altogether spurious, others may be called spurious simply.

It seems to me, that when we speak of books, and rank them according to the several opinions which men have of them, there may be five sorts: 1. Such as are universally received. 2. Such as are very generally received, and are doubted of by a few only. 3. Such as Eusebius calls controverted, or contradicted: which are received by many, or the most, but yet are doubted of by a good number people. 4. Such as are received by a few only, or however are rejected by more than they are received. These Eusebius may call spurious. 5. There are such as are universally rejected by catholic Christians, as not having been used by any of the ancients, as books of any value, and containing things contrary to the true apostolical doctrine. These are altogether or throughout spurious. If I mistake not, four of these sorts appear plainly in the second passage cited from Eusebius: I mean all except the second sort; and perhaps we may find, that neither has that been quite neglected by him. We shall now go over these several sorts and divisions.

(1.) There were books of scripture universally received, and acknowledged by all the churches of Christ, or all catholic Christians, as sacred and divine. The books of this sort, mentioned by Eusebius, are the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one epistle of Peter, one epistle of John.

(2.) There were books very generally received, and doubted of by a few only. This division is not distinctly made, or expressly named by Eusebius: but, as I observed, it is a very reasonable division, when there is a number of books, about which there are different opinions. It may then very well happen, that there shall be some of this sort. I think, we may not improperly place here the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation; or at least the former of these. For at the beginning of the second passage, Eusebius placeth the epistles of Paul among books universally received; without making there, or in any other part of that passage, any

[a] Annot. in libr. iii. c 25. p. 52, 53.

[b] —— ὧν τε καταλελοιπασιν ἡμιν ἱερων γραμματων, και αντιλεγομενων μεν, ὁμως δ' εν πλειςαις εκκλησιαις παρα πολλοις δεδημοσιευμενων, των τε παντελως νοθων, και της αποςολικης ορθοδοξιας αλλοτριων. —— L. iii. c. 31. p. 103. B.

exception for the epistle to the Hebrews. In the third passage he says: 'Of Paul there are 'fourteen epistles manifest and well known. But yet there are some who reject that to the 'Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of the Romans, as not 'being St. Paul's.' Or, as we may remember, upon another occasion our author said: 'To [a] this 'very time, by some of the Romans, this epistle is not reckoned to be the apostle's.' However, it must be allowed, that there were some beside the Romans, who did not receive this epistle as Paul's. So he said in the words before cited: 'But yet there are some who reject that to the 'Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of Rome.' These are not Romans. And doubtless we may observe some other passages of Eusebius, where the epistle to the Hebrews is reckoned among controverted, or contradicted books. Nevertheless, I think, he seems here inclined to give this epistle a place among those books which were very generally received. We may therefore suppose, that it was more generally received in the churches, with which Eusebius was best acquainted, than the disputed catholic epistles.

As for the Revelation, at the end of our first passage, Eusebius says: 'There are concerning 'that book to this very day different opinions.' At the beginning of our second passage he says: 'After these [universally received,] is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of John, 'concerning which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper time. These are books 'received with a general consent.' But yet afterwards, in the same passage, reckoning up the books called spurious, he adds: 'And moreover, as I said, the Revelation of John, if it seem 'meet: which some, as I have said, reject, others reckon among the books universally received.'

I am not positive: I only propose it to be considered, whether, dividing books according to the several opinions of people in Eusebius's time, these two, the epistle to the Hebrews and the Revelation, may not be placed in the rank next after those universally [b] received.

(3.) There are books which may be called controverted, or contradicted: which are received by many, or the most, but yet are doubted of by a good number of people. This is the second class, expressly mentioned in the second passage from Eusebius. For after the mention of those universally received, he adds: 'Of the controverted, but yet well known and approved 'by the most, are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, 'and the second and third of John: whether they were written by the evangelist, or by another 'of that name.'

These are the books which in that passage Eusebius calls controverted, and says, they were 'approved of by the most, or many.'

We may allow this to be in the general a just representation of the sentiments of Christians at that time concerning those epistles. However, there are some other passages relating to them to be observed.

In the second book of our author's Ecclesiastical History is a long chapter about the death of James, called the Just, and the brother of our Lord. Eusebius having exhibited two accounts of this person's death, one taken from the fifth book of the Memoirs of Hegesippus, the other from the Antiquities of Josephus, concludes the chapter with these words: 'Thus [c] far con- 'cerning this James, who is said to be the author of the first of the seven epistles called catholic. 'But it ought to be observed, that it is spurious: forasmuch as there are not many of the ancients, 'who have made mention of it; as neither of that called Jude's, which likewise is one of the 'epistles called catholic. However, we know that these also are commonly used [or publicly 'read,] in most churches, together with the rest.'

This passage shews us, that there were seven epistles called catholic: five of these, as we saw before, were controverted, two of which are here mentioned. Of these seven epistles, that of James was placed first in order: though there were doubts about some of them, yet in many churches all seven were joined together, and the five controverted epistles were publicly used and read with the rest.

[a] L. vi. c. 20. p. 223. A.

[b] The argument above is confirmed by an observation of Mr. Robert Turner, in his Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 71. 'It is plain, Eusebius was at a 'loss, in what class to fix the Apocalypse: so that when he 'annexes it to the ὁμολογούμενα, it is with an ει φανειη. And 'he does the same, when he joins it to the νοθα, adding:—— 'which some reject as spurious, and others receive as con- 'fessedly sacred and canonical.' If Eusebius was at a loss, in which of the classes expressly mentioned by him he should place the Revelation; it is likely, that it may belong to what I call the second class, which he has not expressly mentioned.

[c] —— ὁ η πρωτη των ονομαζομενων καθολικων επιστολων ειναι λεγεται· ιστεον δε ὡς νοθευεται μεν· ὁ πολλοι γουν των παλαιων αυτης εμνημονευσαν —— ὁμως δε ισμεν και ταυτας μετα των λοιπων εν πλεισταις δεδημοσιευμενας εκκλησιαις. l. ii. c. 23. p. 66. C.

The words concerning the epistle of James, which I have translated in this manner, 'but it 'ought to be observed, that it is spurious;' are by Valesius rendered thus, 'which some esteem 'spurious and suppositious.' And in his notes he says, that Rufinus and Christopherson have translated those words in the same manner, as representing the opinions of men concerning that epistle: which sense he owns he had followed in his version. But he says, upon farther consideration, he had altered his mind: and he thinks, that Eusebius there declares his own sentiment, and pronounceth this epistle absolutely spurious.

But I rather think, that Eusebius in those words declares the opinion of men about that epistle: and says, that it is contradicted, or rejected, by a good number of people, as was also the epistle of Jude. This appears to me the meaning of the expression: however, I have translated literally, and leave every one to judge of the words. We shall by and by distinctly consider Eusebius's own sentiments about this epistle: and then, perhaps, some things may offer for farther clearing up the meaning of this place.

As there are some other passages, in which Eusebius speaks of controverted books, they ought to be placed here.

In one place he says, 'That[a] Clement in his Stromata takes testimonies out of those scrip-'tures[b] that are contradicted; as the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, 'and the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude.'

And soon after he observes of the same Clement of Alexandria, that[c] in his Institutions, to 'speak briefly, he gives short explications[d] of all the canonical scriptures, not[e] omitting those that 'are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of 'Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter.'

I scarce need to say, that by contradicted, Eusebius means books doubted of, or controverted by some, or many. But the books ranked in this class, and of which he useth that phrase, are not equally contradicted: some might be rejected by more than others were. Certainly, the Revelation of Peter, here placed among contradicted scriptures, was not received by so many as the epistle to the Hebrews, or those catholic epistles that were controverted. So far of this sort of books. We proceed.

(4.) The next are those called spurious by our author: simply so, not altogether spurious. By those called spurious, I suppose to be meant such as were received by a few only; or, however, were rejected by more, many more, than they were received. Of these Eusebius speaks in our second passage from him after this manner; 'Among[f] the spurious are to be placed the 'Acts of Paul, and the book intitled the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter; and beside 'these, that called the epistle of Barnabas, and the book named the Doctrines of the Apostles: and 'moreover, as I said, the Revelation of John, if it seem meet; which some, as I have said, reject, 'others reckon among the books universally received. Among these also some have reckoned 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Hebrews who have embraced Christ make use 'of. All[g] these may be reckoned controverted.'

Hereby I think Eusebius intends to signify, that these books [called by him spurious,] were not so generally received, as those before mentioned in that passage, and called distinctly contradicted, namely, the five disputed catholic epistles. They were received by some, but were rejected by many, by much the greater part of catholic Christians in Eusebius's time, as not having been quoted by many of the ancients, as books of authority; or, as not thinking them so excellent for the matter, as those universally received; or, as not written by the authors to whom they were ascribed; or, if really written by the persons whose names they bore, yet thinking, that the writings of those persons ought not to be reckoned canonical, or placed in the New Testament. This I take to be the case of several of the books here mentioned: the book called the Shepherd, might be allowed to be written by Hermas; and the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, might be really his: but these pieces might not be judged fit to be received into the New Testament, the authors not being apostles. This too, I take to be one reason of placing here the Revelation of John; because many thought it not written by John the apostle, but by some other of that name: though some of those who rejected this book, might likewise have exceptions to some of the contents of it; as also to some things contained in the two other writings just mentioned.

[a] See before, Vol. i. p. 394, 395.

[b] —— απο των ανιλεγομενων γραφων. H. E. l. 6. c. 13. p. 214. D.

[c] See before, Vol. i. p. 394.

[d] —— πασης της ενδιαθηκε γραφης. l. vi. c. 14. p. 215. C.

[e] —— μηδε τας ανιλεγομενας παρελθων. ibid.

[f] Εν τοις νοθοις καταλεταχθω. κ. λ. p. 97. B.

[g] Ταυτα μεν παντα των ανιλεγομενων αν ειη. ib. C.

(5.) The fifth sort of books are such as were supposed to be published by heretics, under the names of apostles, which in the second passage are said to be these, 'The Gospels of Peter, and 'Thomas, and Matthias, and some others; and the Acts of Andrew, and John, and other 'apostles.' The reasons why these were rejected are assigned by Eusebius at large. He concludes, that 'they are the forgeries of heretics, and[a] that they are not so much as to be reckoned 'among the spurious; but are to be rejected, as altogether absurd and impious:' that is, in other words, according to what he says in another passage cited above, they are altogether spurious, and were universally rejected by catholic Christians.

Thus we have settled all these several sorts of books; four of which are, I think, plainly[b] discernible in our second passage. Whether there is any ground for a fifth division, which I have mentioned, namely, the second in order, will be considered by the attentive reader.

5. The next remark I would make is a kind of corollary from the foregoing passages and observations; that the words contradicted, controverted, and spurious, are not to be understood only of the genuineness of a work; or of a doubt and controversy, whether it was really written by the person to whom it is ascribed, and whose name it bears; but whether it has a right to be a part of the New Testament. It might be unquestionably genuine, or generally allowed to be so; and yet be contradicted, that is, rejected by some, a good number; or be spurious, generally rejected from being a part of the New Testament. This is extremely evident with regard to the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which in a passage cited just now, we saw placed among contradicted scriptures, though it was owned[c] by every body for a genuine work of Clement bishop of Rome, and companion of the blessed apostle Paul. The controversy therefore about that epistle was only, whether it should be reckoned a book of the New Testament. And though it be called by Eusebius only a contradicted book, there seem to have been very few on the affirmative side of the question, for admitting it into the New Testament. Insomuch that in this respect, it might be placed among the spurious, that is, those which were generally rejected. This observation ought to be applied to the epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas: for whose sake it is, indeed, principally intended: but I think, I need not stay any longer to shew the justness of it with regard to them. Those writings are the genuine works of the authors whose names they bear; but with regard to any claim to be parts of the sacred scriptures of the New Testament, properly so called, they are contradicted, or rather spurious, generally rejected.

6. The character of the authors or writers of the several books of sacred scripture is observable: they are all apostles, or apostolical men. Nor are there any writings of barely apostolical men authentic, and universally acknowledged, excepting those of Mark and Luke, which are only historical, not doctrinal or dogmatical. All the other books which are epistolary, or dogmatical, as the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistle of Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas, as likewise the Epistle of James, and Jude, and the Revelation of John, (which some were not fully satisfied to have been written by apostles, but by an elder only, or other person of inferior rank to that of apostles,) were controverted; contradicted either by some, or by many, so as to deserve the appellation of spurious. This seems to shew, that it was a common and prevailing opinion among Christians in those times, that no book, doctrinal or preceptive, ought to be received as of authority, unless written by an apostle; and that the credit of men not apostles, though they were companions of apostles, was admitted no farther than as historians, or reporters of what they had seen, or of what they had heard from apostles, or eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word.

We actually see the traces of this prevailing opinion in the judgment formed of divers writings and persons. The epistle of Clement, a companion of the apostle Paul, expressly celebrated by him, which epistle too was universally allowed to be genuine, is a contradicted book, and received by a very few, as a part of the New Testament. Nor does it appear, that any of

[a] Ὅθεν δὲ ἐν νόθοις καλατακτέον· ἀλλ' ὡς ἄλοπα πανῆ καὶ δυσσεβῆ παραιτητέον. p. 98. A.

[b] I beg leave to observe, that Mr. Turner understood our author to speak of four sorts of books. He is the only person, whom I have met with, who thought of more than three. And we are independent witnesses to this point. For this article in the chapter of Eusebius (which has long lain by me) was composed before I had any knowledge of Mr. Turner's work, in which he considers this matter. His words are: 'Eusebius's 'account of the sacred books, in that chapter, is somewhat 'confused. But he seems to rank them in four classes.' R. Turner's Discourse upon the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 168—171.

[c] —— τῷ Κλημεντος ὁμολογουμενῃ μια επιστολῃ. H. E. I. iii. c. 16.—— ἀναμολογημενῃ παρα πασιν. ib. c. 38. p. 110. A. —— τῷ Κλημεντος ὁμολογουμενῃ γραφῃ. ib. C.

the epistles of Ignatius or Polycarp, though they likewise were disciples of apostles, ever obtained so much credit, as to be admitted by any into the canon of scripture.

Here this sentiment appears very clearly: every body knew who were authors of those epistles; and for that very reason, few or none ever thought of placing them among sacred scriptures. If the authors of those epistles had been unknown, some might have thought them to have been written by apostles; and those epistles might have made a considerable claim to be parts of the New Testament: but now they stand clearly in the rank only of excellent ecclesiastical writings.

An apostolical man, then, was not supposed to have a right or power to deliver admonitions, exhortations, counsels, precepts, or to write of doctrines, in an authoritative manner. They may make reports, or write histories of the preaching and miracles of Christ or his apostles, which shall be received as of authority: provided they are known to be apostolical men, intimate companions, and approved fellow-labourers of apostles, as Mark and Luke were. But that is the utmost credit and authority of men of this rank, high as it was.

7. We have a fine observation of our author, concerning the employment of the apostles, and their backwardness to write, and the occasions of the few books or epistles which were written by them at last.

And it may be well supposed, that Eusebius here speaks agreeably to the information he had received from more ancient[a] Christian writers.

And I think, that according to his account, all the books of the New Testament, now commonly received among us, are occasional writings, except the book of the Revelation; the author of which, chap. i. 11. is expressly directed to "write in a book, and send it to the seven churches that are in Asia." And he says of the apostles in general, that they were not greatly concerned about writing. And of those two apostles that wrote gospels, he says particularly, 'they were compelled to write by a kind of necessity.' For by tradition of more ancient writers he had been informed, that Matthew wrote his gospel for the benefit of the Christians in Judea; that when he left them, it might supply the want of his presence. And there were traditions of several reasons of John's writing his gospel: one was, that having seen the three gospels first written, he observed, that there was still wanting a written relation of the beginning of Christ's ministry: moreover, two of the former evangelists had written the genealogy of Christ according to the flesh; but the account of Christ's divinity had been reserved for him. The occasion of Mark's writing his gospel has been also mentioned in this author's Ecclesiastical History. And he says, that Luke himself has at the beginning of his gospel assigned the reason why he wrote; which was to put into our hands a full and certain account of Christ's ministry, in the room of those uncertain and defective relations which had been written by others, and were already got abroad in the world.

This may be supposed to be, for the main part, and in the general, a true account of the occasion of writing the several gospels. Nor let any therefore be in pain, and suspect, that then there would have been danger, lest we should have had no gospels, or authentic written records concerning Christ and his doctrine: for if the apostles performed the most difficult part of their ministry, and fulfilled the command of Christ, "to go and preach to all nations," and did discharge that work with zeal and resolution, accompanied with those miracles, which the Divine power they had received from Christ enabled them to perform, there certainly would be occasion for writing both gospels and epistles. The converts which the apostles made, would many of them be desirous of written memoirs of the great and excellent things, which they had heard; and would certainly intreat apostles themselves, or their ministers and companions, to deliver to them such accounts, to help their memory.

And upon the apostles relating frequently in their sermons, in many parts of the world, and to great numbers of people, the discourses and miracles of Jesus, and performing many other like miracles themselves, it was very likely, that some should be so moved and affected by those extraordinary things, as to compose and publish relations of them, though they were not fully qualified for the work. These imperfect, and not sufficiently attested relations, would very naturally provoke and excite some one or more, well acquainted with those things, to write a history of them, which might be depended upon as certain. And having seen some histories of

[a] Exactly to this purpose, Iren. l. iii. c. 1.—per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tum præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, &c.

the acts of Christ, which, though written with a good intention, and from a good principle, were not fitted for general use, nor suited to the importance of the design; it was very natural for the same person, for the same reason, and with the same view, to undertake a second work, containing a history of the acts of Christ's apostles, and of the planting and spreading the Christian doctrine in several places, after the resurrection of Jesus, and his ascension to heaven: in order the better to prevent the setting out any such defective, not well attested relations of these things, as he had actually seen of the life of Christ. It was highly probable, that the design of this second work should enter into the mind of the same person who had undertaken the former, for the reason just mentioned: especially considering, that he was more peculiarly qualified for this latter performance, as he had been himself an eye-witness of a large part of these things, which were to be the materials of it; and he had the honour and happiness of being intimately acquainted with some of the principal persons, whose words and works, journeyings, dangers and sufferings, he was now to relate.

It was also very likely, that if some one apostle was by Divine Providence preserved to a great age, he should come to the sight of the memoirs of Christ's life first written. And as the former evangelists had been much intent upon brevity in their narrations, and confined themselves, chiefly, to the more public parts of Christ's ministry, it was very natural for him to judge it proper to give the world a written relation of some things omitted by them. There might be also such a change in the circumstances of things, since the time of writing the more early gospels, as might contribute to determine his resolution of adding a new and fourth gospel to those already written.

Moreover, if the apostles of Jesus Christ, and his other disciples, and their immediate converts, preached the gospel with that zeal and diligence which might be reasonably expected, and formed and constituted in several parts distinct societies, or churches, of the converts they made by preaching and conference; it could not be, considering the weakness of human nature, and the condition and character of the persons of which those churches were constituted (many of whom had been lately involved in vice, and the grossest darkness and ignorance), but that some of those churches would need farther instructions, for their confirmation and establishment, or for correcting disorders they fell into, or for securing them from the seduction of selfish and artful leaders and teachers crept in among them, or endeavouring to do so. Such wants and necessities of those religious societies would excite the care and attention of the apostles by whom they had been formed. And as the apostles could not visit in person so often as they would, much less be always present with, all the churches they had planted; their tender concern and affection for their welfare, and their zeal for the principles of which they were fully persuaded, and which they had preached and instilled into the minds of men with great labour and many hazards, would oblige and induce them to write epistles to them, containing sufficient instructions about every thing relating to their case, and which the support and flourishing interest of the Christian religion required. And some apostles, in the great and uncommon zeal with which they were animated, in all probability would be induced to write epistles also to some churches or Christians formed and converted by others, and whom they had not seen; that nothing might be wanting to them, for completing their faith in the gospel, and securing their stedfastness therein, and a conversation and behaviour of life becoming it.

Finally, it was likewise probable, that some occasions should offer, which in a manner required, the writing of some epistles to particular persons, for recommending some good office of kindness to a Christian brother, and for giving directions about the officers settled, or to be appointed and settled in Christian societies, for promoting good order, and the interest of religion among them.

Eusebius says, then, that 'the apostles employing the demonstration of the Divine Spirit 'working with them, spread the gospel over the world. Nor were they' [at the first] 'much 'concerned to write, being engaged in a more excellent ministry, exceeding all human power:' that is, in preaching and spreading the gospel every where. This likewise I take to be a just, and true, and fine observation. That ministry was indeed 'above human power,' not only with regard to the miracles performed by them; but their preaching the doctrine of the gospel to all the world, as they did, was also a divine work. To discourse, dispute, and argue with men of all characters, and thus to recommend the truths of religion, requires more and greater talents of the mind, as well as more virtue, especially in the apostles' circumstances, than to write for

them. For in preaching the heavenly doctrine of the gospel, contrary to rooted and general errors and prejudices and darling passions, before men of all ranks and characters, princes and people, philosophers and mechanics, Jews and Gentiles, which required a different sort of treatment; there was necessary not only a clear and distinct knowledge of the doctrine itself, and the several arguments by which it might be most fitly demonstrated and recommended, but also great zeal, and courage, and presence of mind, suited to sudden occasions and emergencies; as well as a fixed resolution to suffer all manner of evil, rather than deny it, rather than not openly profess and teach it. This is very different from composing an argument in private, and at our leisure. We write in the study free from noise and danger: we take the time when we find ourselves best disposed for the work. If we oppose an absurd opinion, and a perverse and unreasonable adversary; though he be far out of sight, or a man we never saw, we find a difficulty in governing our temper, and restraining all harshness and indecency of expression. And when we have finished the work, if the truth we defend be unpopular and unacceptable, we send forth our performance with abundance of caution, perhaps without a name, and in the most reserved and secret manner we can devise. But the apostles, in preaching the gospel, were under a necessity of engaging at all seasons, with all sorts of characters and tempers: and were obliged to meekness under provocations, and courage in the midst of all sorts of dangers and threatenings. For such a service many great talents are needful, either acquired or infused. And since the apostles, generally speaking, had not the former in a great degree, they must have been favoured with the latter.

The work therefore of preaching the gospel, in which the apostles were engaged, was, as Eusebius says, 'a most excellent ministry, and above human power:' it was likewise the fittest to be first performed. To have written memoirs of Christ's life, or treatises of the truth of the Christian religion, before those things had been preached, and before some considerable number of converts had been made, would have signified very little. In that way, the gospel would not, in the course of many ages, if ever, have been spread over the world, as it was by the preaching of the apostles in a few years.

Our Saviour's command to his first apostles was: "Go[a] ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them,—teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Paul in like manner was chosen and appointed of Christ, to[b] "bear his name before the gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." And he[c] was "made a minister and witness of the things which he had seen, and of those things in which Christ should appear unto him: and he shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. These were Christ's own directions, and it was fit they should be first performed: and it was indeed a glorious work, by public preaching to convert men from their errors and vices, to the faith of God and Jesus Christ; and engage them to make a profession of faith in Jesus by baptism, and then to continue the profession and avowal of that faith, by worshipping God according to the rule of the gospel in religious societies of their own.

If therefore the apostles of Christ performed the work appointed them by him, (as they did with amazing success, but not with greater success than might be reasonably expected, considering all the helps, and all the arguments, he had furnished them with, both for animating them, and convincing others:) there certainly would be occasions and demands for writing such books, as the New Testament now consists of; gospels, Acts, and epistles.

And though these writings were of the utmost importance, and of absolute necessity, for preserving the Christian religion in purity in following ages: and though these writings are now of much more immediate advantage to us, than the preaching of Christ and his apostles: yet it was best not only for men of that, but likewise of all future ages, and of us in particular, in these late ages, that the doctrine of the gospel should be first preached by Christ and his apostles, and that a large number of converts should be made, before those books were written, which were to be the rule of faith and manners to Christians in all future times. By this means we now have in these books, demonstrations of the truth of the Christian religion impossible to have been afforded in any other way. Beside the most glorious example of Jesus Christ, in the course of his personal ministry, we see such zeal, resolution, fortitude, self-denial, disinterestedness, patience, meekness, and such extraordinary gifts in his apostles, as afford a rational and most convincing evi-

[a] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. [b] Acts ix. 15. [c] Acts xxvi. 16, 20.

dence of the truth of the doctrine preached by them, and which we have received from them. The several occasions of writing the historical books, such as the request of believers, and the publication of imperfect memoirs of Christ, are proofs that the gospel had been preached to the world, and had been received by many, notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances, which both the preaching and receiving it must have been attended with. The epistles of the apostles written to Christian societies, or to particular Christians, are also undeniable evidences of the success of the apostles' ministry; of the divine works by which that ministry was supported; of the extraordinary gifts conferred by them, and received by their converts; of the sincerity, courage, patience of the first disciples and converts of the apostles in general; and of the eminent and stedfast virtue of many of them. Indeed, they are such evidences of these things, as could never have appeared in any treatises, or set arguments whatever, composed to persuade men to embrace the religion of Jesus. In a word, the gospel has been most effectually spread, the most complete and most lasting evidence of the truth of the Christian religion has been afforded, and the best arguments to an open and stedfast profession of the truth and to a virtuous conversation suitable to it, have been given by the apostles' first preaching the gospels to all sorts of persons, in almost every part of the world, and then composing and delivering such writings, whether historical or epistolary, as were suited to the wants and desires, and fitted for the establishment and improvement of the converts they had made.

Finally, we have in this way greater security for the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, and the integrity of the copies of them, than otherwise we should have had. They were published at the earnest entreaties of some, or written and addressed to others, who would certainly set a great value on them. There were many persons in being, who would receive them with the greatest esteem whenever they came to their knowledge. And as there were many who must needs shew a great regard for them, and be desirous to have them in their hands and make use of them, as helps to their memories in things they had heard with attention; we have the greater reason to conclude, that these books were soon transcribed, and many copies taken of them, which would be a great security against corrupting and interpolating them; if any, to carry on particular interests, had formed such a design.

8. In these passages are also some good observations for harmonizing the gospels, and for determining the duration of our Saviour's personal ministry. The reader doubtless remembers what our author writes of St. John's saying: 'that the three former evangelists had written the 'truth, but there was still wanting a history of the things done by Christ in the first part and 'beginning of his ministry.' I need not therefore enlarge here upon this matter. It may be, however, farther observed, that[a] in another place of the same Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius says, our Lord's ministry was above three years, and not quite four years complete. But his argument there alleged for that opinion, from the number of Jewish high-priests during the period of Christ's preaching, is absurd and groundless, as appears from Josephus: though Eusebius endeavours to support his opinion from that Jewish author. In the Demonstration, he speaks of our Saviour's ministry[b] being three years and an half.

9. We may likewise observe, that the account which Eusebius gives of the opinion of men in his time, is agreeable to what we have seen in the passages of authors before his time. In the writings of ancient authors, whom we have consulted, we have found more numerous quotations of the books universally received in Eusebius's time, than of the others, whose authority was disputed and controverted.

Indeed, some may be hence ready to argue, that we might at first have set down contented with these passages of the bishop of Cæsarea, representing the sense of Christians in his time, founded upon the testimony of antiquity, without looking any farther. But certainly, it is a satisfaction to see ourselves the testimonies of the ancients to the scriptures of the New Testament. If we had not consulted those authors, we could not have been so fully persuaded of the justness of Eusebius's account, as now we are. Nor did he expect that men should rely upon his account. He does not deliver his judgment magisterially: but having in these passages represented, partly his own opinion, partly the general sentiments of other men about the books of scripture, or some of them, he adds: 'but this point shall be decided hereafter by the authority of the 'ancients.' Nor would this great man, if he were witness to our proceedings, condemn our

[a] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 10. & Vales. notas.

[b] Ἱστορείαι δε ὁ πας της διδασκαλιας και παραδοξοποιας ὁμου τε σωτηρος χρονος τριων ἡμισυ γεγονως ἐτων.—Dem. l. viii. p. 400. B.

design, nor take it amiss, that after a long interval we thought it proper to imitate himself, and resumed the design of inquiring after and examining the testimonies of more ancient writers, collected and exhibited by him in the immortal work of his Ecclesiastical History, or any others, that are to be found elsewhere in the original authors that remain.

I hope that we have now in a good measure discovered the true sense and meaning of these passages of Eusebius; though it must be allowed, they are somewhat obscure and confused: and we could have wished, that he had employed a little more time in penning them, and had expressed himself with more perspicuity and exactness. However, in matters of this vast importance, honesty is the main thing; and I think, we have no cause to complain of any defect of that kind in these passages of our author. If he writes without art, he writes also without reserve. He acknowledges that there were different opinions upon this head. And whilst he assures us there were some books received by all the churches under heaven, he owns there were others, about which there were disputes: and likewise, that there had been forged and published gospels and Acts under the name of divers apostles. Eusebius also deserves commendation for the calmness with which he writes of these matters. He represents different opinions without hard names, or fierceness of temper. This is not only excellent in itself, and therefore agreeable; but it is still farther agreeable, in that it confirms the truth and fairness of the account. It is true, he absolutely rejects this last sort of books, and with some indignation, as impious: but it was his duty to tell us what they were, and what catholic Christians thought of them. They were books containing things mean and absurd, and were destitute of all ancient testimonies to the high original they pretended to, and consequently were manifest forgeries: and certainly it is impious to forge writings under the names of any men, much more of apostles. And we have a great deal of reason to be pleased, to find that the ancient Christians were ever cautious what writings they received, as the works of apostles or apostolical men: and that having exercised a judicious critique, they stomached such compositions as these, and rejected them with abhorrence.

IX. As we have largely observed the representation given by Eusebius, of the general sense and opinion of Christians in his time, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament; we ought now to consider, what was his own sentiment concerning the books of that collection.

1. And doubtless we ought to suppose, and take for granted, that he owned for sacred and divine scripture all those books, which he assures us were then universally received as such.

2. I need not therefore make many remarks here relating to the four gospels, his testimony to them in many passages that have passed before us being clear and express: however, it may not be amiss to recollect and put down here a few particulars.

3. The evangelist Matthew he supposed to be one of Christ's twelve apostles, who had been before a publican.

4. The evangelist Mark he supposed to be a companion and disciple of Peter. It does not appear that our great author thought the writer of the gospel to be John surnamed Mark, often mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, and likewise by St. Paul in Coloss. iv. 10, and 2 Tim. iv. 11. But unquestionably he supposed him to be the same that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

5. As for St. Luke's character, we have seen in a passage above cited, that he supposed him to have been originally a physician of Antioch: and doubtless, the same also who is mentioned by St. Paul, Coloss. iv. 14. Consequently, it is probable that he thought this evangelist to have been a gentile Christian: whether rightly, or not, we do not now enquire.

6. The fourth evangelist, John, as we have seen, he thought to be one of Christ's twelve apostles, son of Zebedee, and brother of James: and how he speaks of him and his gospel, and the occasion of it, has been seen by us in several places. When he quotes him, he not seldom calls him the [a] great and admirable evangelist John. He [b] calls him a Hebrew divine. That he gives him that title, in regard to the beginning of his gospel, appears, I think, from several [c] places: and I put in the margin [d] two other passages, where this evangelist is spoken of by Eusebius in the same character. Eusebius is the first ancient author who has given him this

[a] Vid. not. [c].

[b] ——τον Ἑβραιων θεολογον. Pr. Evang. l. xi. c. 18. p. 540 B.

[c] ——Λογον, ὁν θεολογων ὁ μεγας ευαγγελιστης Ιωαννης. Dem. Ev. l. iv. p. 179. C.—ὡσπερ ὁ θαυμασιος ευαγγελιστης Ιωαννης μειζονι η καθ' ανθρωπον μεγαλοφωνια τον σωτηρα και κυριον ἡμων θεολογων. x. λ. Dem. l. vii. c. 1. p. 309. C.

[d] ——του θεολογου και ευαγγελιστην. De Ec. Th. l. i. p. 92. D. ὁ μεγας ευαγγελιστης, ἁμα και θεολογος. Ib. l. ii. c. 12. p. 119. C.

title: and it may be observed, that he characterises Moses in the like manner, calling him also [a] the great Hebrew divine.

7. Before I proceed, I would add, that we have also seen, that this very learned ancient Christian bishop received the genealogy in St. Matthew, and that he makes no question about the genuineness of that, or any part of the first two chapters of St. Matthew's gospel, or of the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, which chapters are often quoted in his works.

8. The book of the Acts is another of those books, which he assures us were universally received. It is expressly mentioned by Eusebius as such in these passages, and ascribed to Luke as the author, and called divinely inspired scripture. He elsewhere likewise often quotes this book, as [b] divine scripture, and the [c] sacred scripture of the Acts: he often quotes it by the title of the Acts, Acts of the Apostles, and written by St. Luke; of [d] which I put some examples in the margin.

9. By the epistles of the apostle Paul, spoken of in the long passages above cited, there can be no question but he means those we have, which are often expressly mentioned and quoted in the works of this writer, by the titles used among us, of the churches, or particular persons, to whom they were sent. Thirteen epistles, therefore, which were received by all as the apostle Paul's, were likewise undoubtedly received as such by Eusebius.

10. Whether he received the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's, which in passages cited by us he has several times spoken of as one of the controverted books of scripture, will require some consideration.

11. And here it may not be amiss to recollect several expressions in those passages, concerning the general reception of this epistle. I have put them together under the second remark, in the second [e] division of the books of the New Testament.

12. We ought also to recollect what Eusebius said, speaking of the famous and universally acknowledged epistle of Clement of Rome, the companion of the apostle Paul: 'In [f] which,' says he, 'inserting many sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and also using some of the 'very words of it, he [g] plainly manifests that epistle to be no modern writing. And hence it has 'not without reason been reckoned among the other writings of the apostle: for Paul having 'written to the Hebrews in their own language, some think that the evangelist Luke, others, 'that this very Clement translated it [into Greek]; which last is the more probable of the two, 'there being a resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement, and that to the Hebrews; 'nor are the sentiments of those two writings very different.'

13. Eusebius does also not seldom quote this epistle as Paul's. Thus, in the account of a Christian martyr, who told his judge, that Jerusalem was his country: 'meaning,' says [h] the historian, 'that Jerusalem of which Paul speaks: "but [i] Jerusalem which is above, is free, which 'is the mother of us all." And, ye [k] "are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the 'living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." In the Ecclesiastical History he speaks of 'the [l] epistle 'to the Hebrews, and divers other epistles of Paul.' He quotes this epistle as [m] 'sacred scripture' in the Evangelical Preparation: as [n] the apostle's in the Demonstration. And in a like manner often in his books against [o] Marcellus, and in his Commentaries upon [p] the Psalms and [q] Isaiah: from the former of which I shall by and by quote a remarkable passage.

14. Theodoret, without hesitation, positively says, that Eusebius [r] received the epistle to the

[a] ——μεγας θεολογος Μωσης, Ἑβραιος ων εξ Ἑβραιων. Præp. Ev. l. vii. c. 7. p. 305. A.

[b] ——ως φησιν ἡ θεια γραφη. H. E. l. ii. c. 9. p. 47. A.

[c] Διδασκαλος και τουτων ἡ ἱερα των πραξεων γραφη. l. ii. c. 18. p. 59. D.

[d] Ὁ Λουκας εν ταις Πραξεσι. H. E. l. i. c. 5. p. 17. D. ὁ Λουκας εν ταις Πραξεσι των Αποστολων. l. iii. c. 31. p. 103. A. Vid. l. ii. c. 11. in. et c. 21. & passim. οἱ δη πρωτοι τω Ιησου μαθηται εν τη βιβλω των ιδιων πραξεων. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 128. B.

[e] See p. 372, 373.

[f] See before, Vol. i. p. 291, 292.

[g] ——σαφεσταλα παρισησιν ὁτι μη νεον ὑπαρχει το συγγραμμα. Ὁθεν εικοτως εδοξεν, αὐτο τοις λοιποις εγκαταλεχθηναι γραμμασι του αποστολου. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. p. 110. A.

[h] De Martyr. Pal. c. xi. p. 337.

[i] Gal. iv. 26.

[k] Hebr. xii. 22.

[l] ——ὁποιας ἡ τε προς Ἑβραιους, και αλλαι πλειους του Παυλου περιεχουσιν επιστολαι. H. E. l. ii. c. 17. p. 55. D.

[m] ——του τε ἱερου λογου σαφεστερον εκπονησας——Pr. Ev. l. xii. c. 19. p. 592. D.

[n] Ταυτα μεν ὁ αποστολος. Dem. Ev. l. v. c. 3. p. 223. D. 224. A. B.

[o] Και αρχιερεα δε αὐτον ὁ αὐτος αποστολος αποκαλει, λεγων. De Ecc. Th. l. i. p. 95. B. & passim.

[p] ——περι της Σαυμαστης σκηνης και ὁ θειος αποστολος διδασκων ελεγεν· τοιουτον εχομεν αρχιερεα.——[Heb. viii.] Comm. in Ps. p. 175. E. ὁ ἱερος αποστολος εν τη προς Ἑβραιους φησιν. ib. p. 555. & passim.

[q] Παρισησι δε το ὁρος ὁ αποστολος, ειπων. Comm. in Is. p. 454. C. & passim.

[r] Ευσεβιῳ μεν εχρην πεισθηναι τῳ Παλαιστινῳ——και ὁτος γαρ του θειου Παυλου την δε την επιστολην ὡμολογησεν ειναι,

Hebrews, as a writing of the divine Paul; and that he said, all the ancients were of the same opinion. Which must be reckoned but a loose quotation, if thereby he intends (as I apprehend he does), Eusebius's citation of Origen in his [a] Ecclesiastical history.

15. Once more, Eusebius is reckoned by Stephen Gobar, in Photius, among [b] those many ancient writers, who count this epistle among the other epistles of Paul, and say, that it was translated out of Hebrew by Clement of Rome.

16. All these particulars are sufficient to afford full satisfaction, that in the churches with which Eusebius was best acquainted, this epistle was generally received as the apostle Paul's, and that he was himself also much inclined to admit it as such. Nevertheless, perhaps it may be questioned whether he was fully persuaded of it. If he had, he would scarce have expressed himself as he does in the place before cited, relating to the parallel passages of this and Clement's epistle; 'that he thereby clearly shews it to be no modern composition.' As the evidence of this epistle being Paul's did not appear equally clear with that for his other epistles, the persuasion was not equally certain, and doubts, as it seems, were sometimes apt to arise in his mind about it.

17. In order to judge of this writer's sentiments concerning the epistle of James, which, as he before informed us, was the first of the seven epistles called catholic, but was disputed by many, we must observe several passages. But I choose not to insist on any general [c] citations, without the name of book, or author of those words, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble;" because, though they are found in James iv. 6, they are also in Prov. iii. 34, and 1 Pet. v. 5. And besides, there are divers passages of Eusebius, where this epistle is plainly quoted.

18. In his books of Ecclesiastical Theology, he observes, 'As [d] it is said in another place, '"Confess [e] your sins one to another."' In the Commentary upon the Psalms, 'Since [f] the 'scripture [g] says, "Love [h] not detraction, lest thou be destroyed." And "speak [i] not evil, 'brethren, one of another, lest ye fall into condemnation." Again, in the same Commentary upon the Psalms, 'The [k] sacred Apostle therefore says, "Is [l] any among you afflicted? let him 'pray: Is any merry? let him sing psalms."'

19. These are quotations of the epistle: we must also observe some other passages, beside that before transcribed concerning James, called the Just, and the brother of our Lord, whom Eusebius supposes to be the author of this epistle.

20. In the Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned some traditions relating to Christ's seventy disciples, he proceeds, 'And [m] any attentive person may perceive that Christ had more 'than seventy disciples. This is evident from the testimony of Paul, without searching for other 'proof: who says, that after his resurrection from the dead [n] he was "seen of Cephas, then of the 'twelve, and after them of above five hundred brethren at once. Of whom some," he says, "were 'fallen asleep; but the greater part remained at the time he wrote. "After that," says he, "he 'was seen of James." So [o] that he also was one of those called disciples of the Lord, as well as 'one of his brethren. Lastly, there being many other beside the twelve, who in resemblance 'of them were called apostles, as was also Paul himself, he adds, "Then he was seen of all the 'apostles."

We need not stay to consider whether Eusebius rightly understands this text of St. Paul; it is plain, he did not think this James one of Christ's disciples, but a disciple in general, possibly

και τȣς παλαιȣς ἁπαντας ταυτην περι αυτης εφησεν εσχηκεναι την δοξαν. Thdrt. Argum. in Ep. ad Hebr.

[a] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 25. p. 227. D. And the passage is cited in this work, Vol. i. p. 532.

[b] Ὅτι——Κλημης μεντοι και Ευσεβιος, και πολυς αλλος των θεοφορων πατερων ὁμιλος, ταις αλλαις συναριθμȣσι ταυτην επιστολαις, και φασιν αυτην εκ της Ἑβραϊδος μεταφρασαι τον ειρημενον Κλημεντα. Phot. Cod. 232. p. 904. in.

[c] Vid. Euseb. Comm. in Ps. p. 446. D. in Is. p. 450. A.

[d] ——καθο λελεκται εν ἑτεροις· Εξομολογεισθε αλληλοις τας ἁμαρτιας. De Ec. Th. l. iii. p. 152. A.

[e] James v. 16.

[f] Της γραφης λεγȣσης· Μη αγαπα καταλαλειν, ἱνα μη εξαρθης· και, μη καταλαλειτε αλληλων, αδελφοι, ἱνα μη ὑπο κρισιν πεσητε. In Ps. p. 648. B.

[g] Prov. xx. 13.

[h] Our translation more agreeably to the Hebrew and Symmachus: "Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty."

[i] See James iv. 11. & v. 12.

[k] Λεγει γȣν ὁ ἱερος αποστολος. Κακοπαθει τις εν ὑμιν; προσευχεσθω· ευθυμει τις; ψαλλετω. in Ps. p. 247. C.

[l] James v. 13.

[m] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 12. p. 31. A. B.

[n] 1 Cor. xv. 5—7.

[o] Εἰς δε και ȣτος των φερομενων τȣ σωτηρος μαθητων, αλλα μην και αδελφων ην. Ειθ' ὡς παρα τȣτȣς κατα μιμησιν των δωδεκα πλειστων ὁσων ὑπαρξαντων αποστολων, οἱος και αυτος ὁ Παυλος ην, προστιθησι, λεγων· Επειτα ωφθη τοις αποστολοις πασι. Ib. B.

one of the seventy, and also one of those called the brethren of the Lord, and an apostle in the larger and looser sense of the word.

21. In another chapter of the Ecclesiastical History, he says, that [a] 'this James, the first 'bishop of Jerusalem, brother of the Lord, son of Joseph, husband of Mary, was surnamed the 'Just by the ancients, on account of the eminence of his virtue.'

22. In his Evangelical Demonstration, speaking again of this James, he calls him 'the brother 'of our Lord:' and says, that 'the [b] people of Jerusalem called him the Just, on account of his 'transcendent virtue.'

23. But the most remarkable passage of Eusebius relating to this matter, is in his Commentary upon the seventeenth chapter of Isaiah, where he computes fourteen apostles of our Saviour; that is, beside the twelve including Matthias, two other, in all fourteen. 'Of [c] which,' says he, 'the twelve may be reckoned the first [or chief] apostles; and after them Paul, who was not 'inferior to them in virtue [or power], who was also called to be an apostle; and James, the 'brother of our Lord, who is said to have been appointed by our Saviour himself the first bishop [d] 'of Jerusalem.'

Hence it appears, that Eusebius thought there were three apostles, named James; the son of Zebedee, brother of John, the son of Alpheus, and the brother of our Lord: which last James, therefore, is not in his account the son of Alpheus, but a different person, not one of the first twelve apostles, but a fourteenth with Paul.

24. Upon what we have seen in Eusebius relating to this epistle, and the author of it, we may now make the following remarks.

(1.) He had a considerable respect for this epistle. This may be inferred from his quotations of it, though they are not numerous, and from his calling the author apostle, and particularly from his reckoning him one of Christ's fourteen apostles.

(2.) Nevertheless, Eusebius does not make him equal to the twelve and Paul. This is evident from the last cited passage: he says, the twelve may be not unfitly styled Christ's chief apostles: and he adds, that Paul was not inferior to them; but he does not say so of James, whom he reckons the fourteenth.

(3.) It is very probable there were others about that time who had the same notion with Eusebius, about the author of this epistle. If there were, it is no wonder that the right of this epistle to be a part of the New Testament was disputed. For since the writer was not, or was not supposed to be, one of Christ's twelve apostles, nor equal to them, (as no other beside Paul was), they would not allow this epistle to be one of the sacred books of the New Testament. This may then be very probably reckoned one reason, why this was a contradicted book.

(4.) Possibly, we may now be able to judge of the meaning of those expressions concerning this epistle before quoted: 'It ought to be observed, that it is spurious.' It is likely, the meaning is, that it was generally rejected. I own indeed, that it cannot be proved, that Eusebius himself did esteem this epistle of equal authority with epistles written by any of the twelve apostles and Paul. Nevertheless, since the words spurious, and altogether spurious, are used by him in other places, where he sorts and divides books according to the opinions of men about them; I think the phrase ought to be taken in this sense in that passage also.

25. The first epistle of Peter undoubtedly was received by Eusebius. He has assured us, it was one of the unquestioned books of the New Testament, and acknowledged by all. We have likewise seen, that he supposed it to be written to Jewish Christians in the countries mentioned at the beginning.

26. As for the second of Peter, in the second passage, he placeth it among the controverted books. In the third he says, 'we are informed by the tradition of the ancients, that it is not a 'part of the [New] Testament.' And afterwards, in the same passage, he says again, that 'he

[a] Τοῖε δηῖα και Ιακωϐον τον τȣ κυριȣ λεγομενον αδελφον, ὅτι δη και ȣ̓ῖος τȣ Ιωσηφ ωνομαστο παις.—τȣῖον δε ȣν αυῖον Ιακωϐον, ὁν και δικαιον επικλην οἱ παλαι δι' αρεῖης εκαλȣν προῖερημαῖα. H. E. l. ii. c. 1. p. 38. B. C.

[b] ——ὁν οἱ παλαι τα Ἱεροσολυμα οικȣνῖες εκαλȣν δικαιον δια τα της αρεῖης πλεονεκῖημαῖα. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 116. C.

[c] ——δεκα και τεσσαρας ποιησει τȣς παντας, ὡν δωδεκα μεν τȣς πρωῖȣς αποστολȣς ειποις αν ειναι, ȣκ ελαττο δε αυῖων την αρεῖην Παυλον, και αυῖον ονῖα κληῖον αποστολον, και τον Ιακωϐον γεγονεναι, τον αδελφον τȣ κυριȣ. κ. λ.. in Is. c. 17. p. 422. C. D.

[d] St. Jerom in his Commentary upon the same chapter in Isaiah, does in a manner transcribe this passage of Eusebius: but instead of James he puts Barnabas: duas olivas Paulum & Barnabam. Tom. iii. p. 176. m. With which may be compared what he writes in his book against Helvidius. T. iv. p. 137, 138.

'knows but of one epistle of Peter that is genuine, and acknowledged by the presbyters of former 'times.' These are strong expressions: and though in these chapters he represents very much the opinions of men about these books, yet he seems here to declare also his own opinion, so far as to say, that he does not esteem it certainly for an epistle of the apostle Peter. And that he did not receive it as such, may be argued from the little or no notice taken of it any where else in his works, except when he is giving an account of the opinions of ancient writers, or of those of his own time. For I do not remember, that he has quoted it himself in his Ecclesiastical History, or his Preparation, or Demonstration, or in his books against Marcellus, or in his Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaias; in a word, in any work of his, undoubtedly genuine.

26. The first epistle of John is another unquestioned book, universally allowed to be written by the apostle of that name; and therefore also received by our author.

27. Of the second and third epistles he speaks doubtfully in the second passage, placing them among the controverted books: 'Whether,' says he, 'they are written by the evangelist, or 'another of the same name.' And that these two epistles were not received by Eusebius, appears to me very probable, forasmuch as I do not remember either of them to be quoted by him in any of the works above-mentioned.

28. There is however a passage of the Evangelical Demonstration, which may not be overlooked. It is a passage which was largely cited [a] above, upon another account. Having alleged some proofs of the integrity and modesty of Matthew in his gospel, he adds, 'You may observe 'John to be of the same mind with Matthew: for [b] in his epistles, he either names not himself 'at all, or calls himself only elder—no where apostle or evangelist. In his gospel, when he speaks of 'him whom Jesus loved, he does not mention himself by name.' Here Eusebius evidently refers to the three epistles, well known, and ascribed by many to the apostle John; to the first, undoubtedly his, in which he names not himself at all; and to the other two, at the beginning of both which he calls himself elder: and Eusebius speaks of all three as written by John the evangelist. But this affords no certain proof, that he was persuaded they were all written by one and the same person. It is sufficient foundation for the observation there proposed, that they were generally, or by many supposed to be written by the apostle. As for himself, he has plainly shewn by what he says elsewhere, and by not quoting the two last epistles, that he was not fully satisfied they were written by the apostle and evangelist.

29. The epistle of Jude we have several times seen placed among controverted books; nor do I recollect any quotation of this epistle in any of Eusebius's works.

30. Concerning the book of the Revelation, we have seen people's notions and opinions represented in Eusebius: by some it was rejected, by others it was received. We may be apt to conclude from Eusebius's accounts, as before observed, that this book was very generally received, by many more, however, than it was rejected.

31. As for Eusebius's own opinion, it does not appear that he received it as a book of the New Testament. Indeed it is often mentioned by him in his Ecclesiastical History, as he cites the passages of ancient authors. 'In [c] this persecution, [under Domitian,] it is reported, 'that John the apostle and evangelist, being yet alive, was banished into the island Patmos 'for the testimony of the word of God. And Irenæus, writing about the number of the 'name of Antichrist, mentioned [d] in the Revelation ascribed to John, speaks of John in these 'very words.' Afterwards, in the same book of the Ecclesiastical History, he quotes the Revelation in this manner: 'About [e] this time,' says he, 'was the heresy, called the heresy of the 'Nicolaitans, which continued for a short time; of [f] which also the Revelation of John makes 'mention.' But he does not here clearly declare his own opinion for the authority of that book.

32. That he was not positive of its being written by John the apostle and evangelist, is apparent from a passage [g] quoted formerly about Papias, where he says: 'It [h] is likely, that the Reve-'lation, which goes under the name of John, was seen by the second, if not by the first;' that is, by John the elder, if not by John the apostle.

33. Nor can I say, that Eusebius has in any of his works quoted the Revelation, in the way

[a] P. 366, 367.

[b] —— εν μεν γαρ ταις επιστολαις αυτε ουδε μνημην της οικειας προσηγοριας ποιειται, η πρεσβυτερον εαυτον ονομαζει. κ. λ. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 120. D.

[c] H. E. l. iii. c. 18.

[d] —— εν τη Ιωαννε λεγομενη αποκαλυψει. ib. p. 88. D.

[e] L. iii. c. 29. in.

[f] Ης δη και ή τε Ιωαννε Αποκαλυψις μνημονευει. ib.

[g] See Vol. i. p. 337.

[h] Εικος γαρ τον δευτερον, ει μη τις εθελοι τον πρωτον, την επ' ονοματος φερομενην Ιωαννε Αποκαλυψιν εωρακεναι. l. iii. c. 39. p. 111. D.

of proof of any doctrine. He does indeed refer to it [a] sometimes: and he quotes it in [b] his Demonstration. But it appears to me very remarkable, that in the long Commentary upon the Psalms, and in the Commentary upon Isaiah, there is not one quotation of this book, nor, I think, any notice taken of it. In the Commentary on the Psalms there are numerous quotations out of the gospels and Acts; all Paul's epistles are quoted, except the epistle to Titus, and most of them often; the epistle of James, the first of Peter, and the first of John, are also quoted there: but not one word from the book of the Revelation. It is farther to be observed, that in the Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaiah, he had many fair occasions for quoting this book; his argument often led him to do so, and he could not but think of it; nevertheless, not one word about it, that I remember. He seems to me, therefore, studiously to have avoided all notice of the Revelation. I suppose that every one, who reads those Commentaries, may be sensible of the truth of what I say. It is not possible to transcribe passages at length, but for the easier satisfaction of the curious, I refer to some places in the Commentary [c] upon the Psalms, and [d] Isaiah, where it is likely, he would have taken some notice of this book, if he had not purposely declined it. In his comment upon Ps. xcv. he speaks much of a "new song" to be sung to God; but still makes no reference to any place of the Revelation, though it was hard to avoid it; see Rev. v. 9, xiv. 3, xv. 3, not to add any other places of that book, which he could have made use of, if he had seen fit.

34. It may be also reckoned a confirmation of this supposition, that in the place cited not long ago concerning St. John's modesty, he makes no mention of this book, though he instanceth in the epistles, as well as the gospel. I do not well see how Eusebius could excuse himself in omitting entirely the Revelation, if he thought it to be written by the apostle John.

35. It may be said, that it was not to his purpose to speak of the Revelation, in which the writer often mentions himself by name. To which I answer, that it was easy for Eusebius to have added: And as for the book of the Revelation, though he mentions himself by name, he does not call himself apostle or evangelist. Or he should have proposed the objection, that might be reasonably made, if the apostle, whose modesty he celebrates, was the author of that book. It seems to me, that the only good reason assignable for Eusebius's silence about the Revelation in that place, is, that he was not satisfied it was written by John the Apostle.

36. But whatever may be thought of this last observation, I insist upon the foregoing particulars, as probable arguments, that the Revelation was not esteemed by Eusebius a book of the highest authority.

37. It is not unlikely, that the learned and critical argument of Dionysius of Alexandria was of great weight with Eusebius, and many others about that time. And our author's aversion to all the schemes of the Millenarians, which this book was made use of to support, induced him to take as little notice of it as possible, though it was in great esteem with many.

38. I apprehend, that from the time of Dionysius, the credit of this book declined in the east, though it was still received by some: which gave occasion to Jerom to say, it [e] was not received by the Greek Christians of his age.

39. Upon the whole, this learned Christian bishop received, as sacred scripture, the four gospels, the Acts, and thirteen epistles of Paul; he has often quoted the epistle to the Hebrews as his: and it is generally supposed, that he received it as one of Paul's epistles. I think likewise, that he was well disposed to that sentiment; nevertheless, I suspect, that he had doubts, and was not clear and positive on that side the question. He received besides, the first epistles of Peter, and first epistle of John, as undoubtedly genuine, and therefore also of the highest authority. Of all the five disputed catholic epistles, he seems to be most favourable toward that of James: for he has quoted it several times, and reckons the writer to have been a disciple and brother of the Lord, and apostle in a secondary sense, and next to the twelve and Paul. The other four and disputed catholic epistles are scarce ever quoted by him; and the book of the Revelation very rarely. However, he is not averse to allow, that the two latter epistles, called John's were written by the elder of that name. In like manner he seems to allow the antiquity of the book of the Revelation; and that it was written by John the elder,

[a] De Vit. Const. l. iii. c. 33.

[b] Κατα την Αποκαλυψιν Ιωαννε. Dem. l. viii. p. 386. D.

[c] In Ps. p. 204, 205.

[d] In Is. p. 455. A. B. C. 459. C. D. 460. B. 577. A. B. 579. B. C. D. 587. A. 593. A.

[e] Quod si eam [ad Hebr. Epistolam.] Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas; nec Græcorum quidem Ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eâdem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus. Hier. ad Dardan. T ii. p. 608. f. Ed. Bened.

if not by John the apostle. Nor does it appear, that he had any exceptions to make to the doctrine of this book, as containing any thing contrary to the catholic and ecclesiastical principles. But he was somewhat prejudiced against it, because many people, as he thought, made a wrong use of it. It is highly probable, that in the argument of Dionysius, which is largely transcribed into [a] the Ecclesiastical History, we have the sense of our author himself, as well as of that learned bishop of Alexandria.

X. I believe this may be a proper place for us to take notice of the contradicted books spoken of by Eusebius in the passages above cited from his Ecclesiastical History.

Several of them are now in our canon, and have been considered in the preceding section. The reader clearly discerns what books I mean: the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, the second and third of John, and the Revelation. The rest mentioned by Eusebius, as 'contradicted,' or 'spurious,' or 'altogether spurious,' are these.

1. The epistle of Barnabas placed among spurious by [b] Eusebius in our second passage from him; and in some other places [c] called by him a 'contradicted' book. Of this epistle I have spoken distinctly in the first volume of the second part of this work: I suppose it [d] to be a genuine work of the person to whom it is inscribed; nevertheless it is justly placed by Eusebius among contradicted books of scripture, or even among spurious: that is, among such books as were generally reckoned not to be a part of the New Testament. That he is in the right in so doing, appears from our observations upon the several ancient Christian writers, who have made use of this epistle, but do not quote it as of the highest authority. How it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, may be seen Vol. i. p. 283, 406, how by Origen, may be seen in Vol. i. p. 283, 549. The reason of not placing this epistle in the number of books of the highest authority, I have supposed to be this: that the writer was not reckoned to be, properly speaking, an apostle, as has been hinted several [e] times.

2. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, undoubtedly a genuine work of the author to whom it is ascribed: yet placed by [f] Eusebius among contradicted books, and justly, because very few have thought it to be a part of the New Testament; forasmuch as the writer was not an apostle. How quoted by Irenæus, may be seen by the reader, if he pleases, Vol. i. p. 374, 375, how by Clement of Alexandria, Vol. i. p. 406, how by Origen, Vol. i. p. 549.

3. The Shepherd of Hermas, in our second passage from Eusebius placed by him [g] among spurious books, in the third passage said [h] to be contradicted by some. It is, probably, a genuine writing of Hermas, but has no right to be a part of sacred scripture; as evidently appears from the ancient writers which have used it, and our observations upon them. How it is quoted by Irenæus, may bee seen Vol. i. p. 373, 374, how by Clement of Alexandria, Vol. i. p. 406, how by Origen, Vol. i. p. 550, 551.

4. The gospel according to the Hebrews, in our second passage from [i] Eusebius placed among spurious books: and said to be chiefly used by the Hebrew Christians. In another place he says, it [k] was the only gospel received by the Ebionites. I defer till another time shewing at large what it was: however, I have already declared my opinion about it in general; that [l] probably, the 'ground work of it is St. Matthew's gospel, with additions of things taken out of 'St. Luke's, and perhaps the other gospels, and of other matters handed down by oral tradition.' And I have at times shewn, how it is quoted by several ancient writers; as Clement of Alexandria, Vol. i. p. 407, and by Origen, Vol. i. p. 552—554.

5. Doctrines of the apostles, mentioned by [m] Eusebius in our second passage from him, and placed among spurious books. For a farther knowledge of this book I refer to [n] Usher and Grabe.

However, I shall put down here a few observations which offer themselves.

[a] See H. E. lib. vii. c. 24, 25. And the first volume of this work, p. 633—636.

[b] ——εν τοις νοθοις—ἡ φερομενη Βαρναβα επιστολη. H. E. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C.

[c] Ib. l. vi. c. 13. p. 214. D. c. 14. p. 215. C.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 283.

[e] See Vol. i. p. 407. note [a].

[f] L. vi. c. 13. p. 214. D. [g] L. iii. c. 25. p. 97. B.

[h] Ισεον ὡς και ταῦτο προς μεν τινων ανηλεγκται. l. iii. c. 3. p. 72. C. [i] L. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C.

[k] H. E. l. iii. c. 27. p. 99. C. [l] See Vol. i. p. 323.

[m] ——εν τοις νοθοις——και των Αποστολων αι λεγομεναι Διδαχαι. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C.

[n] Usser. Prolegom. in Ignat. Epist. cap. 7. Grabe Spic. Tom. i. p. 40. &c.

(1.) This book is placed by Eusebius with spurious writings: therefore it is plain, that it was not of undoubted authority.

(2.) This is the first and only mention which we have of this book in Eusebius: nor has he informed us at any time, that it was made use of by ancient writers. It is not one of the books of scripture mentioned by Irenæus; it is not in any of Origen's catalogues of sacred books: and though our author takes particular notice of Clement of Alexandria having written brief [a] notes upon all books of scripture, not omitting the contradicted, this is not named by him; which may make us suspect, that it is not a very ancient book, but composed after the time of Irenæus, and Clement, and Origen, in our author's own time, or not long before. After this we find it mentioned in Athanasius's Festal Epistle [b] among other books not canonical, and in the [c] Synopsis ascribed to him, and in some other authors; particularly in Epiphanius, if [d] Grabe be in the right. The doctrine of Peter is quoted in Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's Principia, in [e] the preface. That may have been a part of what is called the Doctrines of the Apostles: if that passage be really Origen's, he had little respect for the book there referred to.

It is observed by Usher and Grabe, that whereas in our Greek copies of Eusebius, this book is expressed in the plural number, Rufinus's [f] translation has it in the singular, as also the Festal Epistle, and the Synopsis just mentioned.

(3.) That this book is not the same as the Apostolical Constitutions, is argued by the forementioned learned writers from three considerations. (1.) In the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, the Doctrine of the Apostles is reckoned among those books which are proper for catechumens; whereas the Constitutions are rather reckoned to be for bishops. (2.) The Doctrine of the Apostles was a small book,[g] consisting of two hundred lines or verses, according to Nicephorus; which is less than the book of Canticles, containing two hundred and eighty lines: certainly this but little suits the huge volume of the Clementine Constitutions. (3.) In an ancient catalogue of canonical and apocryphal books of scripture, the [h] Doctrine of the Apostles is mentioned as distinct from the Doctrine or Institution of Clement.

(4.) If this book is not the same as the Apostolical Constitutions, these last are no where mentioned by our author in any of his writings: there is therefore no reason, why I should as yet take any particular notice of them.

6. The Gospel of Peter, placed by [i] Eusebius in our second passage from him among books altogether spurious, composed by heretics; and in the like manner in our [k] third passage from him. I have said enough concerning this in the chapters of [l] Serapion, and [m] Origen.

7. The Gospel of Thomas, in our second passage from [n] Eusebius, placed likewise among forgeries of heretics, altogether absurd and impious: nor do I remember, that this gospel is any where mentioned by Eusebius in accounts of the quotations of ancient authors, or upon any occasion whatever. I gave some account of this gospel formerly.

8. The Gospel of Matthias likewise placed by our [o] author in the second passage, among heretical forgeries, and no where else mentioned by him. The traditions of Matthias were before taken notice of by us in the chapter of [p] Clement of Alexandria.

9. The Preaching of Peter is placed by [q] Eusebius in the third passage among heretical

[a] L. vi. c. 14.

[b] ——ου κανονιζομενα μεν, τελυπωμενα δε παρα των παλαιων αναλινωσκεσθαι τοις αρτι προσερχομενοις καληχεισθαι τον της ευσεβειας λογον——και Διδαχη καλεμενη των Αποστολων. Ep. Fest. Ath. T. i. p. 963. A.

[c] Διδαχη Αποστολων. Athan. T. ii. p. 202. A.

[d] Equidem id lubens concedo, Doctrinam Apostolorum ab Eusebio & Athanasio memoratam fuisse eamdem cum Διαταξει sive Constitutione Apostolicâ, ab Epiphanio aliquoties laudatâ. Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 41.

[e] Si vero quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello, qui Petri Doctrina appellatur, ubi Salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere, 'non sum dæmonium incorporeum:' primo respondendum est ei, quoniam ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur. Et ostendendum quia neque Petri est ipsa scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam, qui spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus. Orig. Opp. T. i. p. 49. B. C.

[f] ——quamvis Rufinus in suâ versione posuerit in numero singulari: Doctrina quæ dicitur Apostolorum: &c. Grabe, ib. p. 40.

[g] Exiguus ille 200 versiculorum numerus, quibus illa Διδαχη tum in Græco Nicephori Constantinopolitani textu, tum in Latinâ Anastasii Bibliothecarii interpretatione, constare ostenditur: quod Salomonis Canticorum libello minorem eam fuisse evincit, quem 280 ejusdem στιχους habuisse ibidem legimus. Usser. ib.

[h] Indiculus librorum canonicorum & apocryphorum, quem Anastasii Nicæni Quæstionibus subjectum in publicâ Oxoniensis Academiæ Bibliothecâ invenimus: ubi Διδαχαι των αποστολων & Διδασκαλια Κλημεντος, ut distincta opera recensentur, & in scriptorum apocryphorum censu pariter reponuntur. Usser. ib.

[i] Euseb. l. iii. p. 97. D.

[k] Ib. p. 72. A.

[l] Vol. i. p. 414.

[m] Vol. i. p. 555.

[n] L. iii. p. 97. D.

[o] L. iii. p. 97. D.

[p] Vol. i. p. 410, 411.

[q] L. iii. p. 72. A.

scriptures. I have already given an account of this book in the chapters of [a] Clement of Alexandria, [b] Origen, and [c] Lactantius.

10. Acts of [d] Peter and [e] Paul, reckoned by our author in the second, and in the third passage, either as heretical or spurious, and not generally received. Of these likewise I have had occasion to speak before in the chapters of [f] Clement of Alexandria, and [g] Origen. Beausobre supposeth the acts of Peter to be a work of [h] Leucius.

11. Acts of Andrew and Thomas, and other apostles, in our second passage, ranked by [i] Eusebius among heretical forgeries. For these the reader is referred to several [k] places, where I have already had occasion to speak of them.

12. Revelation of Peter, in the second passage from [l] Eusebius placed among spurious, in the [m] third among heretical writings, in another place [n] among contradicted. Some account was given of this book [o] in the chapter of Clement of Alexandria. Sozomen assures us, that [p] though this book was entirely, or universally rejected by the ancients as spurious; yet in his time it was read once in the year in some churches of Palestine on a Friday, when they fasted in remembrance of our Saviour's passion. Sozomen in the [q] same place speaks of a book called Paul's Revelation, which was respected by some monks of his time: though it was altogether unknown to the ancients, and was absolutely spurious, as he shews.

13. This may suffice for an account of these books, mentioned by Eusebius: he takes little or no notice of them in any other part of his writings. What was their authority, or value, appears from the places which I have referred to, as well as from the character here given of them by our ecclesiastical historian.

XI. It has been of late a common opinion, that Eusebius thought St. Matthew wrote his gospel at about eight years after our Lord's ascension. Some found this supposition upon a passage in his Ecclesiastical History, as [r] Mill, whose words upon this occasion I place at the bottom of the page; others upon the Chronicle, as [s] Jones.

As for the argument from the Chronicle, it is of no manner of force: for there is no such thing in it. It is indeed said [t] in Pontac's edition of the Chronicle at the vulgar year of Christ xli. 'Matthew first writes his Gospel in Judea:' but the editor had those words printed in Italic, to denote that he did not think them genuine, as being wanted in most,[u] and the best manuscripts and editions: accordingly Joseph Scaliger did not insert them in his edition of Eusebius's Chronicle.

As for the Ecclesiastical History, in our first passage [w] formerly taken from him, he says, that [x] 'when Matthew was about to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the Hebrews 'in their own language.' But he does not there, or any where else, say, when Matthew left Judea.

Theophylact [y] in the eleventh century, and [z] Euthymius in the twelfth, say, that Matthew wrote in the eighth year after our Saviour's ascension. Nicephorus Callisti [aa] in the fourteenth

[a] Vol. i. p. 408—410. [b] Vol. i. p. 555.
[c] In this vol. p. 291, 292. [d] L. iii. p. 97. B.
[e] P. 72. A. C. [f] Vol. i. p. 410.
[g] Vol. ii. p. 113, 114.
[h] See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 394. [i] P. 97. D.
[k] See Vol. i. p. 588, 589, 590.
[l] P. 97. B. [m] P. 72. A.
[n] L. vi. c. 14. in. [o] Vol. i. p. 410.
[p] Οὕτω γȣν την καλȣμενην Αποκαλυψιν Πετρȣ, ὡς νοθον παντελως προς των αρχαιων δοκιμασθεισαν, εν τισιν εκκλησιαις της Παλαιστινης εισετι νυν ἁπαξ ἑκαστȣ ετȣς αναπινωσκομενην εγνωμεν, εν τη ἡμερα παρασκευης, ἡν ευλαβως αγαν ὁ λαος νηστευει επι αναμνησει τȣ σωτηριȣ παθȣς. Sozom. l. vii. c. 19. p. 735. C.
[q] Την δε νυν ὡς Αποκαλυψιν Παυλȣ τȣ αποστολȣ φερομενην, ἡν ȣδεις αρχαιων ειδε, πλειστοι μοναχων επαινȣσιν. ibid.
[r] Licet enim Eusebius (quem secuti sunt Euthymius, Theophylactus, ac codices fere mss. evangeliorum in ὑπογραφαις, evangelii hujus calci suffixis:) scriptionem ejus ad annum Domini xli. h. e. ex ipsius rationibus viii. a Christi passione fixam velit: [sumit nimirum pro concesso, apostolos post notitiam ostii gentibus patefacti, statim convenisse de evangelio per orbem terrarum prædicando: ideoque & Matthæum paulo ante discessum ab Hierosolymis, hortatu fidelium istius loci, evangelicam suam historiam concinnâsse. H. E. l. iii. c. 24.] Tamen Irenæus, &c. Mill. Proleg. num. 61.
[s] Eusebius in his Chronicon has placed the writing of St. Matthew's gospel in the third year of Caligula: that is, eight years after Christ's ascension, or the year of Christ 41. Jones of the Canon. Vol. iii. p. 60.
[t] Matthæus in Judæâ evangelium primus scribit. p. 57.
[u] As Pontac's edition is scarce, I shall here put down his note upon these words: Desunt in A. F. H. M. septem Vaticanis. Vi. O. Pi. Fux. P. Lo. & tribus MSS. Fab. Mar. Fre. Nec ex alio loco vel scriptore vetere constat, quo anno Matthæus scripserit: nisi quod ipse Eusebius lib. v. H. E. c. 8. refert verba Irenæi scribentis, Matthæum historiam evangelii composuisse tunc, cum Petrus & Paulus Romæ evangelizarent, quod non contigit ante annum 44 Christi. Et juxta hanc sententiam facile crederem ista hic fuisse adjecta. Pontac. Annot. p. 559. [w] H. E. l. iii. c. 24. p. 95. A.
[x] See before, p. 368.
[y] —— μετα οκτω ετη της Χριστȣ αναληψεως. Theoph. ap. Mill. N. T. p. 3. [z] Euthym. ibid. p. 4.
[aa] Μετα ιε ετη της Χριστȣ αναληψεως. Niceph. l. ii. c. 45. p. 213. B.

century, says, Matthew wrote about fifteen years after Christ's ascension: and the Paschal Chronicle, in the seventh century, intimates the same [a] thing. None of these writers expressly refer to more ancient authors for their opinion: but it may be reckoned probable, that they collected it from the history in the Acts, and from the fore-mentioned passage of Eusebius. They who thought, that Matthew and the other apostles left Judea soon after the conversion of Cornelius at Cæsarea, supposed his Gospel might be written in the eighth year of our Lord's ascension. They who thought that [b] the apostles did not leave Judea to go to the Gentiles, till after the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. supposed Matthew's Gospel to have been written in the fifteenth year of our Lord's ascension, of the vulgar account forty-nine: but neither had for their opinion the express authority of Eusebius, or any other very ancient writer. It is well known to be very common to insert articles in Chronicles, and such like works: this article, concerning the time of Matthew's Gospel, is probably a late addition.

I am of opinion, that Mill has judiciously followed Irenæus, in placing St. Matthew's gospel about the year of Christ LX. Whose account I suppose to be favoured by Origen, and other writers of the first three centuries: but I must not now stay to allege all the reasons and arguments for that date.

XII. Eusebius affords us divers critical remarks upon the New Testament.

'Which also,' says he [c] upon Ps. lxxvii. or, as in our Bibles lxxviii. 2, 'the scripture of the 'sacred [d] gospels teaches, where it is said: "All [e] these things spake Jesus unto the multitude 'in parables. And without a parable spake he not unto them, that it might be fulfilled which was 'spoken by the prophet, saying: I will open my mouth in parables: I will utter things which 'have been kept secret from the foundation." For [f] instead of, "I will speak dark sayings of 'old," [or from the beginning,] Matthew, as being a Hebrew, uses a translation of his own, 'saying: "I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation." Instead of 'which Aquila has translated: "I will pour down things which have been enigmatical from the 'beginning." And Symmachus: "I will cause to spring up ancient dark sayings.'

One might be apt to argue hence, that our learned commentator supposed Matthew to have written in the Greek language: and that being by birth a Hebrew, and well understanding the original language of the Old Testament, when he quoted texts from thence, he did not always take the Greek version of the Seventy, but translated for himself, as he saw good. So [g] Montfaucon seems to have understood Eusebius. For he says: 'Since Matthew, according to the tes-'timony of Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius himself [in other places], and Jerom, wrote his 'gospel in Hebrew; certainly Matthew did not use a Greek interpretation of his own: but ex-'pressed the Hebrew words in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, such as was then in use among the Jews, 'as may be perceived in the expression Lamma Sabachtani, and not a few other. By which it 'is evident, that Matthew in his gospel written in Hebrew, when any texts occurred out of the 'Old Testament, expressed them in the Syro-Chaldaic language: but whether he used an inter-'pretation of his own, or took those texts out of some version before made, is not easily deter-'mined. But afterwards the Greek translator (who he is, St. Jerom says is uncertain) used 'an interpretation of his own, without following the Septuagint version.' It seems to me, therefore, that Montfaucon understood Eusebius to say here, though contrary to what he supposes him to say elsewhere, that Matthew writing in Greek did not follow the Seventy, but translated for himself out of the Hebrew tongue. And I own, that this appears to me the most natural meaning of our author's own words. But of this more by and by.

2. Eusebius has another like observation upon John, which deserves to be taken notice of on its own account: and more especially as it may serve to illustrate the preceding observation, and I think confirm the sense in which I take it. It is in his Commentary upon Ps. xl. 10, otherwise

[a] Εκ τουδε δεικνυται, ὁτι και τας καθολικας αυτων οι αποστολοι τοις γραφεσιν, προ της διασπορας αυτων——αλλα και Ματθαιος πρωτος εκει εις Ἱεροσολυμα γραφει το ευαγγελιον, ως λεγει Χρυσοστομος. Οιμαι δε. Chr. Pasch. p. 233. C.

[b] Certe Athanasius in tractatu de libris sacræ scripturæ, & Chrysostomus, scribit Matthæum primum omnium Hierosolymis evangelium suum conscripsisse: idque anno xv. post ascensum Christi ab eo factum fuisse, tradit Nicephorus, & auctor Chronici Alexandrini, Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. iii. c. 24.

[c] In Ps. lxxvii. p. 463. D. E.

[d] Ἡ των ἱερων ευαγγελιων γραφη. Ib. E.

[e] Matt. xiii. 34, 35.

[f] Ανθ' γαρ τε φθεγξομαι προβληματα απ' αρχης, Ἑβραιος ων ὁ Ματθαιος οικειᾳ εκλογει κεχρηται, ειπων· Ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης· ανθ' ὁ μεν Ακυλας· Ομβρησω αινιγματα εξ αρχης εκλεδωκεν· ὁ δε Συμμαχος· Αναβλυσω προβληματα αρχαια. Ib. E.

[g] Vid. Prælim. in Euseb. in Ps. cap. 9. sect. 1.

Ps. xli. 9. 'Therefore it is [a] said, "Has lift the sole of his foot against me." But instead of '"sole of the foot," which is the expression used by the Seventy, the Hebrew reading imports '"heel."' And so therefore Aquila, who strictly follows the Hebrew, has rendered it. For 'which reason also the evangelist John, as being a Hebrew descended of Hebrews, recording the 'words of our Saviour, does not use the expression, "sole of the foot," but "heel."' See John xiii. 18.

3. Once more, upon Ps. ii. 7. "This day have I begotten thee." But [b] the Jew (whom I 'before-mentioned) said, that the proper meaning of the word is, "I brought forth," which is 'also the version of Aquila. But the apostle, being skilled in the law, in the epistle to the 'Hebrews, has followed the Seventy.' See Heb. i. 5.

Here Eusebius plainly ascribes the epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul: for by 'the apostle,' he certainly means him; and he only of the apostles was learned in the law. But it may be questioned by some, whether it be herein implied, that St. Paul wrote that epistle in Greek; or only, that writing in the Syro-Chaldaic language, then in use among Jews, he used a word of the same import with that in the Greek version of the Seventy. But the former seems to me to be by far the most obvious meaning of our author's expressions.

For farther clearing this matter, I shall mention these following propositions.

(1.) It seems to me, that the most natural and obvious meaning of Eusebius's words in these passages, both concerning Matthew's gospel, and the epistle to the Hebrews, implies a supposition, that they were written originally by the several authors in the Greek language: and if Eusebius had thought that they were written in Hebrew, or Syriac, he would have given some hint of it, or have used some expressions, denoting that to be his opinion.

I do not say, that it is certain and evident from Eusebius's expressions, that he supposed these books were written in Greek: for, possibly, we ourselves might upon some occasion say, that instead of "I will speak dark sayings," Matthew more closely imitating the Hebrew says: "I will utter things kept secret," without implying thereby, that he wrote in English. Nevertheless, I think it must be allowed to be probable, that in one or other of these critical remarks upon Matthew's gospel, and the epistle to the Hebrews, some expression would have fallen from our author, denoting his opinion, that those books were not written in the Greek language used by himself in his Commentaries, if he had really thought so. And I presume, I may venture to appeal to any one, whether he can think, that Eusebius writing in Greek and criticising the Greek Epistle to the Hebrews, would say the apostle followed the Seventy, if he had supposed him to have written in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic.

(2.) It does not appear to me a clear point, that Eusebius was persuaded, that either Matthew's gospel, or the epistle to the Hebrews, was originally written in any language different from the Greek. It is true, he has mentioned several passages of ancient [c] writers, where it is said, that the Gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew: and a passage of Clement of Alexandria, where is [d] also mentioned a tradition, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul in the same language, and that St. Luke translated it into Greek: and in another place Eusebius may be reckoned by some to deliver his own opinion on the same side. His words are: 'For [e] Paul having written to the Hebrews in their own language, some think that the 'evangelist Luke, others that this very Clement translated it [into Greek]. Which last is the 'more likely, since there is a resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement, and the 'Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as between the sentiments of those writings.' But to me it seems, that these expressions cannot be relied upon, as representing Eusebius's own settled opinion: he may be as well understood even there to represent the more common accounts and traditions, without interposing his own judgment upon the point. And the critical passage, which we are now considering, may be as fairly reckoned to contain Eusebius's own opinion, as any in his works.

[a] Διο λελεκται· Εμεγαλυνεν επ' εμε πτερνισμον. Αντι δε τȣ πτερνισμον, παρα τοις ὁ ειρημενον, ἡ Ἑβραικη αναγνωσις πτερναν περιεχει. Οὑτως ȣν δȣλευσας τῳ Ἑβραικῳ Ακυλας εξεδωκε. Ὁθεν και ὁ ευαγγελιστης Ιωαννης, ὡς αν Ἑβραιος εξ Ἑβραιων, τον σωτηρα ȣ πτερνισμον, αλλα και πτερναν, ωνομακεναι εμνημονευσεν. In Ps. p. 171. D.

[b] Ὁ μεν τοιγε Ἑβραιος ελεγετο κυριον ειναι την λεξεως ετεκον, ὁπερ και Ακυλας πεποιηκεν. Ὁ δε αποστολος νομομαθης ὑπαρχων εν τῃ προς Ἑβραιȣς τῃ των ὁ εχρησατο. Comm. in Ps. p. 15. E.

[c] L. iii. c. 39. p. 113. B. l. v. c. 8. p. 172. C. c. 10. p. 175. C. L. vi. c. 25. p. 226. B. Conf. & l. iii. c. 24. p. 95. B.

[d] L. vi. c. 14. in.

[e] L. iii. c. 38. in.

(3.) Nor am I satisfied, that it was the settled opinion of many other learned Christians of those times, that the gospel of Matthew, and the epistle to the Hebrews, were written in the Hebrew tongue. If they had been persuaded of this, they would, some of them at least, have made inquiries after the originals. We have no proof that Eusebius, or any other of the Gentile Christian authors, quoted by him, or whose writings we have any where else met with, had seen any Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's gospel; nor any the least hint of a Hebrew copy of the epistle to the Hebrews to be found any where, or as used by any people whatever. Indeed, there was a Gospel called according to the Hebrews, much resembling Matthew's gospel, and in the Hebrew language: but it appears not to have been much respected by Eusebius, or any of the learned Christians whose works he was acquainted with: therefore it is manifest, they did not think it to be Matthew's original gospel.

If it should be said, that the ancient Christian writers, which we have any knowledge of, were Gentiles, and did not understand Hebrew; and for that reason they might not be inquisitive after the Hebrew originals, since they had a Greek translation; I answer, that they were not at all strangers to the Hebrew language. And supposing only a very slight acquaintance with that language, and that there were but a very few only who had that, it is very likely there would have been inquiries made after the originals of those books by some, particularly by Origen and Eusebius, who were not absolute strangers either to the Hebrew language or learning. Even they who had none, or a very slight acquaintance with the Hebrew language, would have procured copies in the original language, and would have been at the pains to consult some Hebrew Christian, or even an unbelieving Jew, about the readings in them, to compare them with the copies of the Greek translations. Did not Origen in his Commentaries? Does not Eusebius in his Commentaries upon the Psalms, and Isaiah, often compare the Hebrew with the Septuagint, and other Greek translations? and that, though the Septuagint version was in great esteem. Why then should they not have done the same in regard to the gospel of Matthew, and the epistle to the Hebrews, if they had thought the original to be Hebrew? Besides, if Matthew's gospel, and the epistle to the Hebrews, had been indeed thought to have been originally written in Hebrew, it is highly probable, there would have been several Greek translations of them; whereas we know not of any attempts of this kind, excepting only the first supposed translation.

Before I proceed, I would put the reader in mind, that I formerly examined the question, whether [a] Origen thought St. Matthew's gospel to have been written in Hebrew: and that, if I mistake not, I shewed, that the [b] same great critic did not suppose the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written in any other language than the Greek.

(4.) To these observations I shall subjoin the sentiments of some learned moderns, favouring our argument.

The very learned and laborious I. A. Fabricius was of opinion, that both [c] Matthew's gospel, and the [d] epistle to the Hebrews, were written in Greek. So likewise thought [e] Lightfoot, whose judgment upon this point may be reckoned as valuable as that of most men: and Dr. Whitby in his Preface to the four gospels earnestly contends, that St. Matthew did not write in Hebrew.

I would also insert here the sentiment of Beausobre, from his excellent preface to the epistle to the Hebrews.

'The ancients,' says [f] he, 'had no other reason to believe, that St. Paul wrote in Hebrew, 'than that he wrote to the Hebrews. But that reason, however probable it may appear, is not 'convincing; because it is certain, that the Greek tongue was understood in Judea, though it

[a] Vol. i. p. 573, 574. [b] Ib. p. 538.

[c] Græcum Matthæi interpretem Jacobum alii, alii Paulum, alii Lucam denique, vel Joannem, incertâ famâ tradiderunt; cum Matthæum ipsum Græce scripsisse, sit verius. Fabric. ad Hieron. cap. 3. de Vir. Ill. Vid. ejusd. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 126.

[d] —— Sed Græca, quæ hodie habemus, originarium esse auctoris sacri contextum argumentis non contemnendis post Calvinum probat laudatus Spanhemius,—— Millius—— Heideggerus—— Blondellus—— cum ex totâ antiquitate ne unus possit proferri testis, qui Hebraïcum viderit. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 160.

[e] Having said that Matthew's gospel was written in Greek, and afterwards translated into Hebrew, he adds: 'The same 'is to be resolved concerning the original language of the 'epistle to the Hebrews. The epistle was written to the 'Jews inhabiting Judea, to whom the Syriac was the mother-'tongue; but yet it was written in Greek for the reasons 'above named. For the same reasons the same apostle wrote 'in Greek to the Romans, although in that Church there 'were Romans, to whom it might seem more agreeable to 'have written in Latin: and there were Jews, to whom it 'might seem more proper to have written in Syriac.' Lightfoot, Vol. ii. p. 104.

[f] Préface sur l'Epître de S. Paul aux Hébreux. sect. xv. —xviii.

'was not the vulgar tongue. All the writers of the New Testament wrote in Greek, though 'they wrote for all believers in general, whether Hebrews or Gentiles. Barnabas, or whoever is 'the author of the Epistle under his name, wrote to the Hebrews, and yet wrote in Greek. 'Works composed in this language were useful to more persons, and even to a great number of 'Jews; for they who lived in Egypt and Asia spake Greek. In a word, they who talked of a 'Hebrew original, never saw it; and have supposed without proof what they imagined ought to 'have been.—Indeed almost all the passages of the Old Testament are here quoted according 'to the Seventy, not according to the Hebrew.—A man needs only to read the epistle to the 'Hebrews to know that it is not a version; it has altogether the air of an original: there is 'nothing of the constraint of a translator; nor are there those Hebrew phrases which are so 'common in the translation of the Seventy, and in that of Ecclesiasticus: for which reason we may 'be willing to assent to the opinion of Origen, who judges upon this question in a manner alto-'gether worthy of his moderation and discernment. "If [a] I was to speak my own opinion, I should 'say, that the thoughts [or sentiments] are the apostle's, but the language and composition of 'some one else, who committed to writing the apostle's sense, and as it were reduced into commen-'taries the things spoken by his master." The style then is not the apostle's: nevertheless that 'hinders not but the Epistle may be his, as to the thoughts and matter.' So that learned writer, who also adds: 'What therefore seems most probable upon the question is, that St. Luke, who 'accompanied St. Paul, and was with him at Rome, was his secretary: he wrote the epistle for the 'apostle, and according to his instructions; hence the difference of style and composition in this 'and the other epistles written by St. Paul alone.'

So writes Beausobre in the above-mentioned place. But since, he has said that he has been much disposed to [b] think, that Apollos, of Alexandria, wrote this epistle. However, if he was the author, that can make no alteration in the opinion about the original language of the epistle: Apollos, very probably, would write in Greek.

XIII. I shall observe only a various reading or two.

1. We find quoted in our author more than once those words of Matt. xiii. 35, from Psalm lxxviii. 2, in this manner: "I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation:" without [c] κοσμου, of "the world," which is now in our copies. It is probable therefore, that this text so stood in the copies used by Eusebius: and indeed, "of the world," is not necessary. Mill has not taken any notice of this.

2. It may be worth the while to observe, that in his Commentary upon the lxxxviith Psalm, Eusebius, quoting Luke ii. 2, does not say, "Cyrenius governor of Syria," but "this [d] was the first survey," or enrolment, "of Cyrenius, who governed Syria. The reader, if he thinks fit, may consult what was said [e] formerly concerning this matter, before I had observed this passage of our author. This reading is not in Mill: Eusebius's Commentary upon the Psalms was published since his time. Perhaps this ought not to be reckoned a various reading: for I do not affirm, that Eusebius had any copy of the New Testament where "governed" was written; he may here only give the sense of the text. I would add, that in his Comment upon the preceeding Psalm likewise he speaks of Cyrenius, as [f] the person by whom that survey was made, and of his coming into Judea for that purpose.

3. In the Commentary upon Ps. xvi. 1, otherwise xvii. 1, 'The next words are: "Attend 'to my cry." Which may be well used by him who is tried, and in prayer sends up supplica-'tions to God: who presents not little and common requests, nor asks of God earthly and 'mortal things. And [g] this our Saviour also taught, saying: "Seek ye the great things, and 'the little shall be added unto you."' Compare Matt. vi. 33. Of this saying, as ascribed to our Saviour by Clement and Origen, I have spoken [h] formerly. This particular citation of it is not inserted in Grabe's, or other collections of such things, this Commentary of Eusebius not having been published till lately.

[a] See that passage cited before. Vol. i. p. 532.

[b] Plus je lis Philon, plus je soupçonne, qu' Apollos pourroit avoir écrit cette épître. Car certainement on y trouve quantité de pensées & d' idées prises de Philon, dont apparemment Apollos avoit été disciple, étant Juif d'Alexandrie. Remarques sur le N. T. Tom. ii. p. 160.

[c] —— ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης. In Ps. p. 462. D. Vid. supr.

[d] Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου. In Ps. p. 543. C.

[e] See the first part of this work. Book ii. ch. 1. sect. 5.

[f] —— ὁτε Κυρηνιος επιτρος τη Ιουδαια τας απογραφας επουειτο. p. 543. E.

[g] Τελον γαν και ὁ σωτηρ εδιδασκεν, λεγων· Ζητειτε τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα προστεθησεται ὑμιν. In Ps. p. 56. A.

[h] See Vol. i. p. 564, 565.

XIV. Though my design relates chiefly to scriptures of the New Testament, I cannot forbear to observe, (what our great author thought not proper to omit), that in his Ecclesiastical History there are three catalogues of the Books of the Old Testament, as received by the Jews. The first is that [a] of Josephus from his books against Apion: The second is that [b] of Melito bishop of Sardis: The third is taken from [c] Origen's works.

XV. It will not be amiss to put down here some instances of general divisions of sacred scripture, which are to be found in this writer.

He frequently uses a Greek word, literally denoting 'in the testament,' and generally, as equivalent to canonical: he uses it, when he proceeds to put down Josephus's [d] catalogue of the scriptures of the Old Testament. Clement of Alexandria, he says, wrote [e] brief Commentaries upon all the scriptures in-the-testament, not omitting those that are contradicted. The title of the chapter in which he inserts Origen's catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament is: How [f] he mentions the scriptures in-the-Testament. He uses the same word, when he alleges [g] Irenæus's testimony to the New Testament: he elsewhere speaks [h] of books acknowledged by all, and others not in-the-Testament, but contradicted. The same word is used by Origen. In his treatise of Prayer he observes, that [i] the Jews do not receive the book of Tobit as in the Testament: it is also in Origen's passage alleged [k] by our author. Epiphanius uses a somewhat like phrase, when he says, the Alogians were of opinion, that [l] St. John's gospel ought not to be placed in the Testament, or be reckoned canonical.

Old [m] and New Testament is another common division: as also [n] prophets and apostles: gospel's [o] and epistles.

XVI. The respect which the ancient Christians had for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, appears in many things mentioned by this writer.

1. It is needless to insist here upon the epithets sacred and divine scripture, of which we have seen so many instances. To the like purposes are such expressions as these: the [p] sacred gospel: according [q] to the most certain testimony of the sacred gospels: the [r] divine scripture of the gospels.

2. He says, there [s] is no error or mistake in the scriptures: the prophets, according [t] to his account, spake only as the Spirit dictated: they [u] did not write their own words, but were employed by the Spirit of God.

3. In his Epistle to the church at Cæsarea, after signing the Nicene Creed, he says, that [x] the use of unscriptural phrases had been the great cause of the dissensions and disturbances that had happened in the churches.

4. He says, the [y] first successors of the apostles, leaving their home, and performing the office of evangelists, went forth and preached the gospel to such as had not heard it; and then delivered to them the scripture of the gospels. From which passage, as well as from many others, it appears, that the gospels were then understood to be for general use.

[a] H. E. l. iii. c. 9. & 10.

[b] —— l. iv. c. 26. f.

[c] —— l. vi. c. 25. in.

[d] Τθ̃των εν τῳ πρ̃ο̃τερῳ τον αριθμον της λεγομενης παλαιας των ενδιαθηκων γραφων τιθησι. L. iii. c. 9. p. 85. A.

[e] —— πασης της ενδιαθηκε γραφης.—l. iii. c. 14. in.

[f] —— ὁπως των ενδιαθηκων γραφων εμνημονευσε. L. vi. c. 25.

[g] —— τας πεδι των ενδιαθηκων γραφων——παραδοσεις. ——l. v. c. 8. in.

[h] —— ανωμολογ̃ημενας γραφας, και τας αλλας παρα ταυτας, ὡς ενδιαθηκες μεν, αλλ' ου και αντιλεγομενας. L. iii. c. 25. p. 97. D.

[i] Τη δε τε Τοβητ βιβλῳ αντιλεγουσιν οι εκ περιτομης, ὡς μη ενδιαθηκῳ. Orig. T. i. p. 220. F.

[k] —— ωδε πως γραφων καλα λεξιν· Ουκ αγνοηεον δ' ειναι τας ενδιαθηκας βιβλας, ὡς Ἑβραιοι παραδεδοασιν, δυο και εικοσι. L. vi. c. 25. in.

[l] Λεγουσι δε το καλα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιον——αδιαθετον ειναι. H. 51. n. 18. p. 441. C.

[m] —— τε των ιερων γραφων της παλαιας διαθηκης καλαλογε. L. vi. c. 25. in.—— της καινης διαθηκης γραφας. L. iii. c. 25. in. & passim.

[n] προφητικων δηλαδη και αποστολικων λογων, οις εκκλησια τε σωτηρος ἡμων επικοδομειται. In Ps. p. 414. E.

[o] Τοις ευαγγελικοις και αποστολικοις αναγνωμασιν. De Ec. Th. l. iii. p. 195. B.

[p] Ταυτα μεν το ιερον ευαγγελιον. Dem. Ev. p. 418. B.

[q] —— καλα την αψευδεστατην των ιερων ευαγγελιων μαρτυριαν. Dem. E. p. 301. A.

[r] ἡ θεια γραφη των ευαγγελιων. In Ps. p. 693. E.

[s] Ερρον δε θρασυ και πρπετες ειναι ἡγεμαι το αποφηνασθαι τολμαν την θειαν γραφην ἡμαρτησθαι. In Ps. p. 129. B. C. Conf. ibid. p. 66. D.

[t] —— δηλων ὁτι οργανον ην ἡ προφητικη γλωσσα, ἑτερε τε χρωμενε αυτῃ, ἁγιε πνευματος. In Ps. p. 187. D.

[u] Ου γαρ οικεια ῥηματα προσεφερον, τῃ δε θειε πνευματος βουλῃ διηκονουντο. Ibid. p. 462. E.

[x] — δια το απειρτεν αγραφοις χρησασθαι φωναις· δι' ὁ σχεδον ἡ πασα γεγονε συγχυσις τε και ακαταστασια των εκκλησιων. Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 26. D. Thdrt. l. i. c. 12. p. 39. D.

[y] —— εργον επιτελων ευαγγελιστων, τοις ετι παμπαν ανηκοοις τε της πιστεως λογε——και την των θειων ευαγγελιων, παραδιδοναι γραφην. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. p. 109. B. C.

5. Eusebius says of Origen, that[a] from his childhood he was well versed in the divine scriptures.

6. According to our author, as cited[b] formerly, the scriptures are the rule of faith, and the standard of orthodoxy. 'There are,' says he, 'beside these, treatises of many others, whose 'names we have not been able to learn; orthodox[c] and ecclesiastical men, as the interpretations 'of the divine scripture given by each one of them manifest.'

7. In his Oration in praise of the emperor Constantine, demonstrating the truth of the Christian religion, our author testifies the great respect that was paid to the scriptures of the New Testament, and the great number of translations which had been then made of them. 'Who,' says he, 'ever delivered before-hand predictions of so many things, that were afterwards exactly 'accomplished in the event, as our Saviour did——to take men, originally employed in fishing, 'mean and illiterate, and constitute them lawgivers and masters of the universe of mankind; 'what and how mighty a work must this seem to you!' 'To engage to them by word and 'promise, and indeed "make them fishers of men;" and[d] to confer upon them so great a virtue 'and power, as to compose writing, and publish books: and that these also should obtain such 'esteem, as to be translated into every language, both of Greeks and barbarians, throughout the 'whole world, and be diligently studied by all nations, and the things contained in them be 'believed to be divine oracles. How evident a demonstration is this of his divinity.'

8. In the last chapter of the third book of the Evangelical Demonstration is a like argument; where he says, that[e] in a short space of time the gospel was preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and Greeks and barbarians had the scriptures concerning Jesus in their own letters and dialect.

9. Of reading the scriptures Eusebius speaks in this manner in his Evangelical Preparation: 'So[f] likewise the Jewish scriptures had before [Plato] required, that faith should precede the 'examination and understanding of the divine scriptures, in such expressions as these: "If[g] ye 'will not believe, ye shall not understand;" [so Eusebius from the Seventy, where we have, '"Ye shall not be established."] Again, "I[h] believed: therefore have I spoken." After which 'same manner with us [Christians] also, to those who are just brought over to us, and are as yet 'but weak, and as it were but infants as to their minds, the reading in the divine scriptures '[that is, the divine scriptures themselves] is barely put into their hands, recommending it to 'them to believe the things therein contained as the words of God. But to those who are con-'firmed and grown old in knowledge, it is allowed to penetrate farther, and search into the pro-'foundest meaning of the words. Such as these the Jews call Deuterotæ, interpreters and expo-'sitors of the scriptures.'

It is hence apparent, that reading the scriptures was recommended even to new converts from heathenism.

10. In his Ecclesiastical History Eusebius says, 'that in his time it[i] was customary for 'Christians, particularly the recluse and devouter sort, to be more especially engaged in the 'attentive reading of the divine scriptures at the festival of our Saviour's passion.'

11. I shall only add one passage more from the Commentary upon the Psalms; where Eusebius speaks of the public reading and explication of the scriptures. For he says, 'that[k] in times

[a] ——ταις θειαις γραφαις εξεθι παιδος ενησκημενος. H. E. l. vi. c. 2. p. 202. C.

[b] Vol. i. ch. 32. p. 485.

[c] Ορθοδοξων μεν και εκκλησιαστικων, ως γε δε ή εκαστ παραδεικνυσι της θειας γραφης ερμηνεια. L. v. c. 27.

[d] Και τοσαυτην αυτοις αρετην τε και δυναμιν παρασχειν, ως και γραφας συνταξαι, και βιβλους παραδουναι· και ταυτας εις τοσουτο κρατυναι, ως καθ' ολης της οικουμενης παντοια γλωσση βαρβαρων τε και Ελληνων μεταβαλλομενας παρα πασι τοις εθνεσι μελετησθαι, και πιστευεσθαι θεια ειναι λογια τα εν αυταις καταβεβλημενα· οσον εις αποδειξιν εναργη της αυτε θεοτητος; De Laud. Const. c. 17. p. 662. C. D.

[e] Κεκηρυκτο γαρ το ευαγγελιον εν βραχει χρονω εν ολη τη οικουμενη εις μαρτυριον τοις εθνεσι· και βαρβαροι και Ελληνες τας περι τε Ιησε γραφας παιδικοις χαρακτηρσιν και παιδικω φωνη μεταλαμβανον. Dem. l. iii. p. 137. A.

[f] Εικοτως δε τα και ή Εβραιων προλαβουσα γραφη της των θειων γραφων συνεσεως τε και θεωριας την πιστιν προστατει, δι' ων φησιν· Εαν δε μη πιστευσητε, ε μη συνητε· Και αυθις, Επιστευσα, διο και ελαλησα. Ενθεν και παρ' ημιν τοις μεν αρτι εισαγομενοις——απλουστερον ή εν ταις θειαις γραφαις αναγνωσις παραδιδοται, μεθ τε δειν πιστευειν ως θεε λογοις τοις εμφερομενοις παρακελευεσθαι. Τοις δε των εξιν προβεβηκοσι, και πολιοις το φρονημα, εμβαθυνειν και δοκιμαζειν τον νεν των λεγομενων επιτετραπται. Τθτους δε παισιν Εβραιων δευτερωτας φιλον ην ονομαζειν, ωσπερ ερμηνευτας και εξηγητας ονπας της των γραφων διανοιας. Præp. Ev. l. xii. c. 1. p. 573. D. 574. A.

[g] Is. vii. 9. [h] Ps. cxvi. 10.

[i] H. E. l. ii. c. 17. p. 57. B.

[k] —— εν γαρ τοις καιροις των διωγμων, καθ' ας πολλακις κεκωλυνται μεν αι διδασκαλιαι και των θεοπνευστων γραφων αναγνωσματα——ως και ανευ της ανθρωπων διδασκαλιας απορρητω δυναμει τρεφεσθαι. In Ps. 32. p. 128. A. B.

'of persecution, when discourses and readings of the divine scriptures are for the most part pro-'hibited and hindered, and there are few or none found to impart spiritual food to the souls of 'men; the providence of God by an influx of the divine Spirit nourisheth the souls of men, and 'causeth them to be taught of God: so that without the instruction of men they are nourished 'by a secret influence.'

XVII. What we have seen in the works of this learned and laborious bishop, who flourished at about three hundred years after our Lord's ascension, is an invaluable testimony to the things concerning the Lord Jesus himself and his apostles, and to the swift and wonderful progress of the gospel, and to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The former were those received by the Jewish people. The number of the books of the New Testament does not appear to have been in his time settled by any authority, that was universally allowed of: but the books following were universally received, the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one epistle of Peter, and one epistle of John. These, I say, were universally received by Christians in our author's time, and had been all along received by the elders and churches of former times. Beside these, we now generally receive also an epistle to the Hebrews, an epistle of James, a second epistle of Peter, a second and third of John, an epistle of Jude, and the Revelation. And it appears from this learned writer, that these books or epistles were then next in esteem to those before-mentioned, as universally acknowledged; and were more generally received as of authority, than any other controverted writings. Beside these, there was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, made use of by the Jewish Christians; being, probably, a translation of St. Matthew's gospel, with some additions; and, as it seems, containing little or nothing contrary to the genuine doctrine of Christ and his apostles. The book called the Doctrine, or Doctrines of the Apostles, we have not now a distinct knowledge of; but, probably, it was a small book, containing the rudiments of the Christian religion, and fitted for the use of young people, and new converts, and never esteemed a part of sacred scripture. As for the rest, they were not very numerous, and their character is easily determined; for either they were useful ecclesiastical writings, as the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas; which, as we have seen from the quotations of them in the writers of the first three centuries, were never received as of authority, or a part of sacred and canonical scripture: or they were mean, absurd, and fabulous compositions, despised and disliked by the sounder Christians in general, both of our author's, and of former times. To the books of sacred scripture the greatest respect was shewn; they were esteemed as of authority, and decisive in all points of a religious nature; they were publicly read and explained in the assemblies of Christian people; and they were open to be freely read by all sorts of people in private, for their instruction and improvement in religious knowledge, and their edification in virtue. Finally, it may be observed, that this learned author makes little use in his works of apocryphal scriptures of the Old Testament: none at all of Christian writings, forged with the names of Christ's apostles, or their companions.

CHAP. LXXIII.

MARCELLUS, BISHOP OF ANCYRA IN GALATIA.

1. I PUT in the margin Jerom's article [a] of Marcellus; but I do not think it needful to translate it.

2. Marcellus is spoken of by Cave, as flourishing about the year 330; but that time seems too late. It is generally supposed, that he was present at a council of Ancyra in 314, as bishop of that city. He was also at the [b] council of Nice in 325, where he signalized himself against

[a] Marcellus, Ancyranus episcopus, sub Constantino & Constantio principibus floruit. Multaque diversarum ὑποθεσιων scripsit volumina, & maxime adversus Arianos. Feruntur contra hunc Asterii & Apollinarii libri, Sabellianæ eum hæreseos arguentes. Sed & Hilarius in septimo adversum Arianos libro nominis ejus, quasi hæretici meminit. Porro ille defendit se non esse dogmatis cujus accusatur, sed communione Julii & Athanasii, Romanæ & Alexandrinæ urbis pontificum, se esse munitum. De V. I. c. 86.

[b] Vid. Epiph. H. 72. c. 2. p. 834. D. & Athan. Apol. contr. Arian. n. 32. p. 150. E.

the Arians. It is concluded from [a] Epiphanius, that Marcellus died in 372, when he had been bishop almost sixty years, and had lived almost or quite a century.

3. In the year 334, or 335, he wrote a book against Asterius, and other Arians, which occasioned him a great deal of trouble. Socrates says, that [b] in opposing Asterius, Marcellus went into a contrary extreme, and embraced the opinion of Paul of Samosata, who says, that Jesus Christ is a mere man.

4. The bishops assembled at Jerusalem in 335, for dedicating the church built by Constantine, required him to renounce his opinion, and burn his book. But those bishops were hastily summoned to Constantinople; where, in the year 336, the matter was resumed. Marcellus was deposed, and Basil put in his room: but he was restored by the synod at Sardica in 347. Nevertheless, Marcellus still lay under the suspicion of heresy with many.

5. Sozomen says farther, that [c] the council of Constantinople wrote a letter to the churches of Galatia, admonishing them to reform their error, to search for the copies of Marcellus's book, and burn them.

6. That book was particularly answered by the famous Eusebius of Cæsarea, and by order [d] of the council itself. Though Marcellus was not then young, Eusebius says it [e] was the only book he had published. It was [f] a very large work, consisting of a thousand lines or verses. Eusebius takes notice, that [g] he quoted heathen authors to illustrate the scriptures: he likewise chargeth [h] him with a vain ostentation of secular learning; whether rightly or not, we can hence conclude, that Marcellus was learned. He did likewise quote very largely the books of the Old and New Testament: and we can plainly perceive from Eusebius's quotations and arguments, and from his own letter and confession of faith delivered to Julius, bishop of Rome, about the year 241, which are preserved in [i] Epiphanius, that Marcellus received the same scriptures that other Christians did, and paid them a like respect.

7. Socrates [k] and Sozomen [l] seem to have supposed that Marcellus went into the opinion of Paul of Samosata. Eusebius continually chargeth him with [m] Sabellianism. Theodoret, in [n] his Heretical Fables, speaks of Paul, Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus, in four distinct chapters one after another: and in his introduction to that work, he reckons him [o] with Ebion and Photinus, and elsewhere with [p] Photinus and Paul of Samosata: and he particularly says of Marcellus, that [q] he denied a Trinity of persons. However, there were [r] formerly, as well as [s] lately, different apprehensions concerning the real sentiments of Marcellus: and it must be owned, that there is a good deal of obscurity in some of his passages, cited by Eusebius: but it seems to me, that there is sufficient reason to think he was a Sabellian or Unitarian.

8. Montfauçon persuades [t] himself, and would persuade others, that not long before his death, about the year 372, Marcellus being uneasy at the accusations brought against him by St. Basil, as well as others, sent one of his deacons, with others of his church, as a deputation to Athanasius, carrying with them a confession of faith, completely orthodox: which confession Athanasius, and other bishops of Egypt then present with him, accepted of, and gave them a letter of recommendation to communion with the churches.

9. But it seems to me, that this story is not well supported. Montfauçon does not well

[a] Epiph. H. 72. n. i.

[b] Ψιλον γαρ ανθρωπον——ετολμησεν ειπειν τον Χριστον. Socr. l. i. c. 36. p. 72.

[c] Και ταις αυτοθι εκκλησιαις εγραψαν, αναζητησαι την Μαρκελλου βιβλον, και εξαφανισαι. Soz. l. ii. c. 33.

[d] Vid. Eus. contr. M. l. ii. p. 55. D.

[e] Contr. M. l. i. c. 1. in. [f] Ib. p. 2.

[g] P. 14. B. C. [h] Ib. c. 3. p. 16. D.

[i] H. 72. n. 2, 3. p. 834——836.

[k] Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 72. Conf. l. ii. c. 19. p. 98, 99. & cap. 20.

[l] Soz. l. ii. c. 33.

[m] ——πως ου δηλος αν γενοιτο, τον μεν Σαβελλιον υποδυομενος. Contr. Marc. l. i. p. 5. A. Αντικρυς τον Σαβελλιον ανανευμενος. De Ec. Th. l. ii. seu contr. Marc. l. iii. c. 1. p. 104. Ορας Ιουδαιον αντικρυς, τον μονογενη υιον του θεου——αρνουμενον. Ib. cap. 2. p. 105. A.

[n] Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 8, 9, 10, 11.

[o] Ταυτης δε της αιρεσεως ηρξε μεν Εβιων, μεχρι δε Μαρκελλου και Φωτεινου τας διαφορους επινοιας εδεξατο. Hær. Fab. Com- [illegible] p. 188. D.

[p] Φωτεινος γαρ και Μαρκελλος, και ὁ εκ Σαμοσατων Παυλος, ανθρωπον μονον ειναι λεγουσι τον κυριον ἡμων και θεον. Epist. 104. T. iii. p. 976. A.

[q] Τουτω αρνηθη των υποστασεων τριαδα. H. F. l. ii. c. 10.

[r] Vid. Hieron. supra not. (a) p. 276. Epiphan. H. 72. Tillemont collects the opinions of several ancients about him in Marcel. d'Ancyre. Mem. T. vii. p. 510—512. à Paris.

[s] Vid. Zacagn. Pr. ad Collect. Monum. Gr. p. 42. &c. Montfauç. Diatriba de Causa Marcelli ap. Nov. Collect. Patr. T. ii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 31. & 92. T. 8. p. 335.

[t] Re compertâ, Marcellus, ut eorum conatus & molimina interpellaret, oratores qui causam apud Athanasium suam agerent, ac sui, Ancyranæque ecclesiæ nomine fidei professionem emitterent, delegavit. Cumque legatorum formula sanam prorsus & orthodoxam fidem præferret, huic Athanasius, cum aliis qui aderant episcopis, adstipulatus, literas commendatitias rogantibus concessit. Diatrib. de Marcell. cap. 5. p. 63. Ap. Nov. Collection. Patr. T ii.

know when [a] that deputation to Athanasius was sent; he placeth it in the year 372, by guess only. St. Basil, though he [b] corresponded with Athanasius, and others of Egypt, knew nothing of that letter of recommendation; and in a letter written after that supposed date in 377, reproves some [c] people for communicating with the followers of Marcellus. Moreover, Chrysostom [d] in his homilies in the latter part of the fourth century, often argues against Marcellus as a heretic: not now to say any thing more of Socrates, and Sozomen, or Theodoret, or others, who appear not to have known any thing of this orthodox confession of Marcellus, or Athanasius's letter of communion.

It is indeed well known, and allowed, that for a while Athanasius had a kindness for Marcellus; and no wonder, when Marcellus, like himself, was so hard pressed by the Arians. But his respect for Marcellus seems to have abated afterwards: Hilary of Poictiers,[e] and Sulpitius Severus [f] expressly say, that Athanasius separated himself from his communion. Nor do I perceive, that [g] what Epiphanius says, overthrows their accounts. For certain, he does not confirm, but weaken the credit of the story told by Montfaucon; for he says nothing of it, though he had a fair occasion to mention it, and wrote but a few years after the death of Marcellus and Athanasius.

CHAP. LXXIV.

EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

1. Says Jerom, 'Eustathius of [h] Side in Pamphylia, first governed the church at Beræa, and 'afterwards at Antioch. As he wrote much against the Arian doctrine, he was banished in the 'time of the emperor Constantine to Trajanopolis in Thrace, where he lies buried to this day. 'There are extant his volumes concerning the soul, of the Pythoness against Origen, and an in-'finite number of epistles, which it would be tedious to reckon up.'

2. Eustathius is placed by Cave at the year 325, when the council of Nice met: but as Eustathius was before that bishop of Beræa, if not also of Antioch, and was then so considerable, as to be thought by many to be the bishop who complimented Constantine in a short oration at his entrance into the council; I presume he ought to be placed sooner, about the year 320.

3. For a particular account of him I refer to [i] Cave, and others. I observe some few of the more material things, and briefly only.

4. By [k] means of the intrigues of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, he was deposed by a synod at Antioch, about the year 328, as a Sabellian, and otherwise unworthy of the pastoral office: after which he was banished. The time of his death is not certain: some think he did not die before the year 360. Sozomen says, he had been assured, that [l] Eustathius bore the hard treatment he met with very patiently.

[a] Hæc porro legatio in annum 372 commode referatur. Diatrib. cap. 6. p. 64.

[b] Cui frequens cum Athanasio epistolarum usus erat. Montf. Diatrib. ib.

[c] At Basilius——quia semel conceptam de Marcelli impietate opinionem vix missam facere poterat, cum Diocæsariensibus patribus non leviter expostulat, quod Marcellianos ad communionem, inconsultis aliis episcopis, admiserint. [Vid. Basil. Ep. 265. al. 293. T. iii. p. 410. edit. Bened.] Hæc Basilius, vel ignorans ea, quæ Alexandriæ in gratiam Marcelli & asseclarum ab Athanasio gesta fuerant, vel, &c. Montf. Diatrib. ib. p. 66.

[d] Vid. in ep. ad Philip. hom. 6. T. xi. p. 234, 235. in ep. ad Heb. hom. 2. p. 14, 15, 16. hom. 8, p. 89. T. xii. Bened. & passim.

[e] Nam, negatâ sibi ab Athanasio communione, ingressu sese ecclesiæ Marcellus abstinuit. Hilar. Fragm. 2. p. 1300.

[f] Interjecto deinde tempore, Athanasius, cum Marcellum parum sanæ fidei esse penitus comperisset, a communione suspendit. Sulp. Sev. Hist. l. ii. c. 52. p. 382.

[g] Vid. H. 72. n. 4. p. 837.

[h] Eustathius, genere Pamphylius, Sidetes, primum Berhœæ, Syriæ, deinde Antiochiæ rexit ecclesiam. Et adversum Arianorum dogma componens multa sub Constantino principe pulsus est in exilium Trajanopolim Thraciarum, ubi usque hodie conditus est. Exstant ejus volumina de Animâ, de Engastrimutho adversum Origenem, & infinitæ epistolæ, quas enumerare longum est. De V. I. c. 85.

[i] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 166. &c. Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. vii. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 324. n. 26. &c. 325. n. 17. 327. n. 3. 340. n. 19.

[k] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 24. Soz. l. ii. c. 19. Thdrt. l. i. c. 21.

[l] Soz. l. ii. c. 19. fin.

5. Eustathius is placed by Jerom, in his letter to Magnus, among those Christian writers, who were remarkable for secular learning, as well as for their knowledge of the scriptures: but Socrates reckons him among those obscure persons, who [a] had endeavoured to raise their own reputation by opposing Origen. Sozomen, however, commends [b] him for his eloquence, as well as piety, and says, that his works were in his time well esteemed. Theodoret calls him [c] the great Eustathius.

6. I need not give a particular account of Eustathius's works: the inquisitive may find sufficient satisfaction in the writers before referred to. The fragments collected by [d] Fabricius deserve to be read.

7. Eustathius's enmity to Arianism [e] is well known: whether he was not a Sabellian is doubtful.

8. Eusebius of Cæsarea accused him [f] of Sabellianism soon after the council of Nice. Socrates's expressions in his account of the sentence passed upon Eustathius by the synod at Antioch are remarkable: 'That [g] he was deposed, as rather adhering to the doctrine of Sabellius, 'than of the council of Nice.' And he presently after owns, that George of Laodicea, in his history of Eusebius of Emesa, relates, that Eustathius was deposed, Cyrus of Berœa accusing him as a Sabellian. The fragments collected by Fabricius may be thought to countenance this supposition: and there are learned moderns who [h] think, that Eustathius of Antioch was of the same opinion with Marcellus of Ancyra, and that neither of them were orthodox.

CHAP. LXXV.

ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history.* II. *Select passages.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures in his Festal Epistle.* IV. *In his other works:* 1. *To the Gospels.* 2. *The Acts.* 3. *Paul's Epistles.* 4. *Catholic Epistles.* 5. *The Revelation.* V. *Of the doctrine of the apostles, and the Shepherd of Hermas.* VI. *Various readings.* VII. *A Bible sent by Athanasius to the Emperor Constans.* VIII. *General titles and divisions, and respect for the scriptures.* IX. *The sum of his testimony.* X. *The Synopsis of sacred Scripture.*

I. ATHANASIUS succeeded Alexander in the see of Alexandria in the year 326, and died in the year 373, when he had been bishop 46 years [i] complete.

There is no need that I should write the history of Athanasius, or give a particular account of his works: the nature of my design allows me now to contract, since the life of Eusebius of Cæsarea; nor shall I transcribe Jerom's chapter [k] from his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, because it is not very important. I have referred to divers learned moderns, who have bestowed laudable pains in writing at large the history of this celebrated bishop; and the reader may also consult the Testimonies or Elogies of ancient writers, prefixed to the Benedictine edition of his

[a] Socr. l. vi. c. 13.

[b] Ἀνηρ τα τε αλλα καλος και αἰαθος, και επι ευγλωττια δικαιως θαυμαζομενος, ὡς εκ των φερομενων αυτῳ λογων συνιδειν εξιν.——Soz. l. ii. c. 19. fin.

[c] Της αληθειας προμαχος ὁ μεγας Ευσταθιος. Theod. l. i. c. 21. p. 52. A.

[d] Bib. Gr. T. 1. p. 172. &c.

[e] Eustathium nostrum, qui primus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus contra Arium clarissimâ tubâ bellicum cecinit. Hieron. ad Evang. T. ii. p. 571. in. Vid. & Theod. l. i. c. 8. in.

[f] Διαβαλλει δε Ευσταθιον, ὡς την Σαβελλιῳ δοξαν εισαγοντα. Socr. l. i. c. 23. f. Conf. Soz. l. ii. c. 18.

[g] Καθαιρεσιν Ευσταθιον, ὡς τα Σαβελλιῳ μαλλον φρονουντα, η ἁπερ ἡ εν Νικαια συνοδος εδοξασεν. Socr. l. i. c. 24. in.

[h] Pour Marcel, le fait passe à présent constant. Il fût Sabellien. A l'égard d'Eustathe, des savans le defendent, d'autres l'accusent. Pour moi, je ne croi pas qu'on puisse l'excuser. Beausobre Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 543, not. (2.) Vid. ib. p. 542. et Worm. Histor. Sabellianismi, cap. 5. n. 19, 20.

[i] Vid. Pagi Ann. 326. n. 3. 372, n. 9, 10, 11. Basnag. Ann. 373. n. 9. Cav. H. L. Athanas. Vit. a Benedictin. adornat. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

[k] De V. I. cap. 67.

works. As I do not there see the name of Epiphanius, I insert here his character of Athanasius; that [a] he was the father of orthodoxy.

II. Though I do not write the life of Athanasius, I may be allowed to transcribe some remarkable passages.

1. On [b] account of the doctrine of the Trinity, he says, the heathen people of his time thought, that the Christians taught a plurality of Gods.

2. Athanasius's enmity to Arianism is well known: I formerly cited [c] a passage where he speaks of it as the worst of all heresies. He elsewhere says, the [d] devil was the father of it: nor will he by any means allow, that [e] Arians can be rightfully called Christians.

3. When he declaims against Arianism, as [f] the worst and most hateful of all heresies, he makes this its peculiarity, that whilst other heretics endeavoured to support their opinions by sophistry, these [g] men have invented a new way, and have endeavoured to carry their point by external, that is, civil authority, or the power of the magistrate. 'Whenever [h] any man differs 'from them, they have him before the governor, or the general: whom [i] they cannot subdue by 'reason and argument, they take upon them to convince by whippings and imprisonments; 'which is enough to shew, that their principles are any thing rather than religion: for it is the 'property of religion not to compel, but to persuade. Our Lord himself does not use violence, 'but leaveth men to the freedom of their own choice. Speaking to all, he says: "If [k] any man 'will come after me:" and to the disciples: "Will [l] ye also go away?"'

And on account of these violent methods in particular, he says, that [m] this sect, or heresy, had put on the devil complete.

4. Athanasius observes, that [n] Christian people never took their denomination from their own bishops, but from the Lord, in whom we believe. And though the blessed apostles are our masters, and have ministered to us the gospel of our Lord, we are not named from them. For from Christ we are, and are called Christians. But they who receive from others a new faith, are justly denominated from them, whose property they are.

III. I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures: and here I begin with transcribing at large the fragment, which we have, of [o] what is called a Festal, or Paschal Epistle.

'But [p] since we have spoken of heretics as dead persons, and of ourselves as having the 'divine scriptures for salvation: and I fear, lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, some few of 'the weaker sort should be seduced from their simplicity and purity by the cunning and crafti-'ness of some men, and at length be induced to make use of other books called apocryphal, 'being deceived [q] by the similitude of their names, resembling the true books: I therefore entreat 'you to bear with me, if I by writing remind you of things which you know already, as what 'may be of use for the church. And for the vindication of my attempt, I adopt the form of the 'evangelist Luke, who himself says: Forasmuch as some have taken in hand to set forth writings 'called apocryphal, and to join them with the divinely inspired scriptures of which we are fully 'assured, as they delivered them to the fathers, who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the 'word: it has seemed good to me also, with the advice of some true brethren, and [r] having 'learned it from the beginning, to set forth in order these canonical books, which have been

[a] ——Αθανασιε τε μακαριε, και πατρος της ορθοδοξιας. H. 69. n. 2. p. 728. B.

[b] Ἑλληνων ——φασκοντων και νομιζοντων, δια την τριαδα, λεγειν και ἡμας πολλους Θεους. Or. iii. Contr. Arian. n. 15. p. 564. C.

[c] P. 148.

[d] ——ὡς ὁ πατηρ αυτης ὁ διαβολος. Contr. Arian. Or. i. n. 1. p. 405. C.

[e] Αλλα και οἱ τοτε καλουμενοι Χριστιανοι, πολυ και μαν πλανωνται. Ib. p. 406. A.

[f] Ἡ δε νεα και μυσαρα τοτων αἱρεσις.——Hist. Arian. ad Monach. n. 67. p. 384. B.

[g] Οἱ δε προσται ταυτης, ὁρωντες ἑαυτους λοιπον ασχημονουντας, και μηδεν ευλογον εχοντας, αλλην ὁδον επενοησαν, και δια της ἐξωθεν εξουσιας εκδικειν ταυτην επεχειρησαν. Ib. n. 66. p. 383. D. E.

[h] Και ει μονον τις αυτοις αντειρηκεν, ἑλκεται προς τον ἡγεμονα; η τον στρατηλατην. Ib. p. 384. B.

[i] ——λοιπον, ὡς μη δεδυνηται πεισαι λογοις, τοτοις τη βια, και πληγαις, και δεσμωτηριοις ἑλκειν επιχειρει, γνωριζουσα ἑαυτην και ὡς, ὡς πανυ μαλλον εστιν, η Θεοσεβης. Θεοσεβειας μεν γαρ ἰδιον, μη αναγκαζειν, αλλα πειθειν, ὡσπερ ειπαμεν. κ. λ. Ib. n. 67. p. 384. C.

[k] Matt. xvi. 24. [l] John vi. 67.

[m] Ω καινης αἱρεσεως, ολον ενδυσαμενης τον διαβολον εν ασεβεια και πραξει. Ib. n. 66. in. p. 383. C.

[n] Ουδε ποτε ὁ λαος απο των οικειων επισκοπων εσχε την επωνυμιαν, αλλ' απο τε κυριε, εις ὁν και την πιστιν εχομεν—— αλλ' απο τε Χριστε Χριστιανοι και εσμεν, και ονομαζομεθα. Οἱ δε περι ἑτερων εχοντες την αρχην της νομιζεσι πιστεως, εκεινων εικοτως εχουσι και την επωνυμιαν, ὡς αυτων γενομενοι κτημα. Contr. Arian. Or. n. 2. p. 406. C.

[o] Ejusdem, ex trigesima nonâ epistolâ festali, initio mutilâ. T. i. p. 961. D.

[p] Ibid. p. 961. E. 962, 963. A. B.

[q] ——απατωμενοι τη ομωνυμια των αληθινων βιβλιων. p. 961. E.

[r] ——και μαθοντι ανωθεν, ἐξης εκθεσθαι τα κανονιζομενα, και παραδοθεντα, πιστευθεντα τε θεια ειναι βιβλια. p 962. A.

'delivered down to us, and believed to be divine scripture: that every one who has been 'deceived, may condemn those who have deceived him: and that he who remains uncorrupted 'may have the satisfaction to be reminded of what he is persuaded of. The books of the Old 'Testament, then, are all of them in number two and twenty: for so many are the letters of the 'Hebrew alphabet said to be. The names and order of each one are thus: The first Genesis, 'the next Exodus, then Leviticus, after that the Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. After that 'is Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, and after that Ruth. And again, the next in order 'are the four books of the kingdoms: of these the first and second are reckoned one book; and 'in like manner the third and fourth are one book. After them, the first and second of the 'Remains [or Chronicles] are in like manner accounted one book. Then the first and second 'of Esdras, also reckoned one book. After them the book of the Psalms, then the Proverbs, Eccle-'siastes, and the Song of Songs. Beside these there is Job, and at length the Prophets. The 'twelve are reckoned one book. Then Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and with him Baruch, the Lamen-'tations, the Epistle. And after them Ezekiel and Daniel. Thus far of the books of the Old 'Testament. Nor do I think it too much pains to declare those of the New. They are these: 'The four gospels, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to 'John. Then [a] after them the Acts of the apostles, and the seven epistles of the apostles called 'catholic: Of James one, of Peter two, of John three, and after them of Jude one. Beside [b] these 'there are the fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, the order of which is thus: The first to the 'Romans, then two to the Corinthians, after them that to the Galatians, the next to the Ephe-'sians, then to the Philippians, to the Colossians, after them two to the Thessalonians, and the 'epistle to the Hebrews, then two to Timothy, to Titus one, the last to Philemon: and again, 'the Revelation of John. These [c] are fountains of salvation, that he who thirsts may be satisfied 'with the oracles contained in them: in these alone the doctrine of religion is taught: let no 'man add to them, or take any thing from them. Of these our Lord spake, when he put the 'Sadducees to shame, saying: "Ye [d] do err, not knowing the scriptures." And he exhorted the 'Jews: "Search [e] the scriptures: for these are they which testify of me." However, for the 'sake of greater accuracy, I add as follows: that [f] there are other books beside these, without: 'not canonical indeed, but ordained by the fathers to be read to [or by] those who are newly 'come over to us, and are desirous to be instructed in the doctrine of religion. The Wisdom of 'Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, Judith, Tobias: the Doctrine of the Apostles, as 'it is called, and the Shepherd. So that my [g] beloved, those being canonical, and these read, 'there is no mention of apocryphal books: but they are the invention of heretics, who wrote 'them after their own pleasure: assigning [h] to them, and adding to them, times; that producing 'them as ancient writings, they may take occasion to deceive the simple.'

Upon this enumeration, or catalogue of the books of the holy scripture, we may make a few remarks: and many are not necessary.

1. Here is mention made of these sorts of books only: 'canonical,' such as are 'read' or allowed to be read, and 'apocryphal:' by which last the writer of this epistle means books of heretics, to which they affixed a high value. Athanasius here takes no notice of 'contradicted' books, so distinctly spoken of by Eusebius of Cæsarea.

2. The reader sees what books of the Old Testament are reckoned by this writer canonical: and how many others besides are mentioned by him, as 'out of the canon,' yet allowed to be read. And I would add here, with regard to the other works of Athanasius in general, that there the Wisdom of Solomon is often quoted, Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, but seldom; and the books of Maccabees scarce at all; which last, as we see, are also quite omitted in this catalogue.

3. This may suffice for that part of the catalogue. Upon the latter part, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament, I think it incumbent on me to be more particular: and therefore I proceed as follows.

[a] Μετα ταυτα, Πραξεις Αποστολων, και Επιστολαι καθολικαι καλουμεναι των αποστολων επτα. Ib. C.

[b] Προς τουτοις Παυλε αποστολε εισιν επιστολαι δεκατεσσαρες. ——Ib. D.

[c] Ταυτα πηγαι τε σωτηριε, ὡστε τον διψωντα των εν τουτοις εμφορεισθαι λογιων. Εν τουτοις μονοις το της ευσεβειας διδασκα-λειον ευαγγελιζεται. Μηδεις τουτοις επιβαλλετω.——κ. λ. Ib. D.

[d] Matt. xxii. 29. [e] John v. 39.

[f] Ὡς ὁτι εστι και ἑτερα βιβλια τουτων εξωθεν· α κανονιζομενα μεν, τετυπωμενα δε παρα των παλαιων, αναγινωσκεσθαι τοις αρτι προσερχομενοις.——p. 963. A.

[g] —— κακεινων κανονιζομενων, και τουτων αναγινωσκομενων. ibid.

[h] ——χαριζομενων δε και προσιουσιν αυτοις χρονες· ἱν', ὡς παλαια προφερονται, προφασιν εχωσιν απαλαν εκ τουτου της ακεραιας. Ib. B.

IV. The Festal Epistle, just transcribed, is generally allowed to be [a] genuine: but as some may not reckon it to be certainly so, and as such catalogues are liable to alterations, and possibly some things may have been inserted by later transcribers, to make it more agreeable to the sentiments of their own times; it will be best, for fuller satisfaction, to observe the quotations of scripture in other works of Athanasius.

1. The four gospels, as we have sufficiently seen, were always received by all catholic Christians in general: it is, therefore, quite needless to refer to any of the numerous quotations of them in the works of this writer.

We may however observe, that [b] he gives likewise the same title to all the apostles in general, calling them [c] 'our Saviour's divines.'

2. The Acts of the apostles too were generally received: nevertheless I shall refer to one or two of the many passages of Athanasius, where this book is largely quoted by him.

'Let [d] them hear the great and blessed appostles in the Acts.' After which he quotes some of the discourses of Peter and Paul there recorded. He quotes this book as [e] written by St. Luke. Again, according [f] to the divine Acts of the apostles.

3. The Festal Epistle expressly mentions fourteen epistles of Paul. Thirteen were universally received. The [g] epistle to the Hebrews is often quoted by Athanasius as the apostle Paul's.

4. We proceed to the catholic epistles.

(1.) The epistle of James is [h] quoted, as written by an apostle, as [i] written by James.

(2.) The first epistle of [k] Peter is frequently quoted.

(3.) Words of the second epistle of [l] Peter are several times quoted: and sometimes expressly as [m] Peter's.

(4.) The first epistle of [n] John is oftentimes quoted, and sometimes very distinctly.

(5.) The second epistle of John is quoted [o] very distinctly. I have no particular reference to the third epistle.

(6.) Athanasius has [p] twice the words of Jude, ver. 6.

5. The book of the Revelation is several [q] times, and largely, quoted by Athanasius.

6. Upon the whole, then, we perceive, from the other genuine and unquestioned writings of Athanasius, as well as from the Festal Epistle, that this famous bishop of Alexandria, in the fourth century, received the same books in the New Testament as canonical which we do.

V. Besides these books the Festal Epistle mentions two others, the 'Doctrine of the 'Apostles,' and the 'Shepherd of Hermas:' and they are both so mentioned, as to shew plainly, that they were not a part of the rule of faith, or books by which doctrines may be proved. They are said to be 'without,' and 'not canonical;' that is, out of the canon.

1. Of the former I have already [r] spoken sufficiently, and shall add nothing farther.

2. Of the Shepherd of Hermas too we have [s] distinctly observed the value set upon it by

[a] Epistola Festalis, initio mutila, ut cuique palam est, ex numero esse videtur epistolarum Athanasio Festalium ab Hieronymo memoratarum lib. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, in quâ tamen nonnulla forte occurrat adversa suspicio.——Verum, nostro quidem judicio, nihil est, ut eâ de causâ hæreamus. Benedictin. Monitum. T. i. p. 958.

[b] ἡ φησι και ὁ Θεολογος ανηρ· Εν αρχῃ ην ὁ λογος.——Cont. Gent. n. 42. T. i. p. 41. C. D.

[c] Ταυτα δε και παρα των αυτε τε σωτηρος Θεολογων ανδρων πιστασθαι τις δυναται ενυγχανων τοις εκεινων γραμμασιν. De Incarn. n. 10. p. 55. D.

[d] Ακουσατε και των μεγαλων και μακαριων αποστολων εν ταις Πραξεσι. κ. λ. De Sent. Dionys. n. 7. p. 247. D.

[e] Παντα μεν οσα ὁ κυριος ἡμων —— ως εγραψεν ὁ Λουκας, πεποιηκε τε και εδιδαξεν. Ep. Encyl. n. 1. p. 270. B.

[f] ——κατα τας Θειας των Αποστολων Πραξεις. Ad Amun. n. i. p. 959. C.

[g] Ὁ μεν γαρ μακαριος Παυλος εν τη προς Ἑβραιους φησι. De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 18. p. 223. E. Et passim.

[h] Και ποιηται, ὁ αποστολος φησι νομε. De Sent. Dionys. n. 20. p. 257. E. Vid. Jac. iv. 11.

[i] Ουκ ενι δε παρα τω Θεω, ως ειπεν ὁ Ιακωβος, παραλλαγη, ἡ τροπης αποσκιασμα. Ep. 1. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 674. D. Vid. Jac. i. 17.

[k] Και Πετρος εγραψε· Κομιζομενοι το τελος της πιστεως. [1 Pet. i. 9.] Epist. i. ad. Serap. p. 653. E.

[l] Vid. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. n. 29. p. 360. D. E. Vid. & Ep. ad Amun. p. 960. A.

[m] Ὁ ελεγεν ὁ Πετρος, ινα γενησθε Θειας κοινωνοι φυσεως. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 16. p. 420. E. 2. Pet. i. 4. Conf. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 23. p. 672. C. & ad Adelph. n. 4. p. 914. A.

[n] ——Δηλοι ὁ Ιωαννης, εν τη πρωτη επιστολη λεγων ἑτως. Ὁ ην απ' αρχης. Or. iv. contr. Arian. n. 26. p. 637. C. D. ως εγραψεν ὁ μακαριος Ιωαννης. κ. λ. Adv. Arian. Orat. 1. in. p. 405. A.

[o] Και μηδε καν χαιρειν τοις τοιετοις λεγειν, ινα μη πολε και ταις αμαρτιαις αυτων κοινωνοι γενωμεθα, ως παρηγγειλεν ὁ μακαριος Ιωαννης. Ep. Enc. ad Ep. Æg. n. 6. p. 400. C.

[p] Ep. 1. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 675. A. Ep. 2. ad Serap. n. 3. p. 685. A.

[q] Και εν τη Αποκαλυψει. κ. λ. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 11. p. 415. D. Vid. & Orat. ii. contr. Ar. n. 23. p. 491. B. C. & Or. iv. contr. Ar. n. 28. p. 639. & Ep. ii. ad Serap. n. 2. p. 684.

[r] See p. 259.—261.

[s] See p. 259.

former writers: all that remains is to consider, what notice Athanasius takes of this book in his other works.

3. In one place it is quoted as[a] a very useful book. He quotes it again in another place, which[b] I refer to in the margin. In another place he quotes a passage of it, which[c] he supposeth the Eusebians had an eye to. Once more, he quotes it upon account of an argument of the Arians from the same passage before referred to. 'But[d] it is written in the 'Shepherd: (since they allege that book too, though it is not in the canon:) First of all, 'believe, that there is one God.—' Having answered their argument, he adds: 'And[e] why do 'they blame those who think rightly, for using unscriptural phrases, when they make use of 'unscriptural phrases to support impiety?'

4. Nothing can be plainer, than that the Shepherd of Hermas was not a book of authority with Athanasius.

VI. I shall take notice of but very few various readings in the works of this writer.

1. The Benedictines in their edition put our author's citation of Acts xx. 28. according to[f] the common reading, "Feed the church of God." But they acknowledge in[g] a marginal note, that some manuscripts have Lord, others Christ.

2. Athanasius has a very uncommon reading at Rev. xxii. 14, which[h] I place at the bottom of the page, with a[i] remark.

VII. About the year[k] 340, Athanasius sent a copy of the Bible to the emperor Constans. He speaks of it in a letter to Constantius, whom he assures, 'that he had written to his brother 'but once before, and then again upon[l] occasion of sending to him the books, or volumes of the 'divine scriptures, which by his order he had prepared for him.'

Learned men have been divided about the meaning of the original phrase; but Montfauçon, I think, has[m] clearly shewn, that thereby we are to understand the scriptures in several volumes. As a confirmation of this sense, I transcribe[n] a part of his argument at the bottom of the page. Mill[o] concurs with that learned Benedictine.

VIII. The Festal Epistle represents distinctly the several parts of scripture, and the great respect shewn them by the author. Nevertheless, some forms of quotations, and evidences of like respect, may be also taken from the other works of Athanasius.

1. In the Festal Epistle are expressions of the highest regard for those books, which were canonical, or the rule of faith; whether of the Old or the New Testament. They are divine scriptures, oracles, fountains of salvation; in them alone the doctrine of religion is taught with absolute certainty, without any danger of being deceived and misled.

2. Quoting Paul, he calls him, the[p] blessed Paul, a man bearing or carrying Christ; and the holy servant of Christ.

3. The sacred[q] and divinely inspired scriptures are sufficient to shew us the truth.

[a] Δια δε της ωφελιμωτατης βιβλȣ τȣ Ποιμενος. De Incarn. n. 3. p. 49. D.

[b] De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 4. p. 411. D.

[c] Ελοτιζοντο δε και το εν τῳ Ποιμενι γραφεν. Ad. Afr. n. 5. p. 895. B.

[d] Εν δε τῳ Ποιμενι γεγραπται· επειδη και τȣτο, καιτοι μη ον εκ τȣ κανονος, προφερȣσι. De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 18. p. 223. F.

[e] Διατι τοινυν αγραφȣς αυτοι λεξεις προς ασεβειαν εφευροντες, αιτιωνται τȣς αγραφοις λεξεσιν ευσεβȣντας; Ib. p. 224. A. B.

[f] Vid. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 6. p. 653. D.

[g] Reg. i. κυριȣ. At seguer. & Felckm. Χριστȣ.

[h] Μακαριοι οἱ πλατυνοντες τας στολας αυτων. κ. λ. Or. iv. contr. Arian. n. 28. p. 639. C.

[i] Upon that peculiar reading my excellent friend Dr. Benson has given me this observation: 'He is ready to think, 'that ωλυνοντες was either written by way of contraction, or 'blindly, so as scarce to be read at all; and that some bold 'or blundering transcriber changed it into πλατυνοντες. Thus 'the reading will agree with that ancient reading, mentioned 'by Mill, and supported by MSS. Versions and Fathers.'

[k] Vid. Benedictin. Vit. S. Athan. p. 33.

[l] Και ὁτε πυκτια των θειων γραφων κελευσαντος αυτȣ μοι κατασκευασαι, ταυτα ποιησας απεστειλα. Ad Imp. Constant. Apol. n. 4. p. 297. D. E.

[m] —πυκτια quippe illa των θεων γραφων nihil esse aliud arbitramur, quam ipsam sacram scripturam, quæ ad faciliorem legentis usum, in plura volumina compingeretur: πυκτια quippe significant volumina. Monitum in Synops. Scripturæ ap. Ath. T. ii. p. 124.

[n] Est itaque πυκτιον liber compactus, sive volumen.—— Innumera proferre licet similia loca, queis palam fiat πυκτια των θειων γραφων nihil aliud esse, quam libros scripturarum sacrarum plura in volumina compactos, non vero synopsim sacræ scripturæ: quemadmodum πυκτιον Απολλιναριȣ est liber Apollinarii, & πυκτιον Ωριγενȣς φιλοκαλιας est liber Philocaliæ Origenis. Animadv. xv. in Vit. & Athan. ap. Coll. Nov. Patr. p. 38, 39.

[o] ——sive Biblia integra, pluribus in lectoris commodum voluminibus compacta. Mill. Proleg. Script. n. 745.

[p] —— εις ὁν ὁ χριστοφορος ανηρ ὁ μακαριος Παυλος. Contr. Gent. n. 5. p. 5. F.

——λεγοντος τȣ χριστοφορȣ ανδρος. De Incarn. n. 10. p. 56. A.

Ὁ ἁγιος τȣ Χριστȣ διακονος Παυλος. Contr. Gent. n. 26. p. 25. A.

[q] Αυταρκεις μεν γαρ εισιν αἱ ἁγιαι και θεοπνευστοι γραφαι προς την της αληθειας απαγγελιαν. Contr. Gent. n. 1. T. i. p. 1. B.

4. Censuring the multitude of Arian synods, he says, 'The divine [a] scripture is sufficient 'above all: but if upon this occasion a synod be needful, let them observe the determinations of 'the fathers at the council of Nice.'

5. 'Let [b] these be hearkened to, the determination of the gospel, the preaching of the apostles, 'the testimonies of the prophets.'

6. Having quoted several passages out of the Old Testament, 'But [c] do you also, says he, 'search the gospels, and what the apostles have written.'

7. 'Let [d] us inquire after the ancient tradition, and doctrine, and faith of the catholic church 'which the Lord delivered, which the apostles preached, which the fathers kept: for on this the 'church is founded.'

IX. This testimony of Athanasius to the scriptures is very valuable: it appears from the Festal Epistle, and from his other works, that he received all the books of the New Testament that we do, and no other, as of authority. And, considering the time in which he lived, the acquaintance he had with the several parts of the Christian church at that time, and the bishops of it, in Egypt, and its neighbourhood, in Europe, and Asia, and the knowledge he had of ancient Christian writings; it must be reckoned of great use to satisfy us, that notwithstanding the frequent quotations of other books, in the writings of divers ancient Christians, they did always make a distinction, and did not design to allege as of authority, and a part of the rule of faith, any books, but those which were in the highest sense sacred and divine.

X. It yet remains, that we take notice of [e] the Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, usually joined with the works of Athanasius. By some it has been reckoned genuine; but for the most part, it is supposed by learned men [f] to be falsely ascribed to him. On this side of the question, the late learned [g] editors of Athanasius's works have freely declared themselves; and certainly they must be good judges. One reason of their rejecting it is, that it is not mentioned by any ancient writer, as a work of our Athanasius: which must be reckoned an argument of no small weight, considering how large a work it is. Some ascribe it to another Athanasius, who flourished near the end of the fifth century. Mr. Wetstein [h] expresseth himself very positively: Mill is [i] inclined to the same opinion, without being certain; which I think is best, as there is no very clear evidence who is the author.

1. In this Synopsis, in the first place, is a list or catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, with their several names, and the first sentence of each book. After that follow particular contents, or an abridgment of every book.

2. It seems to me, that there is some reason to suspect this to be a patched work; not all written by the same author, or at the same time: for after the names of the canonical books of the Old Testament, those not in the canon are said [k] to be the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. But after having given the contents of the books of each Testament, he mentions [l] four books of Maccabees, and other writings, as contradicted, or apocryphal: but if one and the same person had been the author of the whole, why did he not mention these at first in the proper place? I omit some other things, that might be mentioned in favour of the same supposition.

3. This synopsis has a great agreement with the Festal Epistle: the canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Testament, in the first instance, (as before observed), are much the same in both. And the canonical books of the New Testament are mentioned in the same order.

[a] Εστι μεν γαρ ικανωτερα παντων ἡ θεια γραφη. Ει δε και συνοδε χρεια περι τινος, εστι τα των παλαιων· και τινος γαρ εκ μελησαν οἱ εν Νικαια συνελθοντες. De Synod. n. 6. p. 720. B.

[b] Προκεισθω τοινυν——και της ἡμετερας πιστεως ὁ λογος, και ευαγγελιου ὁ ὁρος, και των αποστολων το κηρυγμα, και των προφητων ἡ μαρτυρια.—Contr. Apoll. l. ii. n. 4. p. 949. C.

[c] Ερωτησατε δε και ὑμεις περι των εν ευαγγελιοις, και ὡν εγραψαν οἱ αποστολοι.——Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 6. p. 653. A.

[d] Ιδωμεν δε και——αυτην την εξ αρχης παραδοσιν και διδασκαλιαν και πιστιν της καθολικης εκκλησιας, ἡν ὁ μεν κυριος εδωκεν, οἱ δε αποστολοι εκηρυξαν, και οἱ πατερες εφυλαξαν· επι ταυτη γαρ ἡ εκκλησια τεθεμελιωται. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 28. p. 676. D.

[e] Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ. Ap. Ath. T. ii. p. 126—204.

[f] Nam Synopsis ista non est Athanasii. Petav. Dogm. Th. T. ii. p. 28.

——ab hodiernis criticis unanimi fere consensu Athanasio abjudicata. Cav. H. L.

See Tillem. sur S. Athanase note 45. Mem. Ec. T. viii. & sur S. Lucian note 1. m. note 2. f. T. 5.

[g] Primo namque a nemine antiquorum memoratur opus simile ab Athanasio adornatum. At certe vix potuit ab Hieronymo, aliisque patribus, iis maxime qui scripturas explanarunt, & a Photio ipso, tam insigne opus Athanasianum prætermitti. In Synops. Monit. p. 124, 125. Vid. Montfauç. Prælim. ad Nov. Coll. PP. T. ii. p. 38, 39.

[h] Athanasius scripsit Synopsin sacræ scripturæ, operibus S. Athanasii episcopi insertam. Proleg. ad N. T. edit. accurat.

[i] Vid. Mill. Proleg. n. 993, 994.

[k] P. 128, 129. [l] P. 201. D. E.

4. Mill thinks, it [a] may be inferred from this Synopsis, that at this time by the Christians of Alexandria the whole New Testament was divided into eight books: the first four were the four gospels, each being reckoned a distinct book; the fifth was the Acts, the sixth the seven catholic epistles, the seventh the fourteen epistles of Paul, the eighth the Revelation.

5. To be now a little more particular, for the sake of those who may expect it.

(1.) The author begins his Synopsis, saying, 'All [b] the scripture of us Christians is divinely 'inspired; and it contains not an indefinite, but rather a determined number of canonical books: those of the Old Testament are these.' Having mentioned their names, and put down the first sentence in each book, he says: 'The [c] canonical books of the Old Testament, altogether, 'are 22, according to the number of the Hebrew letters: but beside these, there are other books 'of the same Old Testament, not canonical, but read only [and that especially] by, or to, cate-'chumens.' The books here mentioned are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit. But presently after he adds, 'Some [d] say, that Esther is 'reckoned canonical by the Hebrews, as also Ruth, being joined with the book of the Judges. 'But Esther is a distinct book. However, in this way likewise they compute the full number of 'canonical books to be two and twenty.'

(2.) 'These [e] then are the canonical, and the uncanonical books of the Old Testament.

(3.) Then he proceeds: 'The [f] determined and canonical books of the New Testament are 'these:' where he mentions all the books of the New Testament in the same order as in the Festal Epistle, with the first sentence in each book. 'The last [g] is the Revelation of John the 'Divine, which has been received with the rest by the ancient holy fathers having the Spirit.'

(4.) After which he gives somewhat largely the contents of the twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament, ending with Daniel, from p. 131 to p. 168.' Then he says, 'but it [h] is 'proper to observe the others also, which are not canonical, but only read.' Here he abridges Esther, Judith, Tobit, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach; from p. 168, to p. 177.

(5.) Then he proceeds to the New Testament, and gives particularly the contents of each book, from p. 177 to 201. The first book with him is the gospel according to Matthew, the second book the gospel according to Mark, the third according to Luke, the fourth according to John: 'the fifth [i] book is the Acts of the apostles, written,' he says, 'by Luke, who travelled 'with other apostles, but more especially with Paul, and wrote what he knew with certainty.' The sixth book contains the seven catholic epistles, written by several; the seventh book contains Paul's fourteen epistles; the eighth is [k] the Revelation, seen by John the evangelist and divine in Patmos.

(6.) After which he adds: 'There [l] are also divers other books, both of the Old and the 'New Testament, some contradicted, others apocryphal. The contradicted books of the Old 'Testament, spoken of before, are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of 'Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit: with which also are reckoned four books of the 'Maccabees, the history of the Ptolemies, the Psalms and the Ode of Solomon and Susanna: 'these are the contradicted books of the Old Testament. The apocryphal books of the Old 'Testament are these; Enoch, the Patriarchs, the Prayer of Joseph, the Testament of Moses, 'the Assumption of Moses, Abraham, Eldad, and Modad, and the pseudepigraphal books of Elias 'the Prophet, Zephaniah the Prophet, Zachariah the father of John, Baruch, Ambacum, Ezekiel 'and Daniel. The contradicted [or apocryphal] of the New Testament are these, The Travels '[or Circuits] of Peter, the Travels of John, the Travels of Thomas, the Gospel according to

[a] Prolegm. n. 995.

[b] Κατα γραφη ημων Χριστιανων θεοπνευστος εστιν· και αορισα δε, αλλα μαλλον ωρισμενα και κεκανονισμενα εχει τα βιβλια. Και εστι της μεν παλαιας διαθηκης ταυτα. Synops. p. 126. A.

[c] Ωμα τα κανονιζομενα της παλαιας διαθηκης, βιβλια εικοσι δυο, ισαριθμα τοις γραμμασι των Εβραιων.——Εκτος δε τουτων εισι παλιν ετερα βιβλια της αυτης διαθηκης, α κανονιζομενα μεν, αναγινωσκομενα δε μονον τοις κατηχουμενοις ταυτα. Ib. p. 128. D. E. [d] P. 129. A.

[e] Και τα μεν της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλια, τα τε κανονιζομενα και μη κανονιζομενα. p. 129. B.

[f] Τα δε της καινης διαθηκης παλιν ωρισμενα τε και κεκανονιζμενα βιβλια ταυτα. p. 129. B.

[g] Επι τουτοις εστι και Αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου του Θεολογου, δεχθεισα ως εκεινα, και εγκριθεισα υπο των παλαι αγιων και πνευματοφορων πατερων. p. 131. A.

[h] Ρητεον δε ομοιως και περι των ετερων της παλαιας βιβλων, των μη κανονιζομενων μεν, αναγινωσκομενων δε, ως προδεδηλωται. P. 168. C.

[i] Ο δε διηγουμενος ταυτας εστι Λουκας ο ευαγγελιστης, ο και τουτο βιβλιον συγγραφων· συναπεδημει γαρ τοις αλλοις αποστολοις, και μαλιστα τω Παυλω, και ειδως ακριβως γραφει. p. 187. A.

[k] P. 200. A. [l] P. 201, 202.

'Thomas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Clementines, out of which those things have been 'selected, which are true and divinely inspired. And these are read. All [a] these are thus set 'down for the instruction of men; but they are perversely written, and spurious, and to be re-'jected. And none of these are to be received with the rest, or reckoned useful, especially the 'apocryphal books of the New Testament: in particular, no other writings, called gospels, are 'to be received, beside those four which have been delivered to us; even the gospels of Matthew, 'Mark, Luke, and John.'

After all this is added [b] a brief account of the several Greek versions of the Old Testament, as that of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and some other, which were later.

All these things are referred to the reader's consideration. It is very fit to observe in what class the Doctrine of the Apostles is placed by this writer, and with what books it is numbered. I have spoken of it distinctly in the chapter of [c] Eusebius. The Clementines likewise have been already described [d] sufficiently.

(7.) In this work, particularly in the abridgment of the books of the New Testament, are several observations, which will not be approved by all. The author says, the [e] epistle to the Galatians was written by Paul at Rome; that [f] to the Ephesians likewise at Rome, before the apostle was personally acquainted with those Christians. The same is said more than once by [g] Euthalius, contemporary with that Athanasius, whom some suppose author of the Synopsis. This author likewise, as many others do, says, that [h] St. Peter's epistles were written to Jewish Christians.

(8.) I add here some other things, which are in the latter part of this Synopsis. It is there said, 'that [i] Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, and published it at Jerusalem; and that it 'was translated [into Greek] by James the Lord's brother according to the flesh, who was 'ordained by the holy apostles the first bishop of Jerusalem: that the gospel according to Mark 'was dictated by Peter at Rome, and published by the blessed apostle Mark, and preached by 'him in Alexandria and Egypt, and Pentapolis, and Libya: that the gospel of Luke was dictated 'by the apostle Paul, and written and published by the blessed apostle and physician Luke: as 'also [k] in like manner the apostle Peter dictated the Acts of the apostles, but Luke the evange-'list wrote them: that the [l] gospel according to John was dictated by the holy and beloved 'apostle John, when he was an exile in the island of Patmos, and was published by him at 'Ephesus, under the care of Gaius his host, and of the other apostles.'

But why were not these things mentioned before? They might have been as well taken notice of at the beginning of the abridgments of the several books here spoken of. Moreover, some things here said seem contrary to what was before observed: every one must perceive, that what is here said of the Acts of the apostles, is quite different from what was said at the beginning of the contents or abridgment of that book.

(9.) Here likewise, I mean in the latter part of this Synopsis, are [m] the symbols of the four evangelists. Matthew's gospel is supposed to be signified by the face of a man, Mark's by that of a calf, Luke's by that of a lion, and John's by that of an eagle.

(10.) Thus I have now given a large Account of this Synopsis, much fuller than at first I intended. It is a long and laboured work, for which the author is intitled to commendation, though there are in it some inaccuracies. This Synopsis might be compared with the Stichometry of Nicephorus, published by [n] several, and with the observations of [o] Euthalius upon the books of the New Testament, of which I shall speak more distinctly hereafter.

(11.) Upon the whole, I think, this writer, whoever he is, probably of Alexandria, or near

[a] Ταυτα παντα εξετεθησαν μεν, ὁσον προς ειδησιν· παραγεγραμμενα δε εισι παντως, και νοθα, και αποβλητα. Και ȣδεν τȣτων, των αποκρυφων μαλιστα, εγκριτον, η επωφελες, εξαιρετως της νεας διαθηκης - τα τε αλλα, και αυτα καλȣμενα εν αυτοις ευαγγελια, εκτος των παραδοθεντων ἡμιν τεσσαρων τȣτων. κ. λ. p. 202. B.

[b] P. 203, 204. [c] P. 259—261.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 472, 473. 474, 475.

[e] P. 194. D. [f] Ib. F.

[g] Vid. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 524. 633, 634.

[h] P. 188. F. [i] P. 202.

[k] —Ὡσπερ και τας Πραξεις των Αποστολων ὑπηγορευσε μεν Πετρος ὁ αποστολος, συνεγραψατο δε ὁ αυτος Λȣκας. Ib. p. 202. E.

[l] Το δε κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιον ὑπηγορευθη τε ὑπ' αυτȣ τȣ ἁγιȣ Ιωαννȣ τȣ αποστολȣ και ηγαπημενȣ, οντος εξοριστȣ εν Πατμῳ τῃ νησῳ, και ὑπο τȣ ἐξεδοθη εν Εφεσῳ, δια Γαϊȣ τȣ αγαπητȣ και ξενοδοχȣ των αποστολων, περι ȣ̀ και Παυλος Ῥωμαιοις γραφων φησι· Ασπαζεται ὑμας. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 202. F.

[m] P. 202. C.

[n] Vid. Coteler. ap. Patr. Apost. & Montfauç. Bib. Coislin. p. 204.

[o] Ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 401. &c.

it, received no books of the Old Testament, as of authority, beside those of the Jewish canon. And for the New Testament, he received all those which we now receive, and no other.

(12.) Finally, it deserves our particular notice, that this writer, as well as other ancient Christian writers in general, professeth the highest respect for the books of sacred scripture. For having put down the catalogue of the canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Testament, and then the canonical books of the New, he adds: 'So [a] many, even these, are the canonical books of the New Testament, and as it were the first-fruits of our faith, or anchors and fastenings: having been written and published by the apostles of Christ, who conversed with him, and were taught by him. But innumerable other books have been since composed by great, and wise, and holy men, by way of testimony to them, and for explaining and illustrating them, of which I need not now speak particularly.'

CHAP. LXXVI.

A DIALOGUE AGAINST THE MARCIONITES.

1. I THINK it not best to overlook entirely a book, intitled, Of the right Faith in God, or a Dialogue against the Marcionites, in five parts or sections, ascribed to Adamantius, by some supposed to be the same as Origen. I formerly took some notice of it in the general account of [b] Origen's works, and may have occasion to quote it often hereafter in the history of the heretics of the two first centuries. It is fit therefore, that we should observe briefly the author's testimony to the books of the New Testament. But he is not the famous Origen. It appears manifest, from expressions in the first section of the work, that [c] it was written in the time of a Christian emperor. And from the confession made near the beginning of the same [d] section by Adamantius the orthodox disputant, it is probable, that it was not composed until after the council of Nice: accordingly, it is the general opinion of learned men, that [e] the author of this Dialogue is different from Origen, and that it may be placed about the year 330.

2. The author owns [f] four gospels, and no more, written by John, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, disciples of Christ.

3. He calls them all disciples of Christ: for he says, that [g] Mark and Luke were of the number of the seventy or seventy-two disciples.

4. Though [h] there are four evangelists, he says, there is but one gospel.

5. Adamantius, the orthodox disputant, receives also [i] the Acts of the Apostles.

6. In this work the four gospels are often quoted, and most of St. Paul's epistles, particularly the [k] epistle to the Ephesians, by that title, and the epistle to [l] the Hebrews.

7. The second epistle of Peter is here [m] quoted.

[a] Τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης βιβλία, τὰ γε κανονιζόμενα, καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οἱονεὶ ἀκροθίνια, ἢ ἀγκυραι καὶ ἐρείσματα· ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν καὶ συγγενομένων ἐκείνῳ, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μαθητευθέντων, γραφέντα καὶ ἐκδοθέντα· ἐπειδοῖτε ὕστερον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀκολουθίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν, ἄλλα μυρία καὶ ἀναρίθμητα βιβλία ἐξεπονήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' καιρὸς μεγάλων καὶ σοφῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων, εἰς μαρτυρίαν τῶν προλαβόντων, καὶ διασάφησιν. κ. λ. p. 131. A. B.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 526.

[c] Vid. Dialog. p. 30. Basil. 1674. p. 816. Bened.

[d] P. 3. Bas. p. 804. Bened.

[e] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. Sect. 1. n. v. & in App. n. ix. Tillem. Origene. Art. 36. et note 13. Mem. T. iii. & Benedictinor. Monitum ap. Origen. Opp. T. i. p. 800. Beausob. Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 84, 85.

[f] Οἱ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγράφηκασιν, Ἰωάννης καὶ Ματθαῖος, καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς. Dialog. sect. i. p. 7. Bas. 806. B. Bened.

[g] Πρώτως ἀπεστειλε ιβ΄ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οβ΄ εὐαγγελισασθαι. Μάρκος ἦν καὶ Λουκας ἐκ τῶν οβ΄ ὄντες Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ εὐηγγελισαντο. Ib. p. 8. Bas. 806. D. Bened.

[h] Εὐαγγελισται μεν τέσσαρες, εὐαγγελιον δε ἑν. Ib. p. 9. Bas. 807. Bened.

[i] Προσεχον ἀναγνωσθηναι τὰς τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πραξεις, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολας. κ. λ. Ib. Sect. ii. p. 58. Basn. 828. D. Bened.

[k] Ἐφεσιοις δὲ ἐπιστελλων, φησι· Μνημονευοντες, ὅτι ποτε ὑμεις τὰ ἐθνη. κ. λ. [Eph. ii. 11, 12, 13.] Sect. v. p. 148. Bas. 867. c. Bened. Ἐφεσιοις δὲ ἐπιστελλων, ὁ ἀποστολος φησιν. Ib. p. 152. Basn. 869. A. Ben.

[l] ——καὶα τον ἀποστολον. Ὁ γαρ νομος σκια των μελλοντων ἀγαθων. [Heb. x. 1.] Sect. iv. p. 114. Bas. 853. A. Ben. Ὁ μεν ἐπρισθη σαρκι, ὁ δε ἐλιθασθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποι ἐν φονῳ μαχαιρας ἀπεθανον. Sect. iv. p. 125. Bas. 857. Ben.

[m] Πῃ δε ὑπο Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστολου γεγραμμενον καὶα τὴν σοφιαν, φησιν, τὴν δεδομενην τῳ ἀδελφῳ μου Παυλῳ. Sect. ii. p. 58. Bas. 828. D. Bened. Vid. 2 Pet. iii. 15.

8. The words of 2 Pet. ii. 19, "Of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage," are quoted by [a] Adamantius, not as the words of Peter, but as a saying or maxim of some wise man not a Christian.

CHAP. LXXVII.

JUVENCUS.

1. As Jerom has an article [b] for Juvencus in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, I shall transcribe it at the bottom of the page. His name at length was C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus: he was a native of Spain, and a man of a good family. Jerom mentions a work in four books containing the history of our Lord, as recorded in the four gospels, and another work: the former is still extant. Jerom says, he lived in the time of Constantine: which also appears from the conclusion of the fore-mentioned poem. Juvencus is in [c] Trithemius: who takes particular notice of the two works, mentioned by Jerom; and supposeth, that Juvencus had written others, though he had not seen them.

2. Jerom seems to have been much pleased with Juvencus; for he has made honourable mention of him in his letter to [d] Magnus, and placed him in his [e] Chronicle, and quoted him in his Commentary upon [f] St. Matthew. That quotation relates to the presents made by the wise men to our Saviour at his nativity, and the design of them: and may deserve to be compared with the verses of Sedulius,[g] another Latin poet, in the fifth century, upon the same subject.

3. Juvencus is, certainly, a good witness to our four gospels, and the things contained in them; but I do not think it needful to make many extracts. I only observe that Juvencus seems to understand Matt. xxviii. 17, as if the evangelists said, some [h] of Christ's disciples "still doubted;" but [i] Grotius, and some [k] others, think, he means only, that "some had doubted before," but were now all satisfied. Theophylact [l] well deserves to be consulted upon this text.

[a] Πεισει δε σε και ὁ εξωθεν λογος, ὅτι ἑκαστος ᾧ ἡττηται, τουτῳ και δεδουλωται. Sect. i. p. 41. Bas. 821. A. Bened.

[b] Juvencus, nobilissimi generis, Hispanus, presbyter, quatuor Evangelia hexametris versibus pene ad verbum transferens, quatuor libros composuit, & nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. Floruit sub Constantino Principe. De V. I. cap. 84.

[c] De Script. Ecc. c. 62.

[d] Juvencus presbyter sub Constantino historiam Domini Salvatoris versibus explicavit: nec pertimuit Evangelii majestatem sub metri leges mittere. Ad Magn. ep. 83. T. iv. p. 657.

[e] Juvencus presbyter, natione Hispanus, Evangelia heroïcis versibus explicat. Chr. p. 181.

[f] Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Juvencus presbyter uno versiculo comprehendit: *Thus, aurum, myrrham, regique, hominique, Deoque Dona ferunt.* Ad Matt. cap. ii. p. 9. Conf. Juvenci Historiam Evangel. p. 57. F. ap Bib. Patr. Max. T. iv.

[g] Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera Regi,
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulcro.
C. Sedulii Carm. Pasch. l. ii. p. 30. ver. 95, 96. edit. Cellar. 1704.

[h] Jamque Galilæos conscenderat anxia montes
Mandatis Christi concursans turba suorum.
Cernitur ecce suis proles veneranda tonantis.
Illum procumbens sancte chorus omnis adorat.
Nec tamen in cunctis pariter fundata manebat
Pectoribus virtus: nam pars dubitabat eorum.
Juvenc. Hist. Ev. l. iv. lb. p. 77. B.

[i] Vid. Grot. ad Matt. xxviii. 17.

[k] See Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 53, 54.

[l] In evangelia, p. 183.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

1. Julius Firmicus Maternus, not mentioned by Jerom, or any other writers that we know of, wrote a book against heathenism, still extant, inscribed to the emperors Constantius and Constans. Cave says very well, that [a] his book of the Error of profane Religions was written some time between the years 340 and 350; I therefore place him at the year 345. Julius was [b] a convert from heathenism; but it does not appear, that he had any ecclesiastical character. It is more probable, that he was a layman, and a person of quality.

2. He speaks [c] of the power which Christians had over dæmons, or the heathen deities.

3. He speaks of the great progress which the Christian religion had made, as [d] obtaining in every part of the world, and superior to Gentilism in many places.

4. He applauds the emperors [e] for having destroyed the heathen temples, and ascribes their success in war to that conduct.

5. In divers parts of his book he earnestly excites the emperors to restrain the [f] idolatrous rites of heathenism by their edicts, to demolish their temples, deprive [g] them of their ornaments. For this he makes use of many arguments from the Old [h] and the New Testament: but I cannot say that I admire his temper, or perceive the solidity of his reasonings, upon this occasion.

6. I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures, which is very considerable; but it ought not to be expected, that I should be very particular in so late a writer.

7. He speaks [i] of the Old and the New Testament.

8. He has quoted most books of the Old Testament, and many of them by name.

9. He has many references to the four gospels.

10. He quotes the gospels of [k] Luke and [l] John by name, and many passages from this last.

11. He received [m] the book of the Revelation, which he quotes often, and largely, and with great respect.

12. He shews great [n] respect for the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament in general.

[a] De tempore, quo scriptus sit hic liber, nihil certi statui potest: nisi quod intra annum 340, post mortem Constantini junioris, & annum 350, quo interfectus est Constans, scriptus sit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 204. Et Conf. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 337. n. 12. & Basn. Ann. 350. n. 9.

[b] At ego nunc sacrarum lectionum institutione formatus, perditos homines religioso sermone convenio. De Error. Profan. Religionum. Cap. 7. p. 168. E. ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. iv. & p. 424. ex edit. Jacob. Gronov. Lugd. Batav. 1709.

[c] Sic apud nos deos vestros, cum hominibus nocere cœperint, religiosi sermonis flagella castigant. Sic in corpore hominum constituti dii vestri verbo Dei spiritualium flammarum igne torquentur, & qui apud vos quasi dii coluntur, apud nos religiosæ fidei medelâ Christi gratiâ humano subjacentes imperio, & tormenta repugnantes sustinent, & victi pœnis ultricibus subjugantur. Cap. 14. p. 170. B. Bib. p. 433. Gr.

[d] Quis locus in terrâ est, quem non Christi possederit nomen? quâ sol oritur, quâ occidit, quâ erigitur septentrio, quâ vergit auster, totum venerandi numinis majestas implevit. Et licet adhuc in quibusdam regionibus idololatriæ morientia palpitent membra, tamen in eo res est, ut e Christianis omnibus terris pestiferum hoc malum funditus amputetur. Cap. 21. p. 172. H. Bib. PP. 445. Gron.

Modicum tantum superest, ut legibus vestris prostratus Diabolus jaceat, ut extinctæ idololatriæ pereat funesta contagio. Cap. 21. p. 173. A. Bib. p. 446. Gr.

[e] Post excidia templorum in majus Dei estis virtute provecti. Vicistis hostes, propagâstis imperium. &c. Cap. 29. p. 176. F. Bib. p. 463. Gronov.

[f] Amputanda sunt hæc, sacratissimi imperatores, penitus atque delenda, & severissimis edictorum vestrorum legibus corrigenda, ne diutius Romanum orbem præsumtionis istius error funestus commaculet, ne pestiferæ consuetudinis convalescat improbitas. Cap. 17. Bib. PP. p. 171. A. Gronov. p. 437.

[g] Tollite, tollite, securi, sacratissimi imperatores, ornamenta templorum. Deos istos aut monetæ ignis, aut metallorum coquat flamma. Donaria universa ad utilitatem vestram, dominiumque transferte. Cap. 29, p. 176. F. Bib. p. 463. Gron.

[h] Sed & vobis, sacratissimi imperatores, ad vindicandum & puniendum hoc malum necessitas imperatur; & hoc vobis Dei summi lege præcipitur, ut severitas vestra idololatriæ facinus omnifariam persequatur.—In Deuteronomio [cap. xiii.] lex præscripta est. Cap. 30. p. 179. E. Bib. PP. 467. Gr.

[i] Lapis hic——Christus aut fidei fundamenta sustentat, aut in angulo positus, duorum parietum membra æquatâ moderatione conjungit, id est, veteris & novi Testamenti in unum colligit gentes. Cap. 21. p. 172. H. Bib. 446. Gr.

[k] Invenimus enim in Evangelio Lucæ: 'Sint lumbi vestri præcincti.' &c. Cap. 20. p. 172. D. Bib. 443. Gr.

[l] Dicit enim in Evangelio Johannis. Cap. 19. p. 171. H. Bib. p. 441. Gr.

[m] Secretiora pandantur arcana. In Apocalypsi, quis sit sponsus, inveniemus. Cap. 20. p. 172. C. Bib. 443. Gr.

Hæc eadem nobis sanctâ revelatione monstrantur. Invenimus enim in Apocalypsi ita esse præscriptum. Cap. 25. p. 174. E. Bib. PP. p. 453. Gron.

[n] In hac probatione arcana Prophetarum veneranda pandantur. Adcistat nobis sanctorum oraculorum fides. Joël divino Spiritu monente sic dicit. Cap. 20. p. 172. C. Bib. p. 442. Gron.

Ait enim de hoc Esaïas, innuente Spiritu Sancto. Cap. 21. p. 172. F. Bib. 444. Gr.

Hoc a venerando Prophetâ sanctâ voce præcanitur, & ex ore prophetico vox jubentis auditur. Ait enim Spiritus Sanctus. Cap. 25. p. 174. D. Bib. 452. Gr.

CHAP. LXXIX.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

I. *His time and works.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *A general remark.* IV. *Observations relating to the gospels.* V. *Of the Acts of the apostles.* VI. *St. Paul's epistles.* VII. *The catholic epistles.* VIII. *The Revelation.* IX. *General divisions, and respect for the sacred scriptures.*

St. Jerom has a short chapter concerning Cyril, which I put at the bottom of the [a] page. I translate only what relates to his writings: 'His Catechetical discourses, which he composed in 'his youth, are still extant.'

It is computed, that [b] Cyril was born about the year 315, that he was ordained presbyter in 344 or 345, bishop in 350 or 351, and died in 386. For farther particulars concerning his history, and his works, I refer to other [c] authors. The Catechetical Discourses mentioned by Jerom, and which alone I shall have occasion to quote, were composed in 347 or 348, while he was yet presbyter only.

II. I begin with citing that discourse, which contains a [d] catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.

'These [e] things,' says he, 'we are taught by the divinely inspired scriptures of the Old and 'New Testament. For there is one God of both Testaments, who in the Old Testament fore-'told the Christ, who has been manifested in the New.—Read the divine scriptures, the two and 'twenty books of the Old Testament, which were translated by the seventy-two interpreters.—'Read [f] those two and twenty books, and have nothing to do with apocryphal writings. These, 'and these only do you carefully meditate upon, which we securely or openly read in the church. 'The apostles and ancient bishops, governors of the church, who have delivered these to us, were 'wiser and holier than thou. As a son of the church therefore, transgress not those bounds: 'meditate upon the books of the Old Testament, which, as has been already said, are two and 'twenty: and if you are desirous to learn, fix them in your memory, as I enumerate them one 'by one. Of the law the first are the five books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Num-'bers, Deuteronomy. Then Jesus the son of Nun, and the book of the Judges, with Ruth, making 'the seventh. Then follow the historical books, the first and second of the kingdoms, which 'according to the Hebrews are one book: in like manner the third and fourth book. And the 'first and second of the Chronicles, also reckoned by them one book. The first and second of 'Esdras too are computed one book. The twelfth is Esther. These are the historical books. 'The books written in verse are five: Job, and the book of Psalms, and the Proverbs, and Eccle-'siastes, and the Song of Songs, the seventeenth book. After these are five prophetical books, 'the twelve prophets, being one book, of Isaiah one, of Jeremiah one, with Baruch, and the 'Lamentations, and the Epistle: then Ezekiel, and the book of Daniel, the twenty-second book 'of the Old Testament.

'The [g] books of the New Testament are the four gospels only; the rest are falsely inscribed,

[a] Cyrillus Hierosolymæ episcopus, sæpe pulsus ecclesiâ, & receptus, ad extremum sub Theodosio principe octo annis inconcussum episcopatum tenuit. Exstant ejus καθηχησεις, quas in adolescentiâ composuit. De V. I. cap. 112.

[b] Vid. Ant. Aug. Touttée Benedictin. Diss. i. De Vit. Cyril. Hieros.

[c] Vid. Toutt. ut supr. Cyril. ex edit. Tho. Milles Oxon. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

[d] Cat. iv. n. 33—36. Ed. Bened. n. 20—22. edit. Milles.

[e] Ταυτα δε διδασκουσιν ημας αι θεοπνευστοι γραφαι της παλαιας τε και καινης διαθηκης. Cat. iv. n. 33. in. Bened.

[f] Τουτων τας εικοσι δυο βιβλους αναγινωσκε. Προς δε τα απορρυφα μηδεν εχε κοινον· ταυτας μονας μελετα σπουδαιως, ας και εν εκκλησια μετα παρρησιας αναγινωσκομεν. Πολυ σου φρονιμωτεροι, και ευλαβεστεροι ησαν οι αποστολοι, και οι αρχαιοι επισκοποι, οι της εκκλησιας προεσται, οι ταυτας παραδουντες· συ ουν, τεκνον της εκκλησιας ων, μη παραχαραττε τους ορους. κ. λ. Ib. c. 35.

[g] Της δε καινης διαθηκης, τα τεσσαρα μονα ευαγγελια· τα δε λοιπα ψευδεπιγραφα και βλαβερα τυγχανει——Δεχου δε και τας Πραξεις των δωδεκα αποστολων· τους τελειους δε και τας επτα Ιακωβου, και Πετρου, Ιωαννου, και Ιουδα, καθολικας επιστολας· επισφραγισμα δε των παντων, και μαθητων το τελειωτατον, τας Παυλου δεκατεσσαρας επιστολας. Τα δε λοιπα παντα εξω κεισθω εν δευτερω. Και οσα μεν εν εκκλησιαις μη αναγινωσκεται, ταυτα μηδε παις σαυτον αναγινωσκε, καθως ηκουσας. Ib. n. 36. p. 69.

'and hurtful. Receive likewise the Acts of the twelve apostles: as also the seven catholic 'epistles of James and Peter, John and Jude: and the seal of all, and the last [work] of the 'disciples, the fourteen epistles of Paul. As for any beside these, let them be all held [a] in the 'second or no rank. And whatever books are not read in the churches, those neither do thou 'read in private, as thou hast heard.'

III. This is the catalogue of the sacred books of scripture, publickly read at that time in the church of Jerusalem, and the only books from whence doctrines were to be proved. I leave it to my readers to make several remarks which I omit: but it must hence appear evident to all, that no books written after the times of the apostles, or by any men who were not either apostles, or companions of apostles, were esteemed by the church of Jerusalem a part of the New Testament, or of the rule of faith.

IV. I now add some other observations concerning the latter part of the Catalogue, and the gospels in particular.

1. One thing observable is the order in which the books of the New Testament are placed: the gospels, the Acts of the apostles, the catholic epistles, and the epistles of St. Paul. In like manner in another place: 'There [b] yet remain many other texts, that might be alleged from 'the Acts of the apostles, the catholic epistles, and the fourteen epistles of Paul.'

2. Cyril says, that [c] St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew.

3. He had in his copies the [d] first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

4. He says, that [e] John the Baptist connected the Old and New Testament.

5. Moreover he was of opinion, that [f] baptism had its original from the same John.

6. There was no doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Cyril's copies. The prayer in him concludes after this manner: "And [g] lead us not into temptation, O Lord, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

7. He quotes [h] St. Mark's gospel expressly.

8. Quoting St. John's gospel, he gives him the title of [i] the divine.

V. The book of the Acts of the apostles [k] is often and largely quoted by Cyril in his Catechetical Discourses, and as divine scripture.

He is very clear, that [l] the epistle of the council of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. was sent to all Gentile Christians in general.

VI. Cyril, as we have seen, received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul: he mentions [m] that number of Paul's epistles several times.

VII. St. James's epistle, in his enumeration, is the first of the twelve catholic epistles. If by the author of that epistle he meant the brother of our Lord, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, he did not reckon him to be an apostle, as appears by several [n] places. Touttée particularly acknowledges as much in a [o] note.

VIII. The book of the Revelation seems not to have been received by Cyril, or the church of Jerusalem, in his time. It is not mentioned in the catalogue above transcribed: it may be

[a] Reliqua vero omnia extra in secundo [ac nullo] ordine habeantur. Versio Benedictin.

[b] Λειπει γαρ ημιν πολλα δε απο της Πραξεως Αποστολων ——λειπει δε πολλα και εκ των καθολικων, και εκ των Παυλε δεκαλεσσαρων επιστολων. Cat. 17. n. 20. p. 274.

[c] Ματθαιος ο γραψας το ευαγγελιον, Εβραϊδι γλωσση τελο εγραψε. Cat. 14. p. 212. D.

[d] Εαν τοινυν ακουσης τε ευαγγελιε, λεγοντος. Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησε Χριστε υιε Δαβιδ. Cat. 11. n. 5. in.

[e] Ιωαννης ο βαπτιστης, ο μεσιτος μεν εν προφηταις, αρχηγος δε της καινης διαθηκης, και τροπον τινα συναπτων αμφοτερας. Cat. 10. n. 19. p. 140. B.

[f] Παλαιας το τελος, και καινης διαθηκης αρχη το βαπτισμα. Ιωαννης γαρ ην αρχηγος. Cat. 3. n. 6.

[g] Vid. Cat. 23. cap. 17, 18.

[h] Ο γαρ εν τριτη ωρα σταυρωθεις, ως Μαρκος φησι. Cat. 17. n. 19.

[i] Οι των αγιων ευαγγελιων ακροαλαι Ιωαννη τω θεολογω πειστωμεν. Cat. 12. c. 1. in.

[k] Και μοι λαβε των λογων αποδειξιν απο της θειας γραφης· Κορνηλιος ην ανηρ δικαιος——Cat. 3. n. iv. p. 41. C. Σιμων, ο εν ταις Πραξεσι των Αποστολων.——Cat. 6. n. 14. in.

[l] Και γραφουσιν οι αποστολοι και πρεσβυτεροι πασι τοις εθνεσιν καθολικην επιστολην. Cat. 4. cap. 28. Vid. & Cat. 17. n. xxix.

[m] Τεθαυμακα αληθως της τε αγιε πνευματος οικονομιαν· πως τας μεν των αλλων επιστολας εις ολιγον περιεγραψεν αριθμον· Παυλω δε τω πολλαχου διακεκραγοτι γραψαι δεκαπεσσαρας επιστολας εχαρισατο. Cat. 10. n. 18.

Επιλειψει γαρ με διηγουμενον ο χρονος, ει εθελομην λεγειν τα λειποντα περι αγιε πνευματος εκ τε Παυλε τεσσαρων και δεκα επιστολων. Cat. 17. n. 34. Vid. ibid. n. 20.

[n] —— εχεις δωδεκα μαρτυρας. Ει τοις δωδεκα απιστησι, τες πεντακοσιες δεχεσθωσαν. Επειτα ωφθη Ιακωβω τω αδελφοθεω μεν αδελφω επισκοπω δε πρωτω της παροικιας ταυτης. Cat. 14. n. 21. p. 216. A.

—— αλλ' ηδη και τοις αποστολοις, και Ιακωβω, τω ταυτης της εκκλησιας επισκοπω, σπεδη γεγονε. Cat. 4. n. 28. p. 66. A.

[o] Notandum, sive in hoc loco, in quo sancti Jacobi auctoritatem & dignitatem maxime extollit Cyrillus, sive Cat. 4. n. 28. solam illi episcopalem dignitatem tribui, nusquam apostolicam. Imo eum utrobique ab apostolis secernere videtur. Touttée, not. 1. p. 216.

supposed to be there excluded by him, and ranked among apocryphal scriptures, not expressly named. And there is another passage which countenanceth that supposition: for, speaking of Antichrist, he quotes [a] Daniel, the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians: but declines all notice of the Revelation and perhaps reflects upon it as [b] apocryphal. I therefore transcribe below a note [c] of the Benedictine editor upon this place.

IX. 1. I put down an instance of general divisions, where at once are mentioned [d] Old and New Testament, Law and Prophets, Gospel and Apostles: where likewise it is said, that all those scriptures were dictated by one and the same Spirit.

2. I add other passages, expressing the peculiar regard which was shewn to the same scriptures.

3. Why [e] do you curiously inquire after what the Holy Spirit has not written in the scripture?

4. This [f] we do not say of our own invention, but upon the ground of the scriptures received [or read] in the church.

5. He [g] continually alleges the books of scripture in proof of what he teaches. He says, that [h] not any the least article of faith ought to be proved by mere probable reason only, without the divine scriptures.

6. The creed, he says, is [i] a summary of the principal doctrines of religion collected out of the scriptures.

7. He calls his hearers [k] disciples of the New Testament.

8. He recommends it to his hearers, to [l] nourish their souls, and [m] establish themselves by reading the divine oracles.

9. He says, that [n] they of them who are studious, may by frequent reading the divine scriptures, learn more fully what he delivered briefly only for want of more time.

CHAP. LXXX.

THE AUDIANS.

1. THEODORET placeth the Audians [o] in the time of Valens, who began his reign in 364: but Tillemont [p] thinks it best to follow Epiphanius, who indeed expressly says, that [q] Audius lived at the same time with Arius; and says also, that Uranius, who succeeded Audius, was [r] dead when

[a] Vid. Cat 15. n. 12, 13, & seq.

[b] Βασιλευσει δε ὁ Ανλιχριςος τρια και ἡμισυ εἰη μονα. Ουκ εξ αποκρυφων λεξομεν, αλλ' εκ τε Δανιηλ. Φησι γαρ· Και δοθησεται εν χειρι αὐτε ἑως καιρε, και καιρων, και ἡμισυ καιρε. Cat. 15. n. 16. p. 232. Vid. Dan. vii. 25. Et conf. Apocal. xii. 14

[c] Visum est nonnullis Apocalypsim hic a Cyrillo notari. Quod ratione non caret. Eam sane in apocryphorum nomine habuit cum libros, quos in canone non comprehendit, apocryphorum nomine compellet. Cat. 4. num 33. Apocalypsim prætermittit in recensione librorum Novi Testamenti, ibid. n. 36. Præterea veteres omnes, quos in hac Catechesi sequitur, res Antichristi exponentes semper Apocalypsim Danieli conjungunt. Vide Irenæum,—Hippolytum—Non igitur imprudens Cyrillus, sed penitus certo consilio, Apocalypsis in toto hoc argumento commemorationem prætermisit; hujusque prætermissionis rationem hoc loco allegare videtur. Toutt. not. 2. p 232.

[d] —— ὁτι ουχ ἑτερον μεν εν νομῳ και προφηταις, ἑτερον δε εν ευαγγελιοις και αποστολοις αλλ' ἐν εστι και το αὐτο πνευμα ἁγιον, το εν παλαια και καινῃ διαθηκῃ τας θειας λαλησαν γραφας. Cat. 17. n. 5. p. 267. A.

[e] Τι τοινυν πολυπραγμονεις ἁ μηδε το πνευμα ἁγιον ἐγραψεν εν ταις γραφαις. Cat. 11. n. 12.

[f] Ταυτα δε διδασκομεν, ουχ ἑυρεσιλογηθεντες, αλλ' εκ των θειων εκκλησιαζομενων γραφων. Cat. 15. n. 13.

[g] Και αλλας δε πλειονας μαρτυριας εχων εκ των θειων γραφων —— αρκεσθησομαι ταις προειρημεναις. Cat. 15. n. 33.

Και μοι λαβε των λογων την αποδειξιν απο της θειας γραφης. Cat. 3. n. 4. p. 41. C.

[h] Δει γαρ περι των θειων και ἁγιων της πιστεως μυστηριων, μηδε το τυχον ανευ των θειων παραδιδοσθαι γραφων. Cat. 4. n. 17.

[i] Ου γαρ, ὡς εδοξεν ανθρωποις, συνετεθη τα της πιστεως, αλλ' εκ πασης γραφης τα καιριωταια συλλεχθεντα μιαν αναπληρει την της πιστεως διδασκαλιαν. Cat. 5. n. xii. p. 78.

[k] Καινης διαθηκης μαθηται. Cat. 1. n. 1.

[l] Θρεψον σε την ψυχην αναγνωσεσι θειαις. Cat. 1. n. 6. p. 19.

[m] Και παντοιως την σεαυτε ψυχην ασφαλιζε νηστειαις, προσευχαις,—και θειων λογιων αναγνωσμασιν. Cat. 4. n 37. p. 70.

[n] Των σπεδαιων εν ὑμιν εκ της πυκνοτερας των θειων γραφων αναγνωσεως ταυτα μανθανοντων. Cat. 17. n. 34.

[o] Hist. Ec. l. iv. cap. 10.

[p] Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Audiens. p. 692.

[q] Ουτος ὁ Αυδιος τεθων αρχηγος γενεσθαι εν χρονοις Αρειε. κ. λ. H. 70. n. i.

[r] Ibid. n. 15.

he wrote, about 376. I place Audius at about 350. If he was then dead, he [a] still flourished in his followers, which were somewhat numerous.

2. Audius was [b] a Syrian of Mesopotamia, much esteemed in his own country, as [c] Epiphanius acknowledges, for holiness of life, and zeal for the faith: who [d] seeing some things done in the churches, which he thought not to be right, reproved and admonished the bishops and presbyters to the face; telling them that such things ought not to be. In particular, he reproved the rich clergy, and such of them as led a luxurious course of life. This brought upon him abundance of ill treatment, which he endured for some time, till at length he separated from the church. So Epiphanius. Theodoret's account is not very [e] different.

3. As his reproofs were offensive to the clergy, and many people began to follow him, the bishops [f] accused him to the emperor, (whether Constantine, or one of his successors, is not certain:) who banished him into Scythia: where the good man lived for some time, and where he was useful. For [g] he converted a good number of Goths to the Christian religion.

4. The Audians kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, after the manner of some other churches in the East. They said, that [h] this was the ancient custom, confirmed [i] by the Apostolical Constitutions, and that the bishops of Nice had innovated in complaisance to Constantine.

5. They are said by some to have been [k] Anthropomorphites: and there are other things laid to their charge, which I do not think myself obliged to take particular notice of. Moreover Epiphanius does again and again say, that [l] they were orthodox upon the Trinity, and other points, and that they were only schismatics, not heretics.

6. Epiphanius, does in one place say, that [m] they made use of apocryphal books, and were fond of them: but he does not expressly mention the titles of any of them.

7. The Audians are not in Philaster: it is likely he had no knowledge of them.

8. A learned modern, well acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, speaks [n] honourably of Audius.

CHAP. LXXXI.

HILARY OF POICTIERS.

1. ACCORDING to Cave, Hilary of Poictiers flourished about the year 354. As Jerom has placed him among his illustrious men, I transcribe [o] below a part of his chapter: where are mentioned Hilary's Commentaries upon the Psalms, the gospel of Matthew, the book of Job, and the Canticles: where likewise the character of his writings may be seen in part.

[a] Πολλοι δε και μετα την εκεινε τελευτην γεγονασι συν αυτοις τε και μετ' αυτον τε ταλμαδος αυτε επισκοποι, Ουρανιος τις της μεσης των ποταμων. κ. λ. Ibid. n. 15.

[b] Αυδαιος δε τις, Συρος και το γενος και την φωνην. Thdrt. ib.

[c] Ην δε ὁ ανηρ απο της μεσης των ποταμων ὁρμωμενος, διαφανης τις και την εαυτε παιριδα, δια το ακραιφνες τε βιε, και κατα θεον ζηλε, και πιστεως. Epiph. H. 70. n. 1.

[d] Ὁς πολλακις θεωμενος τα εν ταις εκκλησιαις γενομενα, εις προσωπον επισκοπων τε και πρεσβυτερων, ελεγκτικως ανετιθει, τοις τοιυτοις λεγων· α χρη ταυτα ειτως γενεσθαι, εκ οφειλει ταυτα ειτως πραττεσθαι. Epiph. H. 70. n. 1.

[e] Φασκουσι δε των εκκλησιαστικων απεσχοινισθαι συλλογων, επειδαν δε τινες μεν τον επαρατον εισπραττουσι τοκον, τινες δε γυναιξιν ε νομω γαμε συνοικουντες παρανομως βιουσιν. κ. λ. H. E. l. iv. cap. 10.

[f] Epiph. ibid. n. 14. Et Conf. Theod. ubi supra.

[g] ——πολλους δε Γοτθων καταηχησεν. Epiph. ib.

[h] Id. ib. n. ix. [i] N. x.

[k] Vadianos, quos appellat Epiphanius, & schismaticos, non hæreticos vult videri, alii vocant Anthropomorphitas; quod rusticitati eorum tribuit Epiphanius, parcens eis, ne dicantur hæretici. Eos autem separâsse se dicit, culpando episcopos divites, & pascha cum Judæis celebrando. Augustin. Hær. i. Conf. Theodoret. H. E. l. iv. c. 10.

[l] Εισι δε καθα παντα την πιστιν εχοντες, ὡς ἡ καθολικη εκκλησια. Synops. p. 808. B. Vid. & H. 70. n. 1, 2. & Ancorat. n. 14.

[m] Κεχρηνται δε και αποκρυφοις πολλοις καθακορως. Synops. p. 808. B.

[n] Certe offensum eorum [episcoporum] vitiis, & intolerabili malitiâ magnum eo tempore virum Audium, discessionem ab ecclesiâ fecisse, multosque homines alioqui non malos propterea eum secutos esse, cum mores non ferrent eorum, quorum alioqui doctrinam non improbabant. Balduin. De Legib. Constantin. l. i. cap. 6.

[o] Hilarius, urbis Pictavorum in Aquitaniâ episcopus, factione Saturnini Arelatensis episcopi, de synodo Biterrensi in Phrygiam relegatus, duodecim adversus Arianos confecit libros: & alium librum de Synodis, quem ad Galliarum episcopos scripsit: & in Psalmos commentarios, primum videlicet & secundum, & a quinquagesimo primo usque ad sexagesimum secundum, & a centesimo decimo octavo usque ad extremum. In quo opere imitatus Origenem, nonnulla etiam de suo addidit.——Et Commentarii in Matthæum, & tractatus in

2. In his[a] Prologue to the Commentaries on the Psalms is a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, which I need only refer to.

3. Hilary appears to have received[b] the epistle to the Hebrews, which was not universally received by the Latin Christians.

4. The book of the Revelation was generally received by the Latins: it is several times quoted by Hilary, and[c] as John's: whom he also supposeth to be[d] John the apostle.

5. I need not enlarge farther in the account of this writer.

CHAP. LXXXII.

AERIUS.

1. AERIUS,[e] of Pontus, or Lesser Armenia, was[f] living when Epiphanius wrote in 376. He was a thorough[g] Arian: but the principles by which he was distinguished were such as these: He[h] denied the difference between a bishop and a presbyter, saying, they are one order, office, and dignity. He was likewise of opinion, that[i] no offerings ought to be made for the dead: forasmuch as such things tended to make men think that the practice of piety is not necessary; and that[k] if near the period of life, they could by presents or legacies, or somehow or other, procure friends to pray for them after their death, they might escape the just punishment of their sins. They likewise denied the obligation of set fasts and feasts. The[l] keeping of Easter, they said, was unnecessary: for "Christ our passover had been sacrificed for us," 1 Cor. v. 7. To keep Easter [or passover] now, was "to give heed to Jewish fables," Tit. i. 14. and 1 Tim. i. 4. Set[m] fasts too, they said, were Jewish ordinances. If I have a mind to fast, I will take the time that best suits me. Not but that they would sometimes fast on the fourth day of the week, as others do: however, they said, they did it not as bound thereto, but only of their free-will: which last particular is sufficient to shew, that what Epiphanius also says of their choosing to fast on the Lord's-day is a calumny, and an unrighteous aggravation of their principle.

2. These then were the sentiments of the people: this is the institution of Aërius and his followers. But how came they to differ so much from the rest of the world? from most of the

Job, quos de Græco Origenis ad sensum transtulit: et alius elegans liber contra Auxentium: & nonnullæ ad diversos Epistolæ. Aiunt quidam, scripsisse eum & in Cantica Canticorum. Sed a nobis hoc opus ignoratur. Mortuus est Pictavis, Valentiniano & Valente regnantibus. De. V. I cap. 100.

[a] Prol. in. libr. Psalm. p. 9. Paris. 1693.

[b] Maxime cum scriptum sit: *Sunt enim efficientes spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos, qui hæreditabunt salutem.* [Hebr. i. 14.] In Ps. exxix. n. 7. p. 440. A.

——facturam autem per id quod Paulus ad Hebræos dixit. *Tanto melior factus angelis, quanto excellentius ab his possidet nomen.* Et rursum: *Unde, fratres sancti, vocationis cælestis participes,* &c. De Trinit. l. iv. p. 832. Vid. Hebr. i. 4. iii. 1.

[c] Quod autem hæc folia ligni hujus non inutilia sint, sed salutaria gentibus, sanctus Johannes in Apocalypsi testatur. [Apoc. cap. xxii.] In Ps. i. p. 226. E.

[d] —— electus ex publicano Matthæus in apostolum, & ex familiaritate Domini revelatione cœlestium mysteriorum dignus Johannes. De Trin. l. vi. n. 20. p. 891. D.

Vel ad sepulcrum prior quoque Petro currens adeptus es? vel intra consessus angelorum, & signatorum librorum insolubiles nexus —— tam pia tibi hæc per Agnum ducem revelata doctrina est? Ibid. n. 43. p. 908. C.

[e] Epiph. p. 905. B.

[f] H. 75. n. 1. p. 905. A. Vid. et Synops. p. 809. B.

[g] Τῃ μεν πιστει ων Αρειανος τελειοταλος. Synops. p. 809. Vid. & H. 75. n. i.

[h] Φασκει δε μηδε ειναι διαφορωτερον επισκοπον πρεσβυτερε. Synops. p. 809.——μια γαρ εστι ταξις, και μια, φησι, τιμη, και ἐν αξιωμα. H. 75. n. 3.

[i] Μη δειν, φησι, προσφερειν ὑπερ των προκεκοιμημενων. p. 809. B.

[k] Τινι τω λογῳ μελα θανατον ονομαζετε, φησι, ονομαια τεθνεωτων; Ευχεται γαρ ὁ ζων, η οικονομιαν εποιησε, τι ωφεληθησεται ὁ τεθνεως; Ει δε ὁλως ευχη των ενταυθα τις εκειτε ωνησεν, αρα γαν μηδεις ευσεβειτω, μηδε αγαθοποιειτω, αλλα κτησασθω φιλες, δι' ὡ βελεται τροπῳ, ητοι χρημασι πεισας, ητοι φιλες αξιωσας εν τη τελευτη, και ευχεσθωσαν περι αυτου, ἱνα μη τι εκει παθη, μηδε τα ὑπ' αυτε γενομενα των ανηκεστων αμαρτηματων εκζητηθη. H. 75. n. 3. p. 907. A. B.

[l] Τι εστι το πασχα, ὁπερ παρ' ὑμιν επιτελειται; Ιουδαϊκοις παλιν μυθοις προσανεχετε. Ου γαρ χρη, φησι, το πασχα επιτελειν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 907. A.

[m] Ει δε τις των αυτε βελοιτο νηστευειν, μη εν ἡμεραις τεταγμεναις, φησι, αλλ' ὁτε βελεται. Synops. p. 809. C.

Αλλ' ουδε νηστεια, φησι, εστι τεταγμενη· ταυτα γαρ Ιουδαϊκα εστι, και ὑπο ζυγον δουλειας——Ει γαρ ὁλως βουλομαι νηστευειν, οιαν δ' αν αἱρησωμαι ἡμεραν απ' εμαυτε νηστευω δια την ελευθεριαν. Ὁθεν παρ' αυτοις περιλοιμηται μαλλον εν κυριακῃ νηστευειν, τεταρτῃ δε, και προσαββατῳ εσθιειν. Πολλακις δε και την τεταρτην νηστευουσιν, ουχι θεσμῳ, αλλ' ἰδια προαιρεσει φησι. H. 75. n. 3. p. 907. B. C.

Arians, as well as the Homoüsians? A necessary inquiry: for[a] all heresy is supposed to spring from some evil root. Well, what was it? Let us attend. It is said, that Aërius was a friend of Eustathius, a man of Arian principles too: and that when Eustathius was made bishop of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, about the year 355, Aërius was much[b] concerned that he was not bishop likewise. Eustathius endeavoured to oblige him. He ordained Aërius presbyter, and appointed him governor of the hospital in the city: but Aerius was still uneasy, and therefore set up a new discipline: a story that does not seem to me to have the appearance of probability: nor are his principles so unreasonable, but that, without being under the bias of any prejudice, he might think them founded in scripture.

3. These people, as we learn from Epiphanius, met with great difficulties. Aerius[c] and his followers were excluded from churches, and cities, and villages: and being obliged to wander abroad, they suffered great hardships, especially in the winter and cold weather.

4. From[d] Augustine's manner of speaking we may be apt to think, that he knew of some such people at the time of writing his book of Heresies in the year 428. I have placed a large part of his article at the bottom of the page. They are also in[e] Philaster: but he does not seem to have been well informed concerning them: however, he says, there were then[f] many of them in Pamphylia.

5. Tillemont considers these people as[g] Calvinists. For certain, they went much upon the presbyterian plan: and they may induce us to think, that in most times there have been some who opposed growing superstition in the church, and asserted the freedom of the gospel: but being generally opposed, and with much violence, they could not increase to any great number, and in time they were reduced to nothing. We formerly saw another like instance[h] in the people of Neocæsarea, disciples of Gregory, generally called Thaumaturgus.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

THE COUNCIL OF LAODICEA.

I. *A Catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* II. *Remarks.*

I. The 59th and 60th, or, according to another computation, the 58th and 59th, that is, the two last canons of the council of Laodicea in Lydia, or Phrygia Pacatiana, are to this[i] purpose.

'That[k] private Psalms ought not to be read [or said] in the church, nor any books, not 'canonical, but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testament.'

'The books of the Old Testament, which ought to be read, are these: 1. The[l] Genesis '[generation] of the world. 2. The Exodus out of Egypt. 3. Leviticus. 4. Numbers. 5. 'Deuteronomy. 6. Joshua the son of Nun. 7. Judges, with Ruth. 8. Esther. 9. The first 'and second book of the Kingdoms. 10. The third and fourth book of the Kingdoms. 11.

[a] Παση γαρ αιρεσιν κακοβελια των γενομενων απ' αρχης αρχι τελος η κενοδοξιας, η επαρσεως, ταυτα ειργασατο, η επιθυμιας ορεξις, η ζηλος προς τας θελας, η παροξυσμος, η προπετεια. Epiph. H. 75. n. 1. p. 904, 905.

[b] Αυτικα υστερον καθιστα τινον πρεσβυτερον, τοτε ξενοδοχειον αυτω εμπιστευει, οπερ εν τω τοπω καλειται πτωχοτροφειον. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 905. C.

[c] Απελαυνειτο δε αυτος μετα των αυτω απο των εκκλησιων, και αστεων, και κωμων, και των αλλων πολεων. Πολλακις δε μετα πολλα οχλε τε ιδια νιφομενοι, αστροις διετελουν, υπαιθροι τε, και υπο πειρας αυλιζομενοι, εν υλαις καταφευγοντες. H. 75. n. 3. p. 906.

[d] Aëriani ab Aërio quodam sunt, qui cum esset presbyter, doluisse fertur, quod episcopus non potuit ordinari; et in Arianorum hæresin lapsus, propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla, dicens, offerri pro dormientibus non oportere: nec statuta solemniter celebranda esse jejunia, sed, cum quisque voluerit, jejunandum, ne videatur esse sub lege. Dicebat etiam presbyterum ab episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni. August. Hær. 53. [e] H. 72.

[f] —— & in provinciâ Pamphyliâ quam plurimi commorantur. Ibid.

[g] S. Basile, n. 39. Mem. T. ix.

[h] See Vol. i. p. 597, 598, 599, 606, 607.

[i] Ap. Labbé Concil, T. ii. Bevereg. Cod. T. i.

[k] Οτι α δει ιδιωτικος ψαλμους λεγεσθαι εν εκκλησια, ουδε ακανονιστα βιβλια, αλλα μονα τα κανονικα της καινης και παλαιας διαθηκης. Can. 59.

[l] Γενεσις κοσμου· Εξοδος εξ Αιγυπτου.

'The first and second book of the Remains [or Chronicles.] 12. The first and second book of 'Esdras. 13. The book of 150 Psalms. 14. The Proverbs of Solomon. 15. The Ecclesiastes. '16. The Song of Songs. 17. Job. 18. The Twelve Prophets. 19. Isaiah. 20. Jeremiah 'and Baruch, the Lamentations and the Epistles. 21. Ezekiel. 22. Daniel. The books of 'the New Testament are these: the four gospels, according to Matthew, according to Mark, 'according to Luke, according to John: the Acts of the apostles: the seven catholic epistles: 'of James one, of Peter two, of John three, of Jude one, the fourteen epistles of Paul: to the 'Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philip-'pians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two, to the Hebrews one, to Timothy 'two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.'

II. I shall now propose some observations upon this catalogue, and the council to which it is ascribed.

1. In this catalogue are omitted, for the Old Testament, the books of Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the Maccabees: and in the New the Revelation; either not reckoning it a work of John the apostle and evangelist, or not esteeming it proper to be publicly read in the church.

2. The time of this council is not certain: some have placed it before the council of Nice; others [a] between the council of Antioch held in 341, and the council of Constantinople in 381: some in 365, others in [b] 363, which seems as likely as any.

3. Though the time of this council cannot be exactly settled, I think it cannot be denied, that there was a council held at Laodicea in the fourth century, which made many regulations concerning ecclesiastical discipline. This may be reckoned evident from the notice taken of it in the sixth general council at Constantinople, and other councils: and from it being particularly mentioned by [c] Theodoret, who wrote within sixty or seventy years after the supposed time of it.

4. The chief design of that council appears to have been to deliver rules of church discipline. Nevertheless, the bishops there assembled may have been induced, for some reasons, to publish a catalogue of sacred books, to be publicly read in the churches. Accordingly, the last canon about scripture, is generally received as genuine, though it may not be quite so unquestioned as the other preceding canons. Some have observed, that this canon is omitted by Dionysius Exiguus, and that it is wanting [d] in some ancient manuscripts. In answer to which I would say, that perhaps the omission by Dionysius [e] may be accounted for: or it may be an accidental thing, of which no account can be easily given: and his omitting it, however it came to pass, may have been an occasion of its being wanting in some manuscripts.

5. Some are of opinion, that this council [f] consisted of Arian bishops, and that it was conducted by Theodosius bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia, a man of the Arian party: though some [g] dispute this, it may be reckoned no improbable supposition. Tillemont indeed imagines, that [h] this is a disparagement of this council not to be admitted: and that it would be melancholy to think, that a council, the canons of which have been always received by the church, should have been only a council of men enemies of the faith, and separated from the catholic communion. But Pagi [i] thinks this no just ground of offence.

6. This council has not been equally [k] esteemed by all. Possibly learned men, according to the different notions of the party they have been engaged in, have been led to disregard the last canon: some, because of its omitting the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and others,

[a] That was the opinion of Marca. See Tillem. Mem. E. T. vi. Les Ariens Art. 129. & Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

[b] Pagi ubi supr. Basn. Ann 363. n. 19.

[c] Ὁυ δε χαριν και συνελθουσα συνοδος εν Λαοδικειᾳ της Φρυγιας νομῳ κεκωλυκε το τοις αγγελοις προσευχεσθαι. Theod. in Coloss. cap. iii. 18. T. 3. p 355.

[d] 'I may add, that the canon of scripture, which we go 'by, groundeth much upon that enumeration subjoined to the 'last canon of the council of Laodicea, which yet is not 'found in the very ancient manuscripts. Gretser mentioneth 'one, and I meet with another here at home.' John Gregory's Posthuma, p. 85.

[e] Daillé [Use of the Fathers, p. 45, 46. Lond. 1675.] endeavours to account for that omission of Dionysius.

[f] Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

[g] Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. viii. c. 8. n. ii. p. 437.

[h] Les Ariens, Art. 139.

[i] Nec mirum, concilium ab hæreticis habitum codicis canonum ecclesiæ universæ partem facere, cum ab ecclesiâ receptum fuerit, & nihil ejus moribus contrarium contineat. Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

[k] Concilii Laodiceni canon ultimus, qui catalogum exhibit librorum scripturæ, apud Dionysium Exiguum non invenitur. Et præterea, si vel admittatur, synodus tamen ipsa exiguæ auctoritatis est, neque censeri potest vocem ecclesiæ Græcæ illius temporis exhibere; tum quod particularis tantum fuit quorundam in Lydiâ episcoporum, tum quod auctor canonum prædicatur fuisse quidam Theodosius——partibus Arianorum favens. Lampe Proleg. in Joann. l. 1. c. 7. n. 24.

because it has not the book of the Revelation. Basnage, in his history of the church, observes, that [a] protestants and catholics have equally disparaged this synod.

7. Finally, it ought to be observed, that this was a particular council only, consisting of thirty or forty bishops of Lydia, and neighbouring countries. Indeed it is said, that the canons of this council were received and adopted by some general councils in after times. Nevertheless, perhaps it would be difficult to shew, that those general councils received the last canon, and exactly approved the catalogue of sacred books therein contained, without any addition or diminution, as we now have it.

8. I have thought it not improper to put down these several observations concerning this famous canon of the council of Laodicea, which are referred to the consideration of the candid and attentive reader.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP IN CYPRUS.

I. *His history.* II. *Three catalogues of the books of the Old Testament.* III. *A catalogue of the books of the New Testament.* IV. *His testimony to the several books of the New Testament.* V. *General titles and divisions, and respect for the scriptures.* VI. *Remarkable passages.* VII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. St. Jerom has a short chapter for [b] Epiphanius, which I put in the margin without translating it.

He elsewhere speaks of Epiphanius with high [c] commendations: and also says, that [d] he was a man of five languages: that is, he understood Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Latin in part.

Epiphanius was a native of Palestine: he was chosen bishop of Constantia, formerly called Salamis, the metropolis of the island of Cyprus, in 367 or 368. He was living and still wrote, as St. Jerom assures us, in 392, when he composed his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. It is supposed that he died in the beginning of the year 403. In [e] the year 373, or the beginning of 374, he wrote the book entitled the Ancorate; his Panarium, or large work against Heresies, he [f] seems to have begun in 374. For learned men have observed from the work itself, that his article against the Montanists was composed in 375, and that in the year 376, he was got as far as that of the Manichees, and more than half of the whole work. In 392, he [g] wrote his treatise of Weights and Measures. For a farther account of Epiphanius's life and writings I refer to [h] others.

II. In the remaining works of Epiphanius, we find the books of the Old Testament thrice enumerated, and once those of the New. I intend to give an account of all his catalogues.

1. The catalogue, which I shall first observe, is in [i] the fourth section of the books of Weights and Measures. He reckons the sacred books of the Old Testament to be in number twenty-seven, but reduced to twenty-two, the number of the letters of the Jewish alphabet. The books last mentioned are Esdras, (meaning our Ezra and Nehemiah:) and Esther. After which he

[a] As before, n. 3. p. 438.

[b] Epiphanius, Cypri Salaminæ episcopus, scripsit adversum omnes hæreses libros, & multa alia, quæ ab eruditis propter res, a simplicioribus propter verba, lectitantur. Superest usque hodie, & in extremâ jam senectute varia cudit opera. De V. I. c. 114.

[c] —— patrem pene omnium episcoporum, & antiquæ reliquias sanctitatis & opere & sermone despicias. Ad Pamm. Ep. 38. al. 61. T. iv. p. 313. m.

[d] Crimini ei dandum est, quare Græcam, Syriacam, & Hebræam & Ægyptiam linguam, ex parte & Latinam, noverit? Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 417. f. Et Papa Epiphanius πενταγλωττος. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 443. in.

[e] St. Epiphane. Art. ix. Tillem. Mem. E. T. x.

[f] Tillem. ib. Art. xi. & Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. T. ii. p. 4.

[g] Tillem. as before, art. 13.

[h] Cav. Hist. Lib. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 414. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. x. p. 484. &c.

[i] T. ii. p. 161, 162.

adds; 'For [a] as for those two books, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the son 'of Sirach,—they likewise are useful, but not brought into the same number with the foregoing; 'and therefore are not placed in the ark of the covenant.' In the next section he observes, that [b] the epistles of Baruch were not received by the Jews, but only the Lamentations, added to the book of Jeremiah.

2. In the twenty-third section of the same work, the Jewish books are again enumerated, and put down in their Hebrew names; where the three last mentioned are the two books of Esdras and Esther.

3. A third catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, is in the Panarium, and not very far from the beginning of it. This I shall now transcribe at large. 'Now [c] the Jews had these 'prophets, and books of prophets, until the return from the Babylonish captivity: the first 'Genesis, the second Exodus, the third Leviticus, the fourth numbers, the fifth Deuteronomy, 'the sixth the book of Joshua the son of Nun, the seventh the book of the Judges, the eighth 'the book of Ruth, the ninth the book of Job, the tenth the Psalter, the eleventh the Proverbs of 'Solomon, the twelfth the Ecclesiastes, the thirteenth the Song of Songs, the fourteenth the 'first book of the Kingdoms, the fifteenth the second book of the Kingdoms, the sixteenth the 'third book of the Kingdoms, the seventeenth the fourth book of the Kingdoms, the eighteenth 'the first book of the Remains, the nineteenth the second book of the Remains, the twentieth 'the book of the twelve Prophets, the twenty-first Isaiah the Prophet, the twenty-second Jere-'miah the Prophet, with the Lamentations, and his epistle, and the epistle of Baruch, the twenty-'third Ezekiel the Prophet, the twenty-fourth Daniel the Prophet, the twenty-fifth the first book 'of Esdras, the twenty-sixth the second book, the twenty-seventh Esther. And these are the 'seven and twenty books, which were given by God to the Jews: though they are reckoned only 'two and twenty, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; for ten of the 'books that are double are reduced to five. There are also two other books among them, which [d] 'are doubted of, the Wisdom of Sirach, and of Solomon, beside [e] certain other that are apocryphal.'

III. I do not stay to make remarks upon these catalogues of the books of the Old Testament; the reader is able to do that of himself. I proceed to the catalogue of the books of the New Testament, which is in another article of the same work of this author.

'Had [f] you, Aëtius, been born of the Spirit, and been taught by the prophets and apostles, 'you would have read the seven and twenty books of the Old Testament, from the creation of 'the world to the time of Esther, which are reckoned two and twenty; and also the four holy 'gospels, and the fourteen epistles of the holy apostle Paul, and the Acts of the apostles, and 'the catholic epistles of James, and Peter, and John, and Jude, and the Revelation of John, 'and [g] the Wisdoms of Solomon and Sirach, and in a word all the divine scriptures.'

IV. I shall add divers passages of Epiphanius, concerning the several parts or books of the New Testament.

1. Matthew [h] both preached, and wrote a gospel in Hebrew. And [i] he wrote first, because [k] he had been called from the receipt of the customs, and from many sins. It was therefore fit he should shew, that "Jesus came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." See Matt. ix. 13.

2. Matthew [l] wrote in Hebrew; and he is the only writer of the New Testament who made use of that language. However, Epiphanius had heard, that the gospel of John, and the Acts of the apostles, had been translated from Greek into Hebrew, and [m] were in the library of the

[a] Αἱ γαρ ςιχηρεις δυο βιβλοι, ἡ τε τϑ Σολομωνϑς, ἡ Παναρετος, λεγομενη· και ἡ τϑ Ιησϑ τϑ ϑιϑ Σιραχ,——και αυται χρησιμοι μεν εισι και ωφελιμοι, αλλ' εις αριθμον ἑηϑεν εκ αναφερονται—— ϑιο δε εϊτε εν τῃ της διαϑηκης κιβωτῳ. De Mens. & Pond. n. iv. p. 162.

[b] —— και των ονϑων εν τῳ 'Ιερεμιᾳ· φημι δε και των Θρηνων αυϑ, και των επιςολων Βαρουχ, ει και ου κειναι επιςολαι ωας 'Εβραιοις, ἡ μονον ἡ των Θρηνων τῳ 'Ιερεμιᾳ συναφϑεισα. Ib. n. 5. p. 163. A.

[c] Εσχον δε ϑϊοι οι Ιϑδαιοι, αχρι της απο βαϑυλωνος αιχμαλωσιας επανοδϑ, βιβλϑς τε και ωροφητας ταϑς. κ. λ. H. 8. n. 6. T. i. p. 19.

[d] Εν αμφιλεκτῳ.

[e] Χωρις αλλων τινων βιβλιων εναποκρυφων.

[f] H. 76. p. 941.

[g] —— εν τε ταις Σωφιαις Σολομωνϑς τε φημι, και υϊϑ Σιραχ, και ωασαις ἁπλως γραφαις ϑειαις. Ibid.

[h] Ουτος μεν ὁ Ματθαιος Εβραϊκοις γραμμασι γραφει το ευαγγελιον, και κηρυττει. H. 51. n. 5. p. 420. A.

[i] Ματθαιος γαρ ωρωτος ευαγγελιζεται. Ib. n. 4. p. 425. B. Vid. & n. 5. p. 425. C. D.

[k] —— και δικαιοσατα ην· Εδει γαρ τον απο ωολλων ἁμαρτημαϑν επιςρεψαντα, και απο τε τελωνιϑ αναςαντα. κ. λ. Ib. n. 5. p. 425.

[l] Ὡς τα αληϑη εςιν ειπειν, ὁτι Ματθαιος μονος Εβραϊςι και Εβραϊκοις γραμμασιν εν τῃ καινῃ διαϑηκῃ εποιησατο την τε ευαγγελιε εκϑεσιν τε και κηρυγμα. H. 30. n. iii. p. 127. C.

[m] Εν τοις των Ιϑδαιων γαζοφυλακιοις——εν τῃ Τιβεριαδι. Ibid.

Jews at Tiberias. Of this he had been assured by some Jewish believers. He says nothing here particularly of the epistle to the Hebrews; and must therefore, I think, be understood to suppose, that it was originally written in Greek, as the other books of the New Testament were, excepting only the gospel of St. Matthew.

3. Matthew wrote first, and Mark, as [a] he says, soon after, being a companion of Peter at Rome. Moreover, according to Epiphanius, Mark was one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, and likewise one of those who were offended at the words of Christ recorded John vi. 44, and then forsook him, but was afterwards recovered by Peter, and being filled with the Spirit wrote a gospel.

4. The third gospel [b] is that of Luke. He too was one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, who took offence at the same words that Mark did. He was recovered by Paul, and was [c] moved by the Spirit to write a gospel.

5. At length [d] John also, moved by the Spirit, wrote a gospel, after he had long declined it, through humility, when he was more than ninety years of age, and when he had lived many years in Asia, after his return thither from Patmos, in the time of the emperor Claudius.

6. He likewise says, that [e] John, the fourth and last in order of time, was first in respect to the sublimity of his matter.

7. Epiphanius does moreover say in several places, that [f] John's gospel was occasioned by the errors of the Ebionites, the Cerinthians, the Merinthians, and Nazarenes.

8. In his Ancorate he says, there [g] are four gospels, and in them a thousand one hundred and sixty-two sections, or chapters; which is very near the number of Eusebius's canon.

9. Again, in his large work, having observed the different characters of the four evangelists, and the beginnings of their several gospels, and that John wrote last, supplying some things omitted by the former: hence, says [h] he, it has come to pass, that we have a full account of what concerns both Christ's humanity and divinity.

10. In an argument, he in one place mentions the gospels in this order: According [i] to the gospel of Luke and of John, and of Matthew and Mark.

11. Epiphanius ascribes the book of the Acts to [k] Luke.

12. It is needless to take notice of any quotations of Paul's epistles. That to the Hebrews is frequently cited as Paul's; and as expressly as any other of his epistles. But the reader, if he thinks fit, may observe the place where [l] our author speaks of the order of Paul's epistles, and says, that sometimes that to the Hebrews was reckoned the tenth, being placed before the epistle to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. In other copies it was the fourteenth.

13. The epistle of James is quoted by him [m] sometimes.

14. He says, that [n] Joseph had by his first wife four sons: James, called the Lord's brother, because he was brought up with him, and Simon, and Jude, and John, and two daughters, Anna and Salome. In another place he says, that [o] Joseph was married to Mary when he was about eighty years of age, having had by a former wife six children. He elsewhere also speaks largely of James, saying, that [p] he was the Lord's brother, and his apostle, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, and other things which need not now to be attended to.

[a] Ευθυς δε μετα τον Ματθαιον ακολουθος γενομενος ὁ Μαρκος τω ἁγιω Πετρω εν Ρωμη——ὁμως δια Πετρε ανακαμψας ευαγγελιζεσθαι καταξιωθαι, πνευματι ἁγιω πεφορημενος. H. 51. n. 6. p. 428. A.

[b] Ὁτι ιδε τριτον ευαγγελιον το κατα Λουκαν· Τετο γαρ επετραπη τω Λουκα, ονπ και αυτω απο των εβδομηκοντα δυο των διασκορπισθεντων επι τω τε σωτηρος λογω, δια δε Παυλε τε ἁγιε παλιν ανακαμψαντος προς τον κυριον. H. 51. n. 11. p. 433. C.

[c] —— αναγκαζει το ἁγιον πνευμα, και επινυττει τον ἁγιον Λουκαν.——Ib. n. viii. p. 428.

[d] Διο υστερον αναγκαζει το ἁγιον πνευμα τον Ιωαννην παραιτημενον ευαγγελισασθαι, δι' ευλαβειαν και ταπεινοφροσυνην, επι τη γηραλεα αυτε ηλικια, μετα ετη εννενηκοντα της εαυτε ζωης, μετα την αυτε απο της Πατμε επανοδον, την επι Κλαυδιε γενομενης Καισαρος, και μετα ικανα ετη τε διατριψαι αυτον απο [f επι] της Ασιας, αναγκαζεται εκθεσθαι το ευαγγελιον. H. 51. n. xii. p. 433. D. 434. A.

[e] Τελειος γαρ και διαδοχην ελθων ὁ μακαριος, πρωτος μεν των, ὑστερος δε τοις ετεσιν ευαγγελισαμενος, κ. λ. H. 51. n. 19. p. 441. D. Et Conf. H. 69. n. 23. p. 746, 747.

[f] Vid. H. 51. n. 2. p. 423. n. 12. p. 434. B. C. H. 69. n. 22, 23.

[g] Τεσσαρα εισιν ευαγγελια, κεφαλαιων χιλιων ἑκατον ἑξηκοντα δυο. Ancor. c. 50. p. 54. B.

[h] —— ινα απο τεσσαρων ευαγγελιστων την πασαν κατα τε την σαρκα, και και την θεοληπα ακριβειαν καταστωμεν. H. 51. n. 19. p. 442. B.

[i] Και απο τε κατα Λουκαν ευαγγελιε, και απο τε κατα Ιωαννην, και απο τε κατα Ματθαιον, και απο τε κατα Μαρκον. H. 51. n. 28. p. 450. C.

[k] Και ημεν εν τω πλοιω ὡς ογδοηκοντα ψυχαι, φησιν ὁ Λουκας, ὁ συγγραψαμενος τας Πραξεις των Αποστολων. Ancor. n. 59. p. 61. D.

[l] Vid. H. 42. p. 373. C. D. Conf. Mill. Prolegom. n. 236—238.

[m] Vid. H. 31. n. 34. p. 206. B. H. 77. n. 27. p. 1021. C.

[n] Ancor. n. 60. p. 62. D.

[o] H. 51. n. 10. p. 432. D.

[p] Καταξιωθεις ευθυς Ιακωβ τε αδελφε κυριε καλεμενε, και αποστολε, επισκοπε πρωτε, υιε τε Ιωσηφ φυσει ονπος, εν ταξει

15. He has several times quoted the two epistles of Peter.

16. He says, that [a] Peter was often in the countries of Pontus and Bithynia.

17. John's second epistle is quoted by [b] Epiphanius.

18. He cites very expressly [c] the catholic epistle of Jude, the apostle, brother of James, and of the Lord, written by inspiration.

19. Speaking of these seven epistles, it is common for him to use the word 'catholic.' He quotes St. John's first epistle in this manner: of [d] whom the holy John says in the catholic epistles, "It is the last time. And ye have heard that Antichrist cometh." See 1 John ii. 18.

20. Epiphanius received the book of the Revelation: for he says, that [e] John imparted spiritual gifts by his gospel, his epistles, and the Revelation.

21. And in the preceding chapter he had said, that [f] all John's books or writings, his gospel, and Revelation, and epistles, were harmonious.

22. He says, that [g] John prophesied, or had the Revelation, in the Isle of Patmos, in the reign of Claudius, if that be not a fault of the transcriber.

23. The book of the Revelation was not universally received in the time of Epiphanius. His account of the Alogians is, that they rejected all St. John's writings. And he says, that [h] if they had rejected the Revelation only, it might have been imagined, that they had acted upon the ground of a nice and critical judgment; as being shy of an apocryphal and mysterious book: but to reject all John's writings, was a sign of an antichristian spirit.

24. In another place he says, the [i] Revelation was generally received, or by the most.

V. We may now take some of the many passages of this writer, testifying the great respect shewn by Christians to the sacred scriptures, together with their general titles and divisions.

1. One [k] and the same God is preached to us in the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the apostles, in the Old and the New Testament.

2. He particularly examines the texts alleged by the Arians from [l] the apostle, and from the gospels.

3. The [m] apostle, or rather the Holy Ghost speaking in the apostle.

4. A [n] thing never said by any of the ancients, nor by any prophet, or apostle, or evangelist, or interpreter to this day.

5. Arguing against the followers of Origen, he says: The [o] prophets and apostles are more to be relied upon than you, or your master.

6. Against the Valentinians. Their [p] fables and fancies have no countenance from scripture, nor from Moses, nor from any of the prophets after him, nor from our Saviour, nor from his evangelists, or apostles.

7. That, and other like passages plainly shew, what writings were of authority in the church, and that there were no other to which that honour was allowed.

8. Again: Such [q] a thing was never said by any of the prophets: not by Moses, nor by any of the prophets before or after him, nor by the evangelists or apostles.

δε αδελφε τε κυριε κληθεντος δια την συναναστροφην. H. 29. n. 3. p. 119. A. Vid. & n. 4.

[a] Πετρος δε πολλακις Ποντον τε και Βιθυνιαν επεσκεψαλο. H. 27. n. 6. p. 107. D.

[b] H. 34. n. 13. p. 248. A.

[c] —— ως και περι τελων ειμαι εκινηθη το αγιον πνευμα εν τω αποστολω Ιουδα, λεγω δε εν τη υπ' αυτε γραφειση καθολικη επιστολη. κ. λ. H. 26. n. 11. p. 92. D.

[d] Περι ων ειπεν ο αγιος Ιωαννης εν ταις καθολικαις επιστολαις. H. 51. n. 3. p. 428. A.

[e] Εν οις και ο αγιος Ιωαννης δια τε ευαγγελιε, και των επιστολων, και της Αποκαλυψεως εκ τε αυτε χαρισματος τε αγιε πνευματος μεταδεδωκε. H. 51. n. 35. p. 457. C.

[f] —— τα τε αγιε αποστολε βιβλια, φημι δε Ιωαννε το τε ευαγγελιον, και Αποκαλυψιν, ταχα δε και επιστολας. Συναδουσι γαρ και αυται τω ευαγγελιω, και τη Αποκαλυψει. Ib. n. 34. p. 456. C.

[g] Αυτε δε προφητευσαντος εν χρονοις Κλαυδιε Καισαρος ανωθεν, ότε εις την Πατμον νησον υπηρξεν. Ib. n. 33. p. 456. A. Conf. n. 12. p. 434. A.

[h] Και ει μεν εδεχοντο το ευαγγελιον, την δε Αποκαλυψιν απεβαλλοντο, ελεγομεν αν, μη πη αρα καθ' ακριβολογιαν τοιαυτο ποιημα δε αδελφε τε κυριε κληθεντος δια την συναναστροφην. H. 29. n. 3. p. 119. A. Vid. & n. 4.

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[c] —— ως και περι τελων ειμαι εκινηθη το αγιον πνευμα εν τω αποστολω Ιουδα, λεγω δε εν τη υπ' αυτε γραφειση καθολικη επιστολη. κ. λ. H. 26. n. 11. p. 92. D.

[d] Περι ων ειπεν ο αγιος Ιωαννης εν ταις καθολικαις επιστολαις. H. 51. n. 3. p. 428. A.

[e] Εν οις και ο αγιος Ιωαννης δια τε ευαγγελιε, και των επιστολων, και της Αποκαλυψεως εκ τε αυτε χαρισματος τε αγιε πνευματος μεταδεδωκε. H. 51. n. 35. p. 457. C.

[f] —— τα τε αγιε αποστολε βιβλια, φημι δε Ιωαννε το τε ευαγγελιον, και Αποκαλυψιν, ταχα δε και επιστολας. Συναδουσι γαρ και αυται τω ευαγγελιω, και τη Αποκαλυψει. Ib. n. 34. p. 456. C.

[g] Αυτε δε προφητευσαντος εν χρονοις Κλαυδιε Καισαρος ανωθεν, ότε εις την Πατμον νησον υπηρξεν. Ib. n. 33. p. 456. A. Conf. n. 12. p. 434. A.

[h] Και ει μεν εδεχοντο το ευαγγελιον, την δε Αποκαλυψιν απεβαλλοντο, ελεγομεν αν, μη πη αρα καθ' ακριβολογιαν τοιαυτο ποιημα υποπτευσαντες, αποκρυφον μη δεχομενοι, δια τα εν τη Αποκαλυψει βαθεως και σκοτεινως ειρημενα. H. 51. n. 3. p. 423. D.

[i] —— παρα πλειστοις ή βιβλος πιστευομενη. H. 77. n. 26. p. 1031. B.

[k] Αλλ' ότι Θεος εις ημιν εν νομω, και εν προφηταις, και εν ευαγγελιοις, και εν αποστολοις, εν παλαια και καινη διαθηκη κεκηρυκται. De Fide. n. 18. p. 1101. B.

[l] —— μετα πασων των απο τε αποστολε, και των ευαγγελιων. H. 69. n. 72.

[m] Φθεγγομενος γαρ ο αποστολος, μαλλον δε το πνευμα το αγιον φθεγγομενον εν αυτω. H. 76. n. 9. p. 922. C.

[n] Ουδενι γαρ πωποτε των παλαιων τετο ειρηται, ότε προφητη, ότε αποστολω, ότε ευαγγελιστη, ή τινι των εξηγητων έως τελων των ημετερων χρονων. H. 77. n. 24. p. 1018. B.

[o] Αληθευσει γαρ οι αποστολοι και προφηται, ήπερ υμεις και υμων διδασκαλος. Ancor. n. 63. p. 66. C.

[p] —— ότε τα γραφης ειπασης, ότε τε Μωυσεως νομε, ότε τινος προφητε των μετα Μωυσεα, αλλ' ότε τε σωτηρος, ότε των αυτε ευαγγελιστων, αλλ' ότε μην των αποστολων. H. 31. n. 34. p. 205. C.

[q] —— ουδενος πωποτε των προφητων τετο ειρηκοτος, ουκ αυτε Μωυσεως, ου των προ αυτου, ου των μετ' αυτον, ου των ευαγγελιστων, ου των αποστολων. H. 33. n. 8. p. 223. C.

9. If we[a] deny the authority of the divine scriptures, we are fallen from truth: if we reject the Old Testament, we are no longer of the catholic church.

10. Let[b] these people, says he, produce any passage of the Old or the New Testament favouring their sentiments.

11. He complains, that[c] some men neglecting the truth of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, have introduced false and fabulous notions.

12. He professeth[d] to have delivered the true faith, taken from the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the apostles.

13. This they must allow, unless[e] they admit fables, contrary to the doctrine of the prophets and the law, and the apostles, and evangelists.

VI. I shall now put down a few remarkable observations in this writer.

1. He says, that[f] when Christ was baptized, he was of the age of twenty-nine years and ten months. This he supposeth to be the meaning of St. Luke's words, iii. 23. "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age:" that is, thirty years not complete.

2. He thinks, our[g] Lord was exactly thirty years of age, when he wrought the miracle at Cana in Galilee, recorded John ii. 1—11.

3. He says, there are two passovers in our Lord's ministry, according to St. John's gospel; and that he suffered at the third passover in the[i] thirty-third year of his life on earth. Therefore he did not think the "feast of the Jews," mentioned John v. 1. to be passover.

4. In another place he says, there[k] were three passovers in our Lord's ministry: but he is to be understood in the same manner as above represented.

5. He thought that[l] the two disciples, whom Jesus met in the way to Emmaus, as related Luke xxiv. were Nathanael and Cleophas.

6. Epiphanius says, that[m] the apostles did not preach themselves, but Jesus Christ, Lord. Therefore there was no sect, or church, called after the apostles; for we never heard of Petrians or Paulians, or Bartholomeans, or Thaddeans, but of Christians only, as they were called at Antioch. We saw a like observation some while ago in[n] Athanasius.

7. He says, all[o] things in the divine scripture are easy to those who inquire with a pious mind.

VII. The sum of his testimony will lie in a little room. His canon of the Old Testament was much the same with that of the Jews: for he acknowledges, that the book of Baruch was not received by them. The book of Wisdom, and the book of Ecclesiasticus, he considers as useful only, and not of authority, and therefore not admitted into the ark. Nor have the books of Maccabees, or Tobit, or Judith, any place in those catalogues. The books of the New Testament received by him, are the same as those which are now generally received by us. He quotes no others, as of authority, unless he has so quoted the Constitutions; which will be considered presently. For the sacred books of the Old and New Testament he has the highest regard. I scarce need to say, that he makes no use of Christian apocryphal books, written in the name of apostles, and falsely ascribed to them. Epiphanius's aversion for such books must be well known to the readers of this work: it is a charge frequently brought by him against heretics, that[p] they made use of apocryphal books: and he reckons it no small fault in them.

[a] Εαν γαρ αρνησωμεθα τας θειας γραφας, αληθεις ουκ εσμεν, και ευρισκομεθα εκπιπτοντες της αληθειας, η την παλαιαν διαθηκην εκβαλλοντες, ουκετι εσμεν της καθολικης εκκλησιας. H. 70. n. 7. p. 817. D.

[b] Ει εχουσι μαρτυριαν——εν παλαια και εν καινη διαθηκη, Ancor. n. 1. p. 54. B.

[c] Την γαρ θειων γραφων ακολουθιαν, και ευθυτητα, και ακακιας ομολογιαν, προφητικην τε, και ευαγγελικην, και αποστολικην πιστιν παρεντες, σοφιστικην ημιν λεξιν, και μυθωδη παρεισηγαγον. H. 77. n. 1. p. 996. B.

[d] Και ουτω γεγραφα——βεβαιον ομολογιαν την απο του νομου, και των προφητων, και ευαγγελιων, και αποστολων. Ancor. n. 83. p. 88.

[e] ——εκ προφητων τε, και νομου, και αποστολων, και ευαγγελιστων παραδοσεως. H. 70. n. 2. p. 813. C.

[f] Ην γαρ τω μεν ονοματι εικοσιεννεα ετων, και μηνων δεκα, ὁτε επι το βαπτισμα ηλθε, τριακοντα μεν ετων, αλλ' ου πληρης. H. 51. n. 16. p. 439. A. Conf. n. 28. p. 450. A.

[g] Ὁπερ πρωτον σημειον και πληρωμα τριακοντα ετων απο γενεσεως της ενσαρκου αυτου παρουσιας. κ. λ. H. 51. n. 16. p. 439. C.

[h] Ὁμως δυο πασχα μεν καλα την αρχην τε κηρυγματος ο σωτηρ ποιειται, και τω τριτω πασχει. H. 51. n. 30. p. 452. C.

[i] Ευρισκεται γαρ εν τω τριακοστω τριτω ετει της αυτε ενσαρκωσεως παρουσιας πασχων ὁ μονογενης. H. 51. n. 23. p. 446. B.——εν τω τριακοστω τριτω της αυτε ενσαρκου οικονομιας. Ib. n. 25. p. 448. A. See also H. 78, p. 1041. C.

[k] Και ουκ διδασιν οι ιδιωται, ὁτι ὁ μονον δυο πασχα ὁμολογει τα ευαγγελια, αλλα δυο μεν πρωτα λεγει, και αυτο δε εν ω επονθεν ὁ σωτηρ, τρια πασχα των εν τω κηρυγματι πεπραγματευμενων. Ib. n. 22. p. 444. B.

[l] H. 23. n. 6.

[m] ——Διο ουκ ενι αιρεσις, ουδε εκκλησια, εις ονομα αποστολων ανηγορευμενη· ουδεποτε γαρ ηκουσαμεν η Πετριους, η Παυλιους, η Βαρθολομαιους, η Θαδδαιους, κ. λ. H. 42. p. 366. D.

[n] P. 399.

[o] Παντα γαρ σαφη εν τη θεια γραφη τοις βουλομενοις ευσεβει λογισμω προσερχεσθαι τω θειω λογω. H. 76. n. 7. p. 920. A.

[p] This he imputes to Bardesanes. See Vol. ii. ch. 28. n. 12. and to several others, as may be seen, Vol. i. ch. 41. p. 588, 589. Not to refer to other places.

CHAP. LXXXV.

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.

I. *Epiphanius's quotations of a work called Apostolical Constitutions, with remarks upon them.* II. *The opinions of learned moderns concerning the Apostolical Constitutions now in being.* III. *An argument upon them proposed.* IV. *They are written in the name of the apostles of Christ:* V. *But are destitute of the external evidence necessary to support that claim: not being quoted by the Christian writers of the first three centuries.* VI. *They are also destitute of internal evidence:* 1. *The quotations of the books of the New Testament not suiting the apostles.* 2. *Having in them many things later than the times of the apostles:* 3. *Some things unworthy of the apostles.* 4. *Inconsistencies, and false history.* 5. *Expressions, betraying a later time than is pretended.* VII. *Consequently they are an imposture.* VIII. *The author's testimony to the books of the New Testament.* IX. *The Apostolical Canons.*

I. As a work called Apostolical Constitutions is cited by Epiphanius, and he is the first Christian writer who has quoted any book with that title, I shall here put down his [a] several citations, and sometimes with the connection.

1. In his forty-fifth heresy, that of the Severians, who were Encratites, and condemned the use of wine, he observes: 'The [b] Lord says, "I am the true Vine." [John xv. 1.] If the vine 'had been evil, he would not have used that expression. Moreover the apostles, in the work 'called the Constitution, say, that the catholic church is the plantation and vineyard of the 'Lord. Yea, and the Lord himself has again in the gospel a parable of a vineyard.' See Luke xx. and Matt. xx.

2. In his seventieth heresy, that of the Audians, who were for keeping Easter at the same time with the Jews, he says: 'For [c] this purpose they allege the Constitution of the 'Apostles: which book, though it be with many of doubtful authority, is not to be rejected; for 'it contains the whole order of church-government, and has nothing in it contrary to the eccle-'siastical discipline, or the canon, or the faith. But they misunderstand the direction concern-'ing Easter, which they allege for the support of their practice. For the apostles in the Consti-'tution appoint to this purpose: Do not you make computation of the time, say they, but keep 'it together with your brethren who are of the circumcision, at the same time that they do:— 'And though they should be mistaken, let not that give you any concern.' I put in the margin a part of [d] Grabe's note upon this passage.

3. Epiphanius afterwards [e] mentions several things, as sayings, or ordinances of the apostles, and some of them as contrary to the above-mentioned direction, and from the same work, as is reckoned.

4. In the seventy-fifth heresy, which is that of the Aërians, who were against set times of

[a] All the passages of Epiphanius, with remarks, may be seen in Grabe's Spicil. T. i. p. 46—55. as well as elsewhere.

[b] —— Αλλα και οι αποστολοι φασιν εν τη Διαταξει τη καλουμενη. Ὁτι φυτεια θεου και αμπελων η καθολικη εκκλησια. Αλλα και αυτος ο κυριος παλιν εν τω ευαγγελιω ποιουμενος την του αμπελωνος παραβολην κ. λ. Epiph. H. 45. p. 390. A. B. Vid. Const. Ap. l. i. in.

[c] Εις τουτο δε οι αυτοι Αυδιανοι παραφερουσι την των αποστολων Διαταξιν, ουσαν μεν τοις πολλοις εν αμφιλεκτῳ, αλλ' ουκ αδοκιμον· πασα γαρ εν αυτῃ κανονικη ταξις εμφερεται, και ουδεν παρακεχαραγμενον της πιστεως, ουδε της εκκλησιαστικης διοικησεως, και κανονος, και πιστεως. ——Ὁριζουσι γαρ εν τῃ αυτῃ Διαταξει οι αποστολοι, ὁτι ὑμεις μη ψηφιζεσθε, αλλα ποιειτε, ὁταν οι αδελφοι ὑμων οι εκ περιτομης, μετ' αυτων ὁμα ποιειτε—λεγοντες ὁτι καν τε πλανηθωσι, μηδε ὑμιν μελετω. H. 70. n. 10. p. 822. A. B. 823. A.

[d] Contrarium plane præcipitur in istis, quibus modo utimur Constitutionibus Clementis. l. v. c. 17. —Unde Cotelerius ad hunc locum: Recte, inquit, observârunt docti homines, Constitutionem hujus capitis diversam esse a Constitutione, de quâ Epiphanius in hæresi Audianorum. Immo non solum diversa est, sed e diametro contradicit. Grab. Sp. T. i. p. 46.

[e] Εξ αυτων δε των εκειθεν ειρημενων ῥητων η ανληψις ὡρισθη. Φασκουσι γαρ την αζυμιαν φερειν μεσαζοντων των αζυμων. Ib. n. 10. p. 823. A.

Λεγουσι γαρ οι αυτοι αποστολοι, ὁτι ὁταν εκεινοι ευχωνται, ὑμεις νηστευοντες ὑπερ αυτων πενθειτε, ὁτι εν τῃ ἡμερα εκρινεν τον Χριστον εσταυρωσαν. κ. λ. Ib. n. 11. p. 823. C. Vid. Const. l. v. c. 15.

Αυτις αυτων ακουοντες εν τῃ Διαταξει, ὁτι ὁ κακων εαυτον την

fasting and feasting under the gospel-dispensation, Epiphanius having quoted to them 1 Cor. v. 7. and Acts xx. 16, goes on: 'and [a] if the authority is to be fetched from the Constitution of 'the apostles, it may be easily shewn, how they have there appointed a fast on the fourth, and 'on the sixth day of the week for ever [or always], except in Pentecost: and that in the six 'days of Easter no food ought to be taken, beside bread, and salt, and water.'

5. In the eightieth heresy, which is that of the Messalians and others: 'And [b] concerning 'the beard the divine word and doctrine in the Constitutions of the Apostles says, that it should 'not be corrupted, that is, that the hair of the beard should not be cut, and that men should not 'wear a meretricious dress, nor yet make a shew of religion.'

6. There seems also to be a reference to this book in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith. I put a part of the passage [c] at the bottom of the page; as also a remark of Grabe [d] upon it.

Upon these quotations we may now observe as follows.

1. We hence perceive, that in the time of Epiphanius there was a work called Apostolical Constitutions: and the things therein contained seem to have been written, as in those we now have, in the name of the apostles. There were likewise in that work directions concerning Easter, and Pentecost, and other set days of fasting, or feasting, as in ours.

2. Nevertheless there is reason to think, that [e] the Constitutions mentioned by Epiphanius, are not the same with those which we now have. The order concerning keeping Easter is quite different in ours from that quoted by the Audians: nor does Epiphanius say, that their quotation was false; though indeed he alleges some things, which seem contrary to the rule by which they governed themselves.

3. Epiphanius bears witness, that the Constitutions, which were in being in his time, were 'doubted of by many,' and were not generally received.

4. That expression, 'doubted of by many,' or 'of doubtful authority with many,' seems to be ambiguous. It may denote, that it was doubted, whether the book should be esteemed canonical; or else, whether it was an ecclesiastical book, and not apocryphal and heretical, and utterly to be rejected. And it may be thought, that this last is the true meaning of the expression, for these two reasons: first, when Epiphanius gives an account of the canonical books of scripture, he takes no notice of this. Secondly, when he says: 'it is not to be rejected, for it 'has nothing in it contrary to the discipline of the church, or the canon, or the faith;' he seems only to assert, that it was a good, ecclesiastical or catholic writing. When therefore he says, that this book was 'doubted of by many,' he intimates, that some suspected it to be the work of some heretics: in opposition to which he says, it ought not to be rejected. For it appeared from

ψυκην εν κυριακη, επικαλαραλος εστι τω θεω. Ib. p. 223. D. Const. l. v. cap. 20.

——την εορτην πασχα, τελεστι την εβδομαδα την ωρισμενην, και απ' αυλων των αποστολων εν τη Διαταξει. Ib. n. 12. p. 824. C.

[a] Ει δε και χρη το της Διαταξεως των αποστολων λεγειν, ως εκει ωριζονλο τεσσαρα και προσταττον νηστευειν δια πανλος, χωρις πενηκοστης· και περι των εξ ημερων το πασχα, ως παραγγελλσιν, μηδεν ολως λαμβανειν, η αρτω, και αλας, και υδατος· ποιαν τε ημεραν αγειν, ως τε απολυειν εις επιφωσκουσαν κυριακην, φανερον εστι. κ. λ. H. 75. n. 6. p. 910. B. C. D. Conf. Const. l. v. cap. 15. 20. l. vii. c. 23. l. v. c. 13. 15. 18, 19.

[b] Και περι μεν ων το γενειω εν ταις Διαταξεσι των αποστολων φασκει ο θειος λογος και η διδασκαλια, μη φθειρειν, τελεστι μη τεμνειν τριχας γενειω. κ. λ. H. 80. n. 7. p. 1073. C. Vid. Const. l. i. cap. 3.

[c] Συναξεις δε επιτελουμεναι ταχθεισαι εισιν απο των αποστολων τεσσαρσι και προσταττω, και κυριακη· τεσσαρσι δε και εν προσταττω εν νηστεια εως ωρας εννατης. κ. λ. Exp. Fid. n. 22. p. 1104.

[d] Quod de sacris conventibus feriâ iv. & vi. nec non Dominicâ die celebrandis dicit Epiphanius, in nostris Constitutionibus non exstat. Hæque ideo ab antiquâ Apostolorum Διδαχη in hoc puncto differunt. Grabe ib. p. 53.

[e] Petavius, in his notes upon Epiphanius, supposeth the Constitutions, mentioned by his author, to be different from ours. De Constitutionibus iisce dubietatem a nonnullis prætatur Epiphanius. Quo eodem nomine circumferuntur hodie in octo libros distinctæ, quæ a prioribus illis, ac nihilominus dubiis, quarum meminit Epiphanius, diversæ videntur. Etenim quinque ex illis sententiæ hoc & sequenti numero citantur, quæ in vulgatis nusquam reperiuntur: imo vero contraria quædam in iis leguntur. Nam lib. v. cap. 16. de Paschatis celebritate catholicorum dogma propalam edicitur, uti post æquinoctium instauretur. Tum ne cum Judæis agatur, & alia quædam; quæ si in antiquis illis Constitutionibus legebantur, mirum est hoc tam præsenti ac diserto testimonio usum non esse contra Audianos Epiphanium, qui Judæorum more celebrandum Pascha iisdem ex Constitutionibus affirmabant. Apparet igitur, aliud fuisse Constitutionum genus, quam quibus hodie Clementis nomen inscribitur. Animadv. in H. lxx. p. 290, 291.

Grabe was of opinion, that the Constitutions quoted by Epiphanius were not only different from ours, but that they were the Doctrine, or Doctrines of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and shorter than ours. Equidem id lubens concedo, Doctrinam Apostolorum, ab Eusebio & Athanasio memoratam eamdem fuisse cum Διαταξει sive Constitutione Apostolicâ ab Epiphanio aliquoties laudata.——Sed istas, quibus modo utimur, Constitutiones Apostolicas Clementi adscriptas, nego easdem esse cum Διδαχαις seu Διδασκαλιαις Apostolorum, licet in quibusdam capitibus conveniant. Spic. p. 41.——contra quam hypothesin supra p. 41, & seqq. evici, Διδαχας, sive Constitutiones Epiphanii, diversas a nostris, nec adeo prolixas, vel in plures libros divisas fuisse. Ib. p. 284.

the contents of it to be the work of some honest, orthodox, or catholic Christian. Daillé has argued [a] in a like manner.

5. It is not easy to say what respect Epiphanius himself had for this work. He quotes things from it, as ordinances of the apostles, and as the divine word and doctrine: but it is not mentioned in any of the passages, where he gives the catalogues of the books of scripture, exhibited in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the expressions of his just taken notice of, seem to imply no more, than that the book was an ecclesiastical or orthodox writing: farther, either his Constitutions were not the same as ours, or he had not much regard for them. For in our Constitutions divers early heretics are named, and they are condemned and confuted: of which passages nevertheless Epiphanius has made no use in his history of those heretics, or in his arguments against them: which every one must be apt to think he would have done, if the Constitutions which we have, had been then in being, and had been esteemed by him as of authority.

6. Whatever was the opinion of Epiphanius about the work quoted in the passages of his just recited, or referred to, there can be no good reason for us to suppose it was a book of sacred scripture; forasmuch as no such book is quoted as scripture by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, or any other Christian writer of the first three centuries.

If any should say that Epiphanius's Constitutions are the same with the Doctrine of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, [which has been the opinion of Grabe and some others,] I would answer: That is not certain. Supposing them to be the same, it is manifest that the book called the Doctrine of the Apostles, was no book of sacred scripture. It is never quoted by Eusebius, or Athanasius, in any of their writings: they have only once mentioned it, each of them, as a spurious, or useful book, when they give a catalogue of the books of the New Testament: and all other Christian writers before them are quite silent about it. In the Synopsis, ascribed to Athanasius, it is mentioned; but it is ranked with 'contradicted,' or apocryphal books.

II. Having seen the passages of Epiphanius concerning the Apostolical Constitutions of his time, and made remarks on them, I proceed to consider a work which we now have in eight books, with a like title: and I begin with alleging the judgments of divers learned moderns upon them.

1. Cotelerius says: 'It [b] is certain, that the work of the Apostolical Constitutions in eight 'books is apocryphal and pseudepigraphal, not composed by the apostles, nor by the apostolical 'Clement.—Although Epiphanius and Cedrenus have quoted the Constitutions as the divine 'word; nevertheless it is manifest, that a book cannot be esteemed the work of the apostles, 'which the earliest times of the church were unacquainted with, which was unknown to the 'fathers, or neglected by them, which has many marks of forgery and falsehood; which the 'catholic church excludes from the canon of divine scripture: which, finally, has in it very many 'things contrary to truth and probability, plainly of a later date than the times of the apostles, 'and quite different from their true characters.'

2. Tillemont's judgment is not very different from that of Cotelerius: I therefore take it next. 'If [c] the Doctrine of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and the 'Constitutions, are different works, as Du Pin thinks, Epiphanius is the first who has mentioned 'the Constitutions.—And though the last canon of the apostles ranks them with the canonical 'scriptures; and though the Ethiopians respect them as sacred and divine scripture; we are 'nevertheless constrained to own, that there are in them many things contrary to truth and pro-'bability, and far different from the time of the apostolical writings.'

[a] At non ideo fit, ut libros a Clemente vere scriptos, vereque ab Apostolis instituta dictataque, quæcumque in illis narrantur, fuisse crediderit. Multis enim libris nihil inest vel a fide, vel a disciplinâ alienum, quos non idcirco dixeris vel Clementinos, vel Apostolicos. Omnino videtur Epiphanius sensisse, illas Apostolorum nomine tam vulgatas Diataxes boni & catholici viri opus esse non inutile, iisque sincere explicatam esse ecclesiæ fidem ac disciplinam: ut a Clemente scriptas, & ab ipsis Apostolis dictatas crediderit, nihil sane cogit. De Pseudep. Apostol. l. i. cap. 2. p. 37.

[b] Itaque verum est, Constitutionum Apostolicarum ὁλαβιβλον opus esse apocryphum, & pseudepigraphum, ab apostolis non profectum, nec ab apostolico Clemente.——Quamvis S. Epiphanius H. 80. 7: & Cedrenus.——Θειον λογον Diataxibus tribuant; attamen liquido constat, ad apostolos & Clementem non pertinere συνταγμα, quod prima ecclesiæ tempora latuit, quod a tot sanctis patribus ignoratum fuit, aut neglectum; quod pluribus suspicionem movit suppositionis, plurimis certitudinem dedit falsitatis; quod catholica ecclesia a canone scripturarum divinarum excludit; quod denique sexcenta complectitur cum veritate, cum similitudine pugnantia, recentiora temporibus apostolicis, & apostolico charactere remotissima. Cotel. Jud. de Const. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[c] Saint Clement, de Rome, Art. vii. Mem. T. ii.

3. For Du Pin's opinion, I refer at present to his Preliminary [a] Dissertation upon the Bible, and to what he writes in his [b] account of the Canons and Constitutions ascribed to the apostles, and then [c] of Clement of Rome.

Daillé's opinion was, that [d] the Constitutions were composed after the council of Nice, and before the end of the fifth century.

5. Mr. Robert Turner thought, the [e] Constitutions made use of by Epiphanius to be different from the present Constitutions; and concludes his work, saying: 'That [f] the eight books of 'Constitutions seem to have been made out of several doctrines, constitutions, canons, travels, 'and traditions, ascribed to the apostles, and out of some of the ancient Liturgies, and the [f] discipline and practice of the Greek church, oddly blended together, adulterated and changed 'by some ignorant Arian in the fifth century.'

6. Pearson was of opinion, that [g] the Apostolical Constitutions were formed out of several lesser works, called Doctrines or Constitutions, said to be written by Clement, Ignatius, Hippolytus, and others, but altered and interpolated by the author of this collection: and that the eight books of the Constitutions, as we now have them, were not composed and finished till after the time of Epiphanius. I have now placed Pearson's words somewhat at large at the bottom of the page; and I formerly [h] spoke of this opinion of his.

7. Grabe's opinion was exactly the same as Pearson's. I now also put his words [i] below.

8. James Basnage thought, that [k] Pearson had hit the time of this work very well. For on the one hand, these eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions were not known in the time of Epiphanius: it might be added, nor of Jerom. On the other hand, the author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, who wrote after the time of Theodosius, quotes the eighth book: therefore we must place the composing of this large collection at the middle of the fifth century.

9. The opinion of Samuel Basnage may be seen in his [l] Annals.

10. The late learned Dr. Waterland has these expressions: 'The [m] Clementine Liturgy, 'though it is not thought to have been ever in public use, is commonly believed to be the oldest 'of any now extant: and, though as an entire collection, it cannot be justly set higher than the 'fifth century, yet it certainly contains many things derived from earlier times.'

11. Pagi thought it sufficient to say, for shewing the Constitutions not to be Clement's, that [n] they are not mentioned among his works either by Eusebius or Jerom.

12. Le Clerc wrote a Dissertation, which he placed at the end of the second volume of his last edition of the Apostolical Fathers. He takes notice of [o] some things in the Constitutions exceedingly unsuitable to the character of the apostles of Christ. He says, they [p] well represent the ecclesiastical discipline of the fourth century; but [q] not that of earlier times. He thinks, they [r]

[a] L. ii. c. 6. sect. 10.

[b] Biblioth. Ec. T. i. p. 14, &c. a Amsterdam.

[c] Ibid. p. 30. &c.

[d] Si tamen, ut in re obscurâ, conjecturas & argumenta admittere libet; illud inprimis pro certo constitui posse mihi videtur, fuisse hoc opus ante finem quinti sæculi scriptum atque editum. De Pseudep. Ap. l. ii. c. 17. p. 393.

[e] Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 198. [f] The same, p. 295.

[g] ——ex his diversis Didascaliis atque Constitutionibus libros octo Constitutionum Apostolicarum, quos habemus, confectos atque consarcinatos fuisse, asserere non dubito—— Unde conjicio, octo libros Constitutionum post ævum Epiphanii ex veteribus Didascaliis atque Diataxibus, immutatis interpolatisque, factos esse. Neque enim ille numerum librorum indicat. Pears. Vind. Ign. P. i. c. 4. p. 282, 283. Amst. 1698.

[h] See the chapter of Hippolytus, Vol. i. p. 500.

[i] Unde certissima mihi videtur sententia doctissimi Præsulis Pearsonii: qui in Vindiciis S. Ignatii asseruit, octo libros Constitutionum post ævum Epiphanii, sed ante Auctorem Operis Imperfecti in Matthæum compositos fuisse. Dictus enim auctor primus Constitutiones Apostolicas, tamquam pluribus libris constantes, citavit ——Hic itaque cum aliquamdiu post Theodosium imp. vixerit,——octo libri Constitutionum exeunte sæculo iv. vel ineunte v. prodiisse videntur. ——Cæterum jam supra p. 43. admodum probabilem dixi conjecturam laudati Pearsonii——istam, qua modo utimur, Καθολικην Διδασκαλιαν, in octo libros digestam, ex variis Διδασκαλιαις antiquioribus apostolorum, Clementis, Ignatii, conflatam, hasque maximâ ex parte in illa conservatas esse. Spic. p. 284, 285.

[k] Histoire de l'Eglise, p. 488. [l] Ann. 100. n. 8, 9.

[m] Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 341.

[n] Verum harum Constitutionum auctor non est Clemens Romanus, quia Eusebius, & Hieronymus libro de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, cum de scriptis S. Clementis agunt, unam duntaxat illius ad Corinthios epistolam recensent. Legatur Eusebius, l. iii. c. 15. Pagi Ann. 100. n. 8.

[o] Est in iis dogma quod maxime offendit viros doctos, & quidem merito, quo Episcopus ita extollitur, ut soli Deo subjiciatur, utque Dynasta & Deus terrenus adpelletur: quod veritati atque humilitati apostolorum prorsus adversatur. Exstat. l. ii. c. 26. Rursus, cap. 34 sic loquuntur personati apostoli de episcopis:——Hos Principes & Reges præesse existimate, tributaque iis offerte. &c. Diss. de Const. n. 6. p. 494.

[p] Cæteroquin in Constitutionibus, quales habemus, optime describitur sæculi quarti disciplina ecclesiastica. Ib. n. 5. 1.

[q] Est hic quoque tota disciplina ecclesiastica iv. sæculi, qualis ab initio non fuerat: ut jam observavit Jac. Usserius, Diss. cap. 14. 16. quem nemo confutavit, aut confutare queat. Ib. n. 10.

[r] Ego vero Constitutiones, quales nunc habemus, cum etiamnum arderent contentiones Arianorum, ab episcopo quo-

were composed by some Arian of the fourth century: and seems to think, there [a] may be some probability in the conjecture of another learned man, that they are the work of Leontius, bishop of Tripoli in Lydia.

13. Young Barratier published a Dissertation to shew, that the Constitutions were written in the second century, and not far below the beginning of it. He supposeth, that [b] not long after the death of the apostles some person had a like design with that of Papias: he therefore collected what he could meet with of the apostle's precepts and sayings concerning Christian manners and worship. Nor did he confine himself to oral traditions: he also made use of divers books; some of them apocryphal; for which reasons many things may be here ascribed to the apostles which are not truly theirs. In some things the author may be relied upon; other things may be false and fictitious. So Barratier. I am unwilling to say that this is a trifling hypothesis and void of evidence: but it seems to me, that the Constitutions will be of little more use, or value, according to this opinion, than according to the opinion of those, who think them a collection made in the fourth or fifth century.

14. Mr. Whiston thinks, 'that [c] the Apostolical Constitutions are the most sacred of the 'canonical books of the New Testament.'

III. Such are the opinions of learned men concerning this work. I now intend to offer an argument upon it under the following heads.

1. I shall observe some passages, in which the apostles are mentioned as authors.

2. We will inquire what right this work has to the names of the apostles: where will be considered both external and internal evidence.

3. If it should appear that their authority is made use of without reason, it will follow, that the work is an imposture.

IV. In the first place we are to observe some of the passages, in which the apostles are mentioned as authors.

1. And indeed these eight books of Constitutions are written, and the things contained in them are delivered, as in the name of the apostles of Jesus Christ.

2. They begin with this inscription or salutation: 'The [d] apostles and elders to all, who from 'among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace and peace be multiplied 'unto you from God almighty, through our Lord Jesus Christ, in the acknowledgment of him.'

3. 'Wherefore [e] we the twelve apostles of the Lord, who are now together, send you these 'our divine Constitutions, concerning every ecclesiastical form, there being present with us also 'the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle Paul, and the rest of the elders, and the seven deacons.'

4. That quotation is from the fourth chapter of the eighth and last book. And in the last chapter of it, again: 'Now [f] this we all in common charge you, that every one remain in the 'rank assigned him, without transgressing the appointed bounds. For they are not ours, but 'God's.'

5. And still lower, in the same chapter, near the conclusion of the whole work: 'As by 'Moses were appointed high-priests, priests and Levites, and by our Saviour we the thirteen 'were appointed: and by the apostles I James, and I Clement, and others, not to name them 'again: and by all in common, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, and readers...'

piam Ariano conscriptas fuisse clanculum, ut earum auctoritate, ad confirmandam Arianam doctrinam, uteretur, & quidem ante quarti sæculi finem, existimo. Ib. n. 5.

[a] ——qualis erat Leontius Tripolitanus, in Lydiâ, episcopus, si credimus judicio viri doctissimi, Thomæ Brunonis, quod in hoc ipso volumine edidimus. Ib. n. 3.

[b] Itaque, apostolis defunctis, probabile est, pios quosdam viros conatos esse omnia eorum dicta, facta, & scripta, colligere, & posteritati servare. Sic Papias. Sic tot apocryphorum auctores. Inde statim post A. C. centesimum aliquis conatus fuerit omnia colligere, quæ apostoli circa mores et ritus Christianorum reliquerint. Et sane Constitutiones ex variis collectas esse tractatibus manifestum est.——Interim nolo idcirco omnia et singula, quæ in Constitutionibus leguntur, apostolis tribuere. Multa iis supposita esse nullo negotio credo. Et sane illis temporibus tam ingens librorum apocryphorum, dubiorum, &c. numerus ortus est, ut fieri non possit, Constitutionum compilatorem, non ex iis quædam in opus suum irrepere passum esse.——In iis factis historicis, quæ nude referuntur, et non nexûs causâ adhibita sunt, aio Constitutiones omnem fidem mereri.——Sed alia ratio est de conventu v gr. omnium apostolorum, qui modo ideo fictus est, ut iis tribuerentur Constitutiones, tamquam commune opus. Alia ratio iterum de Simonis Magi historiâ, quæ potuit ficta esse, quia credebatur interesse apostolorum, ut multa prodigia iis tribuerentur, et multa hæreticis falsa affingerentur. Barrat. Disquis. Chronol. p. 282, 283. Ultrajecti. 1740. 4to.

[c] See the second and third volumes of Primitive Christianity revived.

[d] Οἱ ἀποστολοι και οἱ πρεσβυτεροι πασι τοις εξ εθνων πιστευσασι. κ. λ. Const. Procem. in.

[e] Ἁμα τοινυν ὑπαρχοντες ἡμεις οἱ δεκαδυο τε κυριε αποστολοι τας δε τας θειας ἡμων ενιστελλομεθα διαταξεις. L. viii. c. 4. in.

[f] Εκεινο δε κοινη παντες παραγγελλομεν. L. viii. c. 46. in.

6. It appears, then, that the whole of the work, and all the ordinances in it, from beginning to end, are delivered in the name of all Christ's apostles, and as from God himself.

7. These Constitutions assume not only the names of the apostles, but also their characters and actions.

8. 'And [a] to take our own things,' say they, 'Judas our companion had part with us in the 'same ministry.'

9. 'I Matthew, [b] one of the twelve, who speak to you in this doctrine, was a publican.'

10. 'So [c] the Lord was not ashamed of me Matthew, though before I was a publican. And 'he received Peter, and made him shepherd of his own sheep, after he had through fear denied 'him thrice. And he appointed Paul to be our fellow apostle, who before had been a per-'secutor.'

11. 'For [d] taking a towel, he girded himself; and then put water in a bason, and came round 'to us, as we sat, and washed all our feet, and wiped them with the towel.'

12. 'And [e] on the fifth day of the week, when we had eaten the passover with him, he 'delivered to us the representative mysteries of his precious body and blood, Judas not being 'present with us.——He went out to the mount of Olives——and we were with him, and sang 'an hymn according to custom.'

13. 'For [f] our Lord and Master Jesus Christ sent us twelve to teach the nations. There [g] 'were with us Mary, the mother of the Lord, and Mary Magdalene, and what follows.'

14. 'And [h] after eight days he gave me Thomas, who was hard of belief concerning his re-'surrection, full assurance, shewing me the print of the nails, and the wound made in his side by 'the spear.'

15. 'On the [i] day of Pentecost, at the third hour of the day, the Lord Jesus sent down upon 'us the gift of the Holy Ghost: and we were filled with power, and spake with new tongues, as 'the Spirit enabled us; and we preached to Jews and Gentiles, that Jesus is the Christ.'

16. 'For [k] we also, for Christ's sake, were often beaten by Caiaphas, and Alexander, and 'Annas; and went out rejoicing, that we were accounted worthy to suffer such things for our 'Saviour.' See Acts iv. 6. v. 40, 41.

17. Having mentioned divers parts of our Lord's history, they add: 'All [l] these things we 'testify of him, who did eat and drink with him, and were eye-witnesses of his wonderful works, 'of his words, and sufferings, and death, and resurrection from the dead, after which also we 'conversed with him forty days. And what follows.' Much more may be seen [m] elsewhere.

18. That they take upon them the character of the apostles, appears also in the names of the persons whom they speak of as their assistants and companions; all well known to have been companions of Christ's apostles, or some of them.

19. 'These things [n] we send unto you by our fellow-servant, and most faithful and unani-'mous son in the Lord, Clement, together with Barnabas, and our most faithful son Timothy, 'and our own son Mark; together with whom we recommend to you Titus, and Luke, and 'Jason, and Sosipater.'

20. In the twelfth chapter of the eighth book is a constitution, or order of James, the brother of John, and son of Zebedee. In the thirty-third chapter of the same book is a constitution of Paul and Peter. In the thirty-fifth chapter is a constitution of James the brother of the Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem. Not to mention other things of that kind.

21. These Constitutions therefore are not written or composed, or drawn up by Clement, but by the apostles: they are only sent by him. Thus at the beginning of the sixteenth chapter of the sixth book: 'All [o] these things we have sent, [or written] to you, that ye may know what our 'opinion is.' And in the eighteenth chapter of the same book, partly cited above: 'This [p] 'catholic doctrine we have left to you bishops, and others, for the establishment of them that 'believe; and have sent it to you by our faithful fellow-minister Clement.' He also speaks, together with James, in a place before cited. 'But the whole work, and all the Constitutions in

[a] L. ii. c. 14. p. 222. m.
[b] L. ii. c. 39.
[c] L. ii. c. 24. p. 234.
[d] L. iii. c. 19. p. 290.
[e] L. v. c. 14. p. 317.
[f] L. iii. c. 6. sub in.
[g] Ibid. infr.
[h] L. v. c. 19. p. 324.
[i] L. v. c. 20. p. 325.
[k] L. v. c. 2.
[l] L. v. c. 7. p. 309.
[m] See l. v. c. 14. throughout, and l. ii. c. 55.
[n] L. vi. c. 18. p. 349.
[o] Ταυτα παντα επεστειλαμεν ὑμιν.
[p] Καταλιπομεν ὑμιν——την δε την καθολικην διδασκαλιαν ——διαπεμψαμενοι δια τε συλλειτουργου ἡμων Κλημεντος. p. 349.

general are drawn up in the name of the apostles, or of them and their assistants; as appears from the many passages that have been transcribed.

22. These Constitutions then, as we have seen, are written in the name of the apostles: and according to the whole tenor of the work, they are rightly termed apostolical.

V. Let us now inquire into the justness of this claim.

1. As the work now before us bears the title of Apostolical Constitutions, and is written in the name of the apostles, as we have sufficiently seen; we are led to inquire what notice has been taken of it in the genuine, uncontroverted works of ancient Christian writers: and then to compare the Constitutions themselves, and other things occasionally mentioned in this work, with the generally received writings of the apostles, and likewise with the doctrines and customs of the early times of the church, so far as we are acquainted with them. In both these ways the Apostolical Constitutions have been largely considered by [a] Daillé, and since by [b] Mr. Robert Turner.

2. Daillé examined all the several ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Dionysius, and Peter of Alexandria, and some others; and has shewn, as it seems to me, with great probability, that the Constitutions were unknown to all those writers. Mr. Turner has again gone over all the same authors, and some others omitted by Daillé; and he could not find in them the Apostolical Constitutions any more than Daillé. To those and other learned writers I refer; I shall, however, observe some things briefly.

3. In these [c] Constitutions is a long history of Simon Magus. Divers other heretics are particularly mentioned: Cleobius, Dositheus, the Ebionites, Cerinthus, Marc, Menander, Basilides, Saturninus, the Nicolaitans, and Hemerobaptists. The evil of heresies is shewn; the causes of them are assigned and enumerated; they are condemned and confuted. Nevertheless, no notice is taken of all this by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, or Eusebius; no, nor by Epiphanius, as before observed: though it would have been very much to their purpose. In short, they could not have omitted it in their censures of the ancient heresies, or in their arguments against them, if they had been acquainted with it: for, certainly, the express authority of the apostles would have been of great advantage to them.

4. With regard to Clement of Alexandria, Daillé says, that [d] he quotes Clement of Rome, and Barnabas, and other Christian authors. He had also many occasions to quote the Constitutions, if he had been acquainted with them, as Daillé clearly shews: but yet he takes not any the least notice of them.

5. Another thing relating to Clement of Alexandria, well observed by [e] Mr. Turner, is; that [f] the Constitutions absolutely forbid the reading of heathen authors. Nevertheless Clement, who was himself a man of prodigious reading, and a great master of heathen learning, frequently quotes in his works all sorts of authors; and has recommended [g] the reading of heathen authors, and the study of philosophy: which he would not have done, if he had been acquainted with these Constitutions, and had acknowledged them to be Apostolical.

6. Mr. Turner adds, Clement of Alexandria was not singular in this. Tertullian, Origen, and a great many more, justify and recommend the reading of heathen compositions: and though St. Jerom (as we are told) was whipped for it, yet it was never said to be because he had broken an apostolical constitution.

7. And says the ingenious [h] Mr. Brekell: The Constitutions prohibit the reading of heathen authors: and yet many of the ancient fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and others, recommend the reading of such books; a plain proof, that they knew of no such Apostolical Constitution. Besides, if this had been a Constitution of the Christian church, the emperor Julian would have had no occasion to make the same prohibition.

8. There was [i] a dispute in the third century between Stephen bishop of Rome, and Cyprian bishop of Carthage, concerning the method of receiving such as came over from heretics. Cyprian and other African bishops said the baptism of heretics was null and void, and therefore

[a] Joannis Dallæi de Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis libri iii. Hardervici. 1653.

[b] Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions. London. 1715.

[c] Vid. lib. 6. cap. 4—11.

[d] Vid. Dall. ib. p. 268, 269.

[e] P. 93, 94.

[f] Των εθνικων βιβλιων παντων απεχε. L. i. c. 6. in.

[g] Vid. Strom. l. i.

[h] See Divine Oracles, p. 116.

[i] See Turner, as before, p. 122—130. And in this work, Vol. i. ch. 43. n. 6. p. 615, 616, and ch. 44. Vol. ii. p. 5.

they who came over from them were to be baptized. Stephen, on the contrary, allowed the validity of their baptism; and was for receiving such as came over from them with imposition of hands only. This point is decided in [a] our Constitutions, agreeably to the judgment of Cyprian and his African colleagues: yet nobody then appealed to this work, or took any notice of it. Probably therefore it was not extant at that time.

9. I shall mention a particular relating to Origen, not generally taken notice of. In his books against Celsus he says, that [b] James and John, Andrew and Peter, were fishermen, and Matthew a publican. But in what way the rest of Christ's disciples subsisted, before they followed him, was not known. But the apostles in the Constitutions say: 'Though [c] we are em-'ployed in preaching the gospel, we do not omit working. For some of us are fishermen, 'others tentmakers, others husbandmen.' Certainly Origen knew nothing of this. And Cotelerius, in his notes upon the Constitutions says, We [d] are to abide by Origen. There is no certain knowledge what occupations the rest of the twelve followed, beside those mentioned by him.

10. That the [e] Constitutions were unknown to the learned Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria about the year 248, is apparent. Basilides, a friend of his, wrote [f] a letter to him, desiring his opinion upon some points. Dionysius's letter [g] is still extant. In answer to one of the queries put by Basilides, concerning the duration of the antepaschal fast, he says, it is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, the point is clearly determined [h] in our Apostolical Constitutions. And of another question put by Basilides, he gives a solution quite contrary to [i] our Constitutions: and in the conclusion of the letter, he leaves his friend to judge for himself as he sees best. This must be reckoned full proof, that Dionysius was altogether unacquainted with our Apostolical Constitutions.

11. There was a controversy about the time of keeping Easter, which [k] began in the second century, and lasted [l] until the sitting of the council of Nice: yet none appealed to the Constitutions about it. Those cited by Epiphanius determine in favour of one side; ours in favour of the other. But that neither of those Constitutions was then extant, or received as Apostolical, is manifest: for if there had been an Apostolical Constitution about it, the controversy had been ended, or rather could not have been.

12. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, speaking of this matter says: the apostles had left it indifferent to every body: that [m] neither Christ nor his apostles, had appointed an annual festival for celebrating the memory of his passion. And speaking of the several opinions about the duration and manner of the antepaschal fast, he says, that [n] none of them were able to allege any written order about it. Consequently, Socrates likewise either knew nothing of our Constitutions, or did not esteem them Apostolical.

13. Eusebius of Cæsarea is concerned in several things already mentioned. In his accounts of early heretics, of the disputes about Easter, and other matters, he says nothing of the Constitutions; though they might have been very properly mentioned, if in being, and he had been acquainted with them. Consequently they were unknown to him. There is however one particular which may be distinctly mentioned. Our Constitutions say, that [o] the first bishops of Cæsarea in Palestine, were Zaccheus the publican, Cornelius, and Theophilus: meaning, probably, him to whom St. Luke had addressed both his Gospel and his Acts. Nevertheless, Eusebius no where takes [p] notice of these honourable predecessors of his in the see of Cæsarea.

[a] Vid. Const. lib. vi. cap. 15.

[b] Των δε λοιπων ȣ μεμαθηκαμεν τα ερϛα, ὁθεν προ της μαθητειας τȣ Ιησȣ περιεποιȣν ἑαυτοις τας τροφας. Cont. Cels. l. i. p. 48. Cant. p. 376. Bened.

[c] ——Οἱ γαρ εισιν εξ ἡμων ἁλιεις, οἱ δε σκηνοποιοι, οἱ δε γης ερϛαται. L. ii. cap. 63.

[d] Sed tenendum omnino est cum Origene jam laudato, præter quatuor supra memoratos, et unum publicanum, Matthæum, ignorari quâ ex arte victum sibi comparârint reliqui ex duodecim, antequam a Christo essent vocati.

[e] See Turner, p. 131—133.

[f] See before, Vol. i. ch. 43. n. 9. p. 629.

[g] Ap. Labb. Conc. T. i. p. 832.

[h] Vid. l. v. c. 18, 19, 21.

[i] L. vi. c. 27, 28.

[k] See before in this work, Vol. i. ch. 23, and ch. 28. p. 445, 446.

[l] Vid. Euseb. Vit. Const. l. iii. cap. 5.

[m] Αλλα την ἑορτην τȣ πασχα και τας αλλας ἑορτας τιμαν τη ευϛνωμοσυνη των ευεργετηθεντων κατελιπον. Socr. l. v. c. 21. p. 283. C.

Ου γαρ νομῳ τȣτο παραφυλαϛτειν ὁ σωτηρ η οἱ αποϛολοι παρηϛγειλαν. Ib. D.

[n] Και επειδαν ȣδεις περι τȣτȣ εϛγραφον εχει δειξαι παραϛγελμα, δηλον, ὡς και περι τȣτȣ τη ἑκαϛȣ γνωμη και προαιρεσει επετρεψον οἱ αποϛολοι. κ. λ. Ib. p. 286. C.

[o] L. vii. c. 46. in. p. 382.

[p] Verum Pseudo-Clementis apocryphos libros aut non legit, aut potius lectos sprevit Eusebius Cæsariensis; alias tanta ecclesiæ suæ ornamenta nequâquam in operibus suis omissurus. Cot. in loc.

14. We need not particularly examine later writers: for, as Daillé says, if [a] the Constitutions were not Apostolical in the first three centuries, all the wit and industry of later ages cannot make them so. But if we should call up and examine Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, the Cyrils of Jerusalem and Alexandria, Jerom and Augustine, and all the other eminent Christian writers of the fourth, and the former part of the fifth century, they would be all silent. They give no intelligence concerning the Apostolical Constitutions: they have not quoted them, or mentioned them, in any of their writings. Jerom in particular, who in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, has distinct articles for all the writers of the New Testament, and for Clement Bishop of Rome, mentions not any work of theirs called Constitutions, or Apostolical Constitutions. Certainly this must be sufficient to satisfy us of the non-existence, or vast obscurity of the Apostolical Constitutions in the early days of Christianity.

15. The first who has mentioned them, excepting Epiphanius, and the first of all, who has mentioned them as divided into several books, is [b] the author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, probably [c] a Latin writer, and plainly an Arian, who wrote some time after the reign of Theodosius the great: how long after it cannot be determined. But there is as much reason to think he did not write till after the end of the fifth century, as that he wrote sooner.

16. Consequently, the Constitutions are destitute of all external evidence, that should entitle them to the character of Apostolical.

VI. I proceed to the internal evidence. Here I shall mention divers things, marks of a later age than that of the apostles, and unsuitable to their character: at the same time willingly omitting many other things, for the sake of brevity, and supposing it not necessary to be more particular.

1. The manner of quoting the books of the New Testament in this work does not suit the apostles, as, I think, every one may perceive.

(1.) 'Christ [d] says in the gospel.' [Matt. v. 27.]

(2.) 'In [e] the like manner it is written also in the gospel.' [Luke vi. 28.] And presently afterwards: 'Again [f] he says in the gospel.' [Matt. v. 44, 45.]

(3.) 'The [g] Lord often says in the gospel reminding men: "He that has ears to hear, let 'him hear."'

(4.) 'For [h] our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ says in the gospels.' [Matt. v. 23, 24.]

(5.) 'Concerning [i] this the Lord declared, saying:—And again he says to his disciples, even 'to us, thus:' Where are quoted Matt. x. 33, 37, 38, 39, and xvi. 22, and x. 28.

(6.) Having given an account of the circumstances of our Lord's being betrayed, and of his crucifixion and resurrection, it is added, 'All [k] these things also are written in the gospels.'

(7.) 'Let [l] a bishop be knowing, and studying the Lord's books, that he may rightly explain 'the scriptures:—that the interpretations of the law and the prophets may correspond with the 'gospel. For the Lord Jesus says: "Search the scriptures. For these are they which testify 'of me."' And again: For "Moses wrote of me."' [John v. 39. 46.] Certainly, this order was not given until after St. John's gospel was written and published, probably not until after all the Lord's books, or scriptures of the New Testament had been written, and put into the hands of Christians.

(8.) Daillé did not [m] overlook this argument.

(9.) I add no more here: but several things of a like kind will occur in a following article, concerning this writer's testimony to the scriptures. There will be seen a Constitution about the method of ordaining bishops, expressly said to be a Constitution of the Twelve, and Paul,

[a] Nam si primis tribus Christianismi sæculis Apostolicæ non fuerunt Boviana istæ Διαταξαι, nemo non videt, nullâ sequentium temporum vel auctoritate vel industriâ fieri eas apostolicas posse. De Pseudep. p. 321.

[b] Vid. Veterum Testimonia de Constitut. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[c] Vid. Montfaucon. Diatriba ad Op. Imp. in Matt. ap. Chrysost. opp. T. 6. ed. Bened.

[d] Λεγει γαρ εν τω ευαγγελιω, L. 1. c. 1.

[e] Ὁμοιως και εν τω ευαγγελιω γεγραπται. L. i. c. 2.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Και ὁ κυριος εν τω ευαγγελιω μνημονευει.——L. ii. c. 6. p. 217. f.

[h] Λεγει δε ὁ κυριος ἡμων και σωτηρ Ιησους ὁ Χριστος εν ευαγγελιοις. L. ii. c. 53. p. 258. in.

[i] L. v. cap. 4. p. 303.

[k] Ταυτα δε και εν τω ευαγγελιω εγραφη. L. v. c. 14. fin.

[l] ——πολυδιδακτος, μελετων και σπουδαζων εν ταις κυριακαις βιβλοις.—κ. λ. L. ii. cap. 5.

[m] Cum ergo nostri Διαταξεις iis temporibus & vixerint, & congregati fuerint, quibus Joannis Evangelium editum erat,—clarum est, fieri nequâquam posse, ut Διαταξεις Christi Apostoli vere sint. De Pseudep. Ap. L. i. c. 14. p. 168. Vid. & p. 169. 186.

and the seven deacons: wherein it is appointed, that the gospels should be held over the head of the bishop to be ordained, or just ordained. But how was it possible that all the apostles, and all the seven deacons, should join in such a Constitution? Did none of the apostles or deacons die before the publication of the gospels? Were all the gospels written before the death of James, son of Zebedee, and brother of John, and before the martyrdom of Stephen? None will say it. The reader is also desired to observe the first quotation in that article, and to consider whether all the apostles could join in appointing the reading of the Acts? which, certainly, were not written till after the sixtieth year of our Lord's nativity.

2. I proceed to other things later than the time of the apostles.

(1.) It cannot be shewn that the several heretics above mentioned had appeared before the end of the apostolical age. Moreover they are here said, to have [a] published wicked books in the names of the apostles: calumniating the creation of God, and marriage, the law and the prophets; which cannot be shewn to have been done before the death of the apostles.

(2.) There are many things in these books, which seem to shew, that the reign of heathenism in the Roman empire was over, and that Christians enjoyed ease and prosperity.

(3.) 'Nor [b] does the Lord desire that the law of righteousness should be made manifest by 'us only, say the apostles here. It has also been his good pleasure that it should appear and 'shine by means of the Romans: for they also have believed in the Lord, and have forsaken 'polytheism and unrighteousness; and they cherish the good, and punish the bad.' Cotelerius in his notes says: certainly [c] this could not be said by the apostles. And if it could be made out, that it might be truly said, at some season before there were Christian emperors, [which cannot be easily done:] it would not be very material.

(4.) The ease and prosperity of Christians appear in the description that is given of a church. 'Let [d] the building be oblong, pointing eastward, with vestries on each side at the east end, that 'it may be like a ship: let the bishop's throne be placed in the middle: on each side of him [or 'that] let the presbyters sit: let the deacons stand near in short and light garments: let the 'reader stand upon an eminence.' And what follows.

(5.) In another place and book: 'When [e] this is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the 'bishop at the altar; and let the presbyters stand on his right hand, and on his left, as disciples 'stand before their master: and let two deacons on each side the altar hold a fan made of thin 'membranes, or of the feathers of a peacock, or of fine cloth: and let them silently keep off the 'small animals that fly about, that they may not get into the cups. Let the high priest, there-'fore, with the priests, pray by himself, and being clothed with his splendid garment, and 'standing at the altar, let him make the sign of the cross with his hand upon his forehead before 'all the people.' And what follows. This is particularly said to be a Constitution of James the brother of John, and son of Zebedee. But who can think, that such state and grandeur were brought into the church in his time, who was beheaded by Herod Agrippa within ten or twelve years after our Lord's ascension; Yea, who can think, that such a method of celebrating the eucharist was introduced in the time of any of Christ's apostles?

(6.) I might likewise object to the style of this and many other passages of this work. For it cannot be shewn, [f] that the Christian writers of the apostolical age, or soon after it, called Christian Ministers, 'high priests,' or 'priests,' or 'Levites:' nor that they called the communion-table 'the altar.' Moreover it is now generally allowed, that [g] in the first and second centuries, Christians had not any regular or spacious buildings to meet in.

(7.) Another Constitution, shewing the church to be at ease is this: 'When [h] you teach the 'people, O bishop, command them to come to church morning and evening every day—do you

[a] Και τα επ' ονομαλι ἡμων ψαρα των ασεβων κραϊυνθεντα βιβλια μη ψαραδεχεσθαι. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 16. in.

Τοιαυτα και νυν εποιησαν οἱ δυσωνυμοι, διαξαλλοντες δημιεργιαν, γαμον,——νομον, ψροφηλας. Eod. cap. sub fin.

[b] L. vi. cap. 24.

[c] Certum ac manifestum est, non potuisse hæc ab apostolis scribi. Sed an deduci debeant usque ad tempora imperatorum Christianorum, id vero, ut parvi momenti, ita ambiguum, obscurumque mihi videtur. Cot. in loc.

[d] L. ii. c. 57. p. 261. [e] L. viii. c. 12. p. 398.

[f] Ac sane germana virorum apostolicorum scripta, Clementis scilicet, Polycarpi, Justini, vocabula pontificis, sacerdotum, Levitarum, Christiano clero significando numquam usurpârunt. Neque magis Clementinæ ætatis est vocabulum θυσιαστηριον, altare, ad eucharistiæ mensam indicandam. Basnag. Ann. 100. n. xii.

[g] ——ὁτι μεν των αποστολων ὁτε ἡ εκκλησια εκοιμα μεν χαρισμασι ψνευματικοις, εξρυε δε ψολιτεια λαμπρα, εκκλησιαστηρια εκ ην. κ. λ. Isid. Pelus. Ep. l. ii. n. 246. At forte sic legendum: ὁτε—εξρυε δε ψολιτεια, λαμπρα εκκλησιαστηρια εκ ην.

[h] L. ii. c. 59.

'assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms, and praying in 'the Lord's house.—But especially on the sabbath-day, and on the Lord's-day, do you meet 'together more diligently.'

(8.) 'Again: I [a] Paul and I Peter ordain as follows: Let slaves [or servants] work six days; 'but on the sabbath-day, and the Lord's-day, let them have leisure to go to church to be in-'structed in religion.—And in the whole great week, and in that which follows, let servants 'cease from work; because that is the week of Christ's passion, this of his resurrection. Let 'them also rest on the day of Christ's ascension, because it is the conclusion of the dispensation 'by Christ. Let them rest on Pentecost, because of the coming of the Spirit which was 'given to believers. Let them also rest from labour on the feast of the Nativity, and on the 'day of Epiphany. Let them also rest on the days of the apostles, and the day of Stephen 'the protomartyr, and on the days of other martyrs, who loved Jesus Christ above their 'own lives.'

(9.) Possibly some may (though without reason) pretend, or suspect, that the latter part of this Constitution is an interpolation. I therefore now insist only on the former part of it, so far as relates to servants resting on the 'sabbath-day, Lord's-day, the great week, and the week follow-'ing, and the day of Christ's ascension, and the day of Pentecost.' And it seems to me, that neither Peter, nor Paul, nor any of the apostles, could deliver such Constitutions relating to slaves or servants: such rules could not be proposed in the time of the apostles, and at the first planting of the Christian religion in the world. By the Roman laws servants were as much the property of their masters, as any other part of their estate: they could use them as they pleased; and had the power of life and death till the time of Antoninus the pious, who, by his constitution, restrained or abrogated it. For it is there said: Qui sine causa servum suum occiderit, non minus puniri jubetur, quam si servum alienum occiderit. Inst. l. i. tit. 8. De his, qui sui, vel alieni juris sunt. Or, if we may credit Spartian, this had been done by his immediate predecessor Adrian. His words are these: Servos a dominis occidi vetuit, & jussit damnari per judices, si digni essent, Spart. in vit. Adrian. cap. 18. But as those laws were not made till after the times of the apostles, nothing can be more absurd, than to imagine they would lay any such injunction upon slaves, as would deprive their masters two days in seven of their labour, beside other occasional days. Nothing could have more prejudiced them against the Christian religion, than such an attempt upon their property: nor could any thing have been more cruel to slaves, many of whom must doubtless have lost their lives, had they complied with any such Constitution of the apostles: and it may be reckoned contrary to what St. Paul enjoins 1 Tim. vi. 1. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed."

(10.) Christian bishops are here supposed to have tribunals, or courts of judicature. They [b] are directed to hold their courts on the second day of the week, or Monday; and the deacons and presbyters are to be present: that is, as Daillé [c] observes, here is a reference to a privilege allowed by Christian emperors, not till long after the death of the Apostles.

(11.) The great [d] number of days distinguished and appointed either for fasts and feasts (as we partly saw in a late quotation) shews this work of the Constitutions to be later than the times of the apostles. These appointments are contrary to the doctrine of Paul [e] in his well known epistles, and also to the well known practice of the church in the second and third centuries. The Christians had in early times some days of fasting and feasting, but they were not so numerous as those here appointed; nor were they unanimous in the manner of keeping them; nor do they seem generally to have thought them of apostolical appointment, but rather, as Jerom says,[f] counsels of wise men, or institutions answering some good ends and purposes. That all did not think them of apostolical appointment, may be reckoned very probable from the judgment of Socrates formerly taken notice of. Augustine declares: I [g] perceive the gospel teaches us to

[a] L. viii. c. 33.

[b] Τα δε δικαστηρια ὑμων γινεσθω δευτερα σαββατων. κ. λ. L. ii. c. 47. in.

[c] Denique rem totam sic describunt, ut planum sit, nihil aliud eos intellexisse, quam quod multis post apostolos temporibus principum Christianorum benignitate atque auctoritate episcopis indultum fuit. Ubi supr. p. 319.

[d] Vid. l. v. c. 17—19. l. viii. c. 33.

[e] See Rom. xiv. 6. Gal. iv. 10. Col. ii. 15, 16.

[f] Jejunia & congregationes inter dies propter eos a viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis sæculo vacent quam Deo. Hieron. in Galat. iv. 10.

[g] Ego in evangelicis & apostolicis literis, totoque instrumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo id revolvens, video præceptum esse jejunium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, & quibus oporteat, præcepto

fast; but I do not see, that in any part of the New Testament, either Christ or his apostles have appointed on what days we should fast, and on what not to fast. And Tertullian represents the [a] catholic doctrine of his time about fasts much in the same manner. As for festivals, Origen in the third century mentions but [b] three, Lord's-days, Easter, and Pentecost. I hope I need not enlarge here; but I refer to [c] Daillé and [d] Turner, who have fully considered the point. And Daillé having summarily [e] enumerated the fasts and feasts of the Constitutions, and put down their assertion, 'that every one is guilty of sin, who fasts on the Lord's-day, or the day of Pen-'tecost, or, in a word, on any festival of the Lord,' says very well, that the Constitutions, which have distinguished almost every day in the year, either as a fast or a feast, could not come from the apostles of Christ. Indeed the great apostle Paul says to the Colossians, ch. ii. 16, and in them, I suppose, to all Christians in general, "Let no man judge you in your meat, or drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths." But these apostles [whether false apostles, or true, let any man determine], make no scruple of judging men on such accounts.

(12.) Before I quite leave this point, I would take some particular notice of the respect shewn in these Constitutions for the sabbath, or seventh day of the week.

They ordain, that by [f] all Christians in general, the sabbath and the Lord's-day should be kept as festivals: that [g] every sabbath in the year, except one, and every Lord's-day, be kept with joy, without making them days of mourning, or fasting: that servants [h] should cease from labour, and come to church on the sabbath, and the Lord's-day, that [i] Christians in general should assemble together for worship on every day, but especially on the sabbath, and the Lord's-day.

Concerning these particulars I would say, that the apostles of Christ never gave such instructions about keeping the sabbath. Secondly, that they are more suitable to the fourth or fifth centuries, than to the most early times of Christianity.

First, the apostles of Christ never gave such instructions about keeping the sabbath. That the apostles did not appoint the keeping of the sabbath as a feast, and forbid fasting thereon, is evident hence, that Christians in general never reckoned themselves bound by any such rule. This will appear from observations of Petavius, which [k] I place below: to which I shall add a passage from [l] a letter of St. Jerom.

Domini vel apostolorum non inveni definitum. Ad Casul. ep. 36, al. 76. cap. xi. T. 2.

[a] Itaque de cætero differenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio disciplinæ, pro temporibus & causis uniuscujusque. Sic & apostolos observâsse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum & in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum. De Jejun. cap. 2. p. 702. A.

[b] Εαν δε τις προς ταυτα ανθυποφερῃ τα περι των παρ' ἡμιν κυριακων, ἡ παρασκευων, ἡ τε πασχα, ἡ της πεντηκοστης. Contr. Cels. 8. p. 758. F. Bened.

[c] Vid. de Pseudep. Ap. l. i. cap. x. xi.

[d] As before, p. 242—258.

[e] Cum hoc vero et indubitato apostolorum dogmate equidem non video, qui conciliari possint illæ tam multæ de perpetuis certorum dierum aut jejuniis aut non jejuniis leges. Illi enim & hebdomadam quidem antepaschalem, & quadragesimam, & quartam sextamque cujusvis hebdomadis ferias ab omnibus Christianis jejunari lege in perpetuum latâ præcipiunt. Alterâ vero ex parte tum sabbatum, tum Dominicam diem, & omnes quinquaginta a Paschate ad Pentecostem dies, adhæc Natalis Dominici diem, &c.——hos, inquam omnes dies jejunio funestari vetant, et si quis uno ex iis jejunârit, eum deliquisse, piaculumque commeritum pronunciant. L. v. c. xx. fin. Ενοχος γαρ ἁμαρτιας εσται ὁ την κυριακην νηστευων, ——ἡ την πεντηκοστην,——Mitto rei ipsius absurditatem, atque ineptiam.——Hoc unum dico, nihil minus istos esse, quam Christi apostolos, qui omnem fere totius anni diem vel jejunii mœrori, vel prandii lætitiæ addicunt, ac mancipant, &c. Dall. de Pseud. l. i c xi. p. 141, 142.

[f] Το σαββατον μενοι και την κυριακην ἑορταζειτε. L. vii. c. 23. p. 369.

[g] Παν μεν τοι σαββατον, ανευ τε ἑνος, και πασαν κυριακην επιλελεγμενες συνοδους ευφραινεσθε, κ. λ. L. v. cap. 20. p. 327. Vid. & l. vii. c. 36. in. p. 376.

[h] Σαββατον δε και κυριακην σχολαζειν ωσαν εν τῃ εκκλησια, δια την διδασκαλιαν της ευσεβειας. L. viii. c. 33. in. p. 414.

[i] ——μαλιστα δε εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τε σαββατε, και εν τῃ τε κυριε αναστασιμῳ τῃ κυριακῃ, σπευδαιοτερως απαντατε. L. ii. c. 59. p. 268.

[k] Non enim ubique, nec in totâ ecclesiâ, sabbatum jejunii expers fuit. Etenim Romani, quod Socrates lib. v. cap. xxii. scripsit, παν σαββατον νηστευσι. De quo fusissime Augustinus ep 86. & 118. [al. 36. ad Casulan. & 54. ad Januar.] Quare nulla est ab apostolis edita sanctio, quâ jejunium eo die prohiberetur, uti Augustinus asserit in ep. 118. ubi in rebus hujusmodi negat quidquam esse 'vel scripturæ sanctæ auctoritate, 'vel universalis ecclesiæ traditione determinatum.' Quâ quidem præscriptione tamquam spurius & alienus canon ille rejicitur, qui inter apostolicos 68 numeratur: Ει τις κληρικος ευρεθῃ την κυριακην ἡμεραν νηστευων, ἡ το σαββατον, πλην τε ἑνος μονε, καθαιρεισθω· ει δε λαϊκος, αφοριζεσθω. Non potest hoc ab apostolis communi esse decreto constitutum.——Nec melioris notæ sunt, quæ in Apost. Constit. leguntur l. vii. c. 28. [sec. 23.] ubi τα σαββατα και τας κυριακας ἑορταζειν præcipit. Quod ab apostolis toti ecclesiæ numquam esse præscriptum, sanctissimorum patrum consensus approbavit. Petav. Animadv. in Epiphan. p. 359.

[l] De Sabbato quod quæris, utrum jejunandum sit--sed ego illud breviter te admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas (præsertim quæ fidei non officiant) ita observandas, ut a majoribus traditæ sunt.——Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare possimus, quod in Actibus apostolorum die Pentecostes & die Dominico apostolum Paulum, & cum eo credentes, fecisse legimus. Hier. ep. 52. al. 28. p. 579. in.

That the apostles did not require servants, or other Christians, to cease from labour on the sabbath, is shewn [a] by some following observations of the learned writer just cited. He particularly takes notice, that the council of Laodicea forbids Christians to esteem the sabbath a day of rest from labour.

Secondly, these instructions about keeping the sabbath, are more suitable to the fourth or fifth century, than to the most early times of Christianity.

Socrates, in the fifth century, says, that [b] Christian churches in general throughout the world met, and had the eucharist every week on the sabbath, excepting the churches of Rome and Alexandria. Sozomen, about the same time, says likewise, that [c] at Constantinople, and almost every where, except Rome and Alexandria, Christians assembled on the sabbath, as well as on the first day of the week. And in a pretended letter of St. Ignatius, composed by some [d] idle Greek, it is said: He [e] is an enemy to Christ, who fasts on the Lord's-day, or any sabbath, except one.

But it does not appear that the practice mentioned by Socrates and Sozomen of assembling on the sabbath, obtained in the early days of Christianity. Nor was it universal in their time, as it would have been, in all probability, if it had been of apostolical appointment.

St. Luke informs us, Acts xx. 7, that "upon the first day of the week, when the disciples," at Troas, "came together to break bread, Paul preached to them." The same apostle, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, directs: "Upon the first day of the week, let every one lay by him in store:" meaning probably the same, which St. John, Rev. i. 10, calls the Lord's-day.

In like manner, in the times next following those of the New Testament, says Ignatius: 'Let [f] us no longer sabbatize, but keep the Lord's-day, on which our life arose.'

Justin Martyr: 'And [g] on the day called Sunday, is an assembly of all who live either in the 'city or the country, and the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets are read.' He afterwards assigns their reasons [h] for meeting together on the Sunday: which are, because it is the first day, on which God dispelling darkness created the world, and our Saviour Jesus Christ rose from the dead on the same day: or in the words of a later writer, in the sixth century, on [i] the first day of the week, that is, on the Lord's-day the foundation of the world was laid, and the creation was begun.

Dionysius bishop of Corinth, in his letter to the church of Rome, says: 'To-day [k] we cele-'brated the holy Lord's-day, when we read your epistle to us.'

Clement of Alexandria mentions [l] the Lord's-day.

Tertullian rejects [m] sabbaths and new moons, as foreign to Christians, and speaks of the Lord's-day, and Pentecost, as Christian solemnities.

Origen, in a passage cited not long before, mentions the Lord's-day, but says nothing of the sabbath.

[a] Ad extremum, de sabbati religionis inter pseudodiataxes apostolicas exstat Petri ac Pauli nomine edita sanctio l. viii. c. 33, 'ut eo die ac Dominico servi ab opere feriati sint.' Hoc vero numquam ab apostolis manâsse decretum apparet ex eo, quod Laodicense Concilium, can. 29. diserte vetat sabbato otiosos esse Christianos. Ὅτι ου δει Χριστιανους Ιουδαϊζειν, και εν τω σαββατω σχολαζειν, αλλα εργαζεσθαι αυτους εν τη αυτη ημερα, την δε κυριακην προτιμωντας, ειτε δυναιντο, σχολαζειν, ως Χριστιανοι. Dominicis potius quam sabbatis, vacare jubet: & addit tamen, si illorum commodo fieri potest. Ut nondum illis temporibus ab omni opere feriatos esse penitus constitutum fuerit, uti Zonaras & Balsamo ad illum canonem adnotant. Petav. ib. p. 360.

[b] Των γαρ πανταχου της οικουμενης εκκλησιων εν ημερα σαββατων, καθα πασαν εβδομαδος περιοδον επιτελουσων τα μυστηρια, οι εν Αλεξανδρεια, και οι εν Ρωμη, εκ τινος αρχαιας παραδοσεως, τουτο ποιειν παρητησαντο. Socr. H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 286. D.

[c] Αμελει οι μεν και τω σαββατω, ὁμοιως τη μια σαββατου εκκλησιαζουσιν, ως εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, και σχεδον πανταχου. Εν Ρωμη δε, και Αλεξανδρεια, ουκετι. Soz. l. vii. c. 19. p. 735. B.

[d] Sed modum excedit Græculus. Cotel. in loc.

[e] Ει τις κυριακην η σαββατον νηστευει, πλην ενος σαββατου, ουτος Χριστοκτονος εστιν. Ignat. adscript. Ep. ad Philip. n. 14. p. 124.

[f] ——μηκετι σαββατιζοντες, αλλα κατα κυριακην ζωην ζωντες, εν ᾗ και ζωη ημων ανετειλεν δι' αυτου. Ignat. ad magnes. cap. ix. p. 20.

[g] Και τη του ηλιου λεγομενη ημερα παντων κατα πολεις η αγρους μενοντων επι το αυτο συνελευσις γινεται. κ. λ. Apol. 2. al. 1. p. 98. D. Paris. 1636.

[h] Την δε του ηλιου ημεραν κοινη παντες την συνελευσιν ποιουμεθα, επειδαν πρωτη εστιν ημερα, εν ᾗ ὁ Θεος, το σκοτος και την υλην τρεψας, κοσμον εποιησε, και Ιησους Χριστος, ὁ ημετερος σωτηρ, τη αυτη ημερα εκ νεκρων ανεστη. Ibid. p. 99. A. B.

[i] Εν τη α ημερα, τελεστι τη κυριακη, ᾗ καταβολη του κοσμου και ἡ αρχη της κτισεως εγενετο. Cosmæ Ægypt. Topogr. l. ii. p. 154. E. edit. Montfauç.

[k] Την σημερον αγιαν κυριακην αγιαν ημεραν διηγουμεν. κ. λ. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 23. p. 145. B.

[l] Ουτως ενοχλην την καθα το ευαγγελιον διαπραξαμενος κυριακην την ημεραν ποιεις. Str. 7. p. 744. C. D.

[m] Nobis, quibus sabbata extranea sunt, & neomeniæ, & feriæ, a Deo aliquando dilectæ.——O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quæ nullam solemnitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat! Non Dominicum Diem, non Pentecosten, etiam si nôssent, nobiscum communicâssent. De Idolatr. cap. 14. p. 113. C.

I might likewise refer to what Eusebius says of Constantine's respect for the [a] Lord's-day. And I shall place in the margin some observations [b] of Petavius, agreeing with, and confirming what is here said.

So that the respect shewn for the sabbath, and joining it with the Lord's-day, are no marks of the antiquity of the Constitutions, but rather otherwise.

(13.) Several inferior officers of the church mentioned in the Constitutions, were not in being in the apostolical times, nor immediately after them. Beside bishops, presbyters, and deacons, here [c] are readers, singers, subdeacons, door-keepers, and porters, and exorcists. Cotelerius says, that [d] Ignatius at the beginning of the second century mentions only bishops, presbyters, and deacons; readers are first mentioned by Tertullian; subdeacons, exorcists, acolyths, and door-keepers, in the letters of Cyprian and Cornelius, about the middle of the third century. In the eighth book of this work are forms of [e] ordination for subdeacons, readers, exorcists. It is also constituted that [f] ministers or deacons, singers, readers, door-keepers, should marry but once.

(14.) The authority of Christian bishops is highly advanced in these Constitutions, in a way that does not suit the doctrine, or the character of Christ's apostles.

(15.) 'Upon [g] this account therefore, O bishop, take care to be pure in thy actions, behaving 'agreeably to thy place and dignity, as sustaining the character of God among men: being set 'over men, priests, kings, rulers, fathers, sons, masters, and all who are subject to thee. 'Judge therefore with authority, as God: but receive the penitent.' That is the character which the Constitutions direct a bishop to sustain, of God among men: whereas St. Paul says, "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God," Tit. i. 7. Compare 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, and 1 Pet. iv. 10.

(16.) 'For [h] it is not fit that you, O bishop, who are the head, should hearken to the tail, that 'is a seditious layman, to the destruction of another, but to God alone. For you are to govern 'those subject to you, and not to be governed by them.'

(17.) 'Let [i] a layman honour a good bishop, love and fear him, as lord and master, as the 'high-priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that hears him, hears Christ: and he that 'despiseth him despiseth Christ.'

(18.) 'You [k] therefore, O bishops, are to your people priests and Levites,——who stand at 'the altar of the Lord our God, and offer to him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices, through 'Jesus the great high-priest.'

(19.) 'Be [l] you [or you are] to the laity among you prophets, rulers, governors, and kings: 'mediators between God and his faithful people, who receive and declare his word.'

(20.) 'The [m] bishop, he is the minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator 'between God and you in the several parts of divine worship. He is the teacher of piety: he 'is after God your father, who has begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the 'Spirit; he is [n] your ruler and governor, your king and potentate; he is, after God, your God

[a] Vid. de Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 18. & 23. Et Conf. Valesii Annot. in l. iv. c. 18. n. 242, 243.

[b] Denique quod Epiphanius admonet: 'triplicem illam 'synaxin dierum totidem ab apostolis esse traditam:' haud scio, an satis certo constare queat. Nam primis ecclesiæ temporibus unus duntaxat Dominicus dies ad eam rem observatus videtur, ut ex apostolo 1 ad Cor. cap. xvi. colligitur. Quinetiam Justinus in Apol. ii. cum de Christianorum conventibus agit, solius Dominicæ meminit: Την δε τε ηλιε ημεραν κοινη παντες την συνελευσιν ποιεμεθα. Quare magis id ex privato ecclesiæ cujusque ritu, quam ex communi apostolorum præscripto derivatum existimo, ut quartâ sextâve feriâ, aut etiam sabbato synaxes conventusque fierent. Quam in rem egregius est Augustini locus ep. 18. 'Alia vero,' inquit, 'quæ per 'loca terrarum regionesque variantur, sicuti est, quod alii 'jejunant sabbato, alii vero non: alii quotidie communicant 'corpori & sanguini dominico—alibi sabbato tantum & Dominico: alibi tantum Dominico: & si quid aliud hujusmodi 'animadverti potest, totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet 'observationes.' Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. p. 354. fin.

[c] Vid. l. ii. c. 25. p. 238. l. viii. c. 21—28.

[d] Aperte quidem S. Ignatius, qui initio secundi sæculi scripsit, agnoscit solummodo tres majores gradus, episcopatum, presbyteratum, diaconatum. Primus vero, quod sciam, Lectores nominavit Tertullianus. Libro de Pr. Hæreticorum cap. 41. Hypodiaconi autem, Exorcistæ & Acolythi, non comparent ante Cyprianicas epistolas, & epistolam Cornelii papæ, quæ etiam Ostiarios adjungit. &c. Ad Const. l. ii. c. 25. not. 75.

[e] Vid. l. viii. c. 21, 22. 26.

[f] ——υπηρεσιας δε και ψαλτωδες, και αναγνωστας, και πυλωρες, και αυτες μονογαμες ειναι κελευομεν. L. vi. c. 17. p. 347.

[g] ——γνωρισον τον τροπον σε και την αξιαν, ως Θεε τυπον εχων εν ανθρωποις, τω παντων αρχειν ανθρωπων. L. ii. c. xi.

[h] Ουδε γαρ δικαιον, κεφαλην ουσα σε, ω επισκοπε, ερα προσεχειν, τετλεσι λαϊκω σαστωδει ανθρωπω——αρχειν γαρ σε χρη των υπηκοων, α μεν υπ' αυτων αρχεσθαι. L. ii. c. 14. p. 223.

[i] ——ως κυριον, ως δεσποτην.——L. ii. c. 20, in.

[k] L. ii. c. 25. p. 237.

[l] Τμεις τοις εν υμιν λαϊκοις εσε προφηται, αρχοντες, και ηγεμενοι, και βασιλεις. κ. λ. Ibid.

[m] L. ii. c. 26. p. 239.

[n] Ουτος αρχων και ηγεμενος υμων: ουτος υμων βασιλευς, και δυναστης· ουτος υμιν επιτειος Θεος μετα Θεον, ος οφειλει της παρ' υμων τιμης απολαυειν. κ. λ. Ibid.

'on earth, who ought to be honoured by you.———Let the bishop preside over you, as honoured 'with the authority of God, with which he rules over the clergy, and governs all the people.'

(21.) 'These[a] do you esteem your governors and kings: and pay tribute to them as kings.' The apostles of Christ knew how to direct and secure a competent maintenance for Christian ministers, without using such language as this, which could not, in this case, proceed from a humble temper of mind.

(22.) Soon after in the same chapter: 'By[b] how much therefore the soul is more valuable 'than the body, so much the priesthood excels the kingdom:——therefore you ought to love 'the bishop as a father, fear him as king, and honour him as lord.'

(23.) 'For[c] if he who rises up against kings is worthy of punishment;——how much more 'he who rises up against the priests? For by how much the priesthood is more noble than the 'royal power, as having its concern about the soul; so much the greater punishment has he, 'who ventures (or dares) to oppose the priesthood, than he who opposes the royal power, though 'neither of them goes unpunished.'

(24.) '——why[d] then should not you esteem the dispensers of the word as prophets, and 'reverence them as gods.'

(25.) 'You[e] ought therefore, my brethren, to bring your sacrifices and offerings to the bishop 'as to your high-priest, either by yourselves, or by your deacons. Nor do you bring those only, 'but likewise bring to him first fruits, and tithes, and free-will offerings. For he knows who are 'in affliction, and gives to every one, as is convenient.' So then the bishop is to have the distribution of all the gifts of the laity: but he is not accountable to them; for it follows in another chapter: 'It[f] becomes you therefore to give him to distribute: for he is the administrator and 'dispenser of ecclesiastical affairs [it should have been said, and secular affairs.] Yet[g] thou shalt 'not call thy bishop to an account, nor observe his administration or distribution; how he does 'it, when, or to whom, or where; nor whether he does it well, or ill: for there is one, who will 'call him to an account, even the Lord God, who put the administration into his hands, and 'honoured him with the priesthood.' Were ever such instructions given before or since? And can any man think, that the apostles of Christ would be at the pains to write instructions to cover or countenance mal-administration?

(26.) Having spoken of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, singers, and door-keepers, it is immediately added: 'Let[h] the laity therefore shew due honour and respect in their presents 'to each order. Nor[i] let them easily [or upon all occasions] give trouble to the governor: but 'let them signify their desires by the ministers, that is, the deacons, with whom they may be 'more free. For neither may we have access to Almighty God, but through Christ; in like 'manner let the laity make known their desires to the bishop by a deacon, and do as he directs.' Very fine, truly! for our Constitution-bishop is an eastern prince, who may not be seen or spoken to by mean people.

3. Several things in the Constitutions appear to be unworthy of the apostles of Christ.

(1.) I am unwilling to insist upon the direction relating to the beard, though it be joined with other things of a like kind, as we have[k] in our present Constitutions, forbidding the wearing of fine stockings and shoes, and combing and curling the hair. However, two or three things I shall mention, and leave them to be considered by others.

(2.) Concerning receiving persons to baptism: 'Let[l] a concubine, who is servant to an 'unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received: but if she be incontinent with 'others, let her be rejected.' Few[m] will think, that St. Paul would deliver this Constitution, as he is here represented to do.

(3.) The Constitution concerning married pregnant women[n] I take to be contrary to the order of nature, and the appointment of Providence. God joined one man and one woman in

[a] Τιμᾶς ἀρχοντας ὑμων και βασιλεις ἡγεισθε· και δασμους, ὡς βασιλευσι, προσφερετε. L. ii. c. 24. in. p. 244.

[b] Ib. p. 245. [c] L. vi. cap. 2. p. 330.

[d] L. ii. cap. 29.

[e] L. ii. cap. 27. p. 241. Conf. l. v. cap. 1.

[f] L. ii. c. 35. fin.

[g] Ου μεν τοι λοιδορησεις σε τον επισκοπον, ουδε παραληρησεις την οικονομιαν αυτου, πως επιτελει, η ποτε, η τισιν, η που, η ει καλως, η φαυλως, η δεοντως, κ. λ. Ib.

[h] L. ii. cap. 28.

[i] Μη ραδιως δε ενοχλειτωσαν τω αρχοντι, αλλα δια των ὑπηρετων ἁ βουλονται σημαινετωσαν, τουτεστι δια των διακονων, προς ὡς πλεον παρρησιαζεσθωσαν. Ibid.

[k] Vid. Const. l. i. c. 3.

[l] Παλλακη τινος απιστου ουσης, εκεινῳ μονῳ σχολαζουσα, προσδεχεσθω. L. viii. c. 32. p. 413.

[m] Hæc scilicet Paulus decrevit? Has ille leges tulit? &c. Dal. de Pseud. l. i. c. 8. p. 108.

[n] Μητε μην εγκυμονουσαις ὁμιλειτωσαν [ανδρες] αυταις· L. vi. c. 28. p. 357. f.

marriage; and designed it for mutual comfort, as well as for the preservation of the species. For certain, Lactantius,[a] the most learned Latin Christian of his time, knew nothing of this Constitution. And though he was a great admirer of purity, and all virtue, he has argued against the restraint here enjoined. This one Constitution, if strictly enforced, would render the gospel a heavier yoke than all the ordinances of the law of Moses. And wherever such an appointment should be reckoned a part of any religious institution, there would be frequent occasions for dispensations: and the rule would prove detrimental to the interests of religion and virtue, without benefit to any, but those who could get the dispensing power into their hands.

(4.) Once more: 'Concerning[b] bishops, we have heard from our Lord, that a person, 'appointed pastor or bishop in any parish should be unblameable, and not under fifty years of 'age....But in a small parish, if one advanced in years cannot be found, let a younger person 'who is of good character be admitted. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of Israel, 'and Josiah at eight years of age reigned righteously, and Joash began to reign at seven years of 'age.' This is tying and loosing, saying and unsaying, all at once; that is, it is saying nothing at all. This therefore appears to me unworthy of the apostles; for I cannot think, that they would say and unsay, all in a breath.

If any should understand this otherwise, and say, this Constitution requires that no man be ordained bishop in a city, or large parish, under fifty years of age; it is obvious to answer, that it is an[c] absurd appointment, and therefore unworthy of the apostles. Nor do we know, that the Christians of the first three centuries acted by this rule: nor, finally, is there any such canon among those which are called apostolical.

4. Inconsistencies are a disparagement to any writings: this work is not free from them.

(1.) These Constitutions mention the martyrdom of Stephen, and James the son of Zebedee, which are well known from the Acts; as also, that Stephen was stoned before Paul's conversion. And[d] yet all the twelve apostles, and Paul, and the seven deacons, are said to join together in these Constitutions. The inconsistence is manifest to every body: I need not say any thing to make it evident.

(2.) In the eighth chapter of the fifth book the apostles ordain, that martyrs be honoured, and particularly James and Stephen. And yet in the twelfth chapter of the sixth book, giving an account of the council of Jerusalem, the history of which we have in Acts xv. on occasion of the controversy concerning the method of receiving the Gentiles, it is said, 'that[e] all the twelve 'apostles were then gathered together at Jerusalem, with James the Lord's brother.' Here, I think, is an inconsistence with what had been before said of the death of James, son of Zebedee: moreover here is also certainly a mistake, or false history; for the apostle James, just mentioned, had been beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, before the meeting of the said council.

(3.) At the end of that twelfth chapter, having inserted the epistle to the church of Antioch and other churches, it is said by the apostles: 'This[f] letter we sent to them; but we ourselves 'stayed some time at Jerusalem, consulting together about the public good, and the well order-'ing of all things.' Then in the thirteenth chapter: 'But[g] after a long time we visited the 'brethren, confirming them in the word, and exhorting them to be upon their guard against 'heretics.' Then at the beginning of ch. xiv. 'On[h] whose account we now being all met 'together, Peter and Andrew, James and John, sons of Zebedee, Philip and Bartholomew, 'Thomas and Matthew, James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus surnamed Thaddeus, and Simon 'the Canaanite, and Matthias chosen in the room of Judas, and James the Lord's brother, and 'Paul, the chosen vessel and master of the Gentiles: we being all gathered together have written 'to you this catholic doctrine.' Surely I need not harangue to shew the absurdity of this. How could James brother of John, and son of Zebedee, who had been beheaded before the above-men-

[a] Nec ob aliam causam Deus, cum cæteras animantes, suscepto fetu, maribus repugnare voluisset, solam omnium mulierem patientem viri fecit; scilicet, ne, feminis repugnantibus, libido cogeret viros aliam appetere, eoque facto castitatis gloriam non tenerent. Inst. l. vi. cap. 23. p. 628.

[b] —— τον ποιμενα τον καθισταμενον επισκοπον εις τας εκκλησιας εν πασῃ παροικιᾳ —— εκ ελαττον ειων πενηκοντα. Ει δε και εν παροικιᾳ μικρᾳ. —— κ. λ. L. ii. cap. 1.

[c] This is particularly mentioned by Du Pin p. 17. as one of the absurdities found in the Apostolical Constitutions.

[d] L. viii. c. 4. Conf. l. ii. c. 55.

[e] Ἡμεις οἱ δωδεκα συνελθοντες εις Ἱερουσαλημ. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 12. p. 341. in.

[f] Την μεν ουν επιστολην εξαπεστειλαμεν· αυτοι δε εν ικαναις ἡμεραις εν Ἱεροσολυμοις επεμειναμεν, ἁμα συζητουντες περι του κοινωφελες εις διορθωσιν. p. 342. sub. fin.

[g] Μετα δε χρονον ικανον επισκεψαμενοι τους αδελφους. κ. λ.

[h] Δι ους και ἡμεις νυν επι το αυτο γενομενοι, εγραψαμεν ὑμιν την καθολικην ταυτην διδασκαλιαν. p. 343.

tioned council, be present at another, not held until a good while after it? Such things almost render the writer's abilities doubtful: and may make us question, whether he was not rather ignorant than learned, as some indeed have thought.

5. The style, or manner of expression, seems sometimes to betray a later time than is pretended.

(1.) 'Now[a] concerning the bishops, which were or have been ordained in our life-time, we 'let you know that they are these: James, bishop of Jerusalem, brother of our Lord: upon 'whose death the second was Simeon the son of Cleophas; after him Judas the son of James.' And what follows. To speak of things done by the apostles in their life-time, is rather the style of an historian after their death, than of the apostles themselves. Nor is it easy to conceive, that any number of apostles should be living to ordain a successor to Simeon; who according to[b] Eusebius's history, died in the 120th year of his age: and according to Eusebius's, or Jerom's[c] Chronicle, in the reign of Trajan, and the year of our Lord's nativity 107, or thereabout.

(2.) To the like purpose in another place: 'You[d] are not ignorant of the things done by us. 'Doubtless you know the bishops nominated by us, and the presbyters and deacons appointed by 'prayer and imposition of hands.'

(3.) 'For[e] as we passed through the nations, and confirmed the churches, some we cured 'with healing words——but those who were incurable we cast out from the flock.———These 'things we did in every city, every where throughout the whole world.' This is not written by the apostles, but by some historian after their time.

(4.) Again, 'For[f] by the laying on of our hands, the Holy Ghost was given to believers.' But if the apostles had spoke, they would have said: 'The Holy Ghost is given by us.' The expression in the Constitutions shews, they were written at a time when spiritual gifts were no longer bestowed by the apostles.

(5.) Speaking of heretics: 'All[g] these had one and the same design.' Afterwards, 'Others[h] 'said; and[i] others taught.' Here the writer betrays himself: this is the style of an historian who writes of things past; not of one who relates things then doing, or gives an account of persons then in being. I put in the margin a remark of[k] Daillé upon some of the expressions just cited.

VII. All these things must be more than sufficient to satisfy us, that the Constitutions, in eight books, are not a work of the apostles: and since they bear their name, without reason, we are unavoidably constrained to own, they are an imposture. The nature of such a crime is well known, and I need not aggravate it. The character[l] of a writer of this kind may be better taken from Abp. Usher, than from me. But I think, that any man may justly recommend to the contrivers and patrons of such works, the serious consideration of those words of Solomon, Prov. xxx. 6. "Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar."

The exact time of the work cannot be determined: but as divers learned men have delivered their conjectures, I may take the liberty to say, I incline to their opinion, who think it was composed in the latter part of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. The author, probably, was a bishop of a proud and haughty spirit, who was fond of church power, and loved pomp and ceremony in religious worship. Many learned moderns think he was an Arian; but I do not concern myself about that; the passages which have been supposed to favour Arianism, make a very small, or no part of the preceding collections: I have no reason, therefore, to bring that point into the conclusion. But I presume, that none ever suspected the author to be a Homoüsian.

VIII. Whoever was the author of this work, it is fit we should observe his testimony to the scriptures: for as the work is of some length, we may expect to see therein, in some measure, the sentiments and practice of the Christians of his time concerning them.

[a] Περι δε των υφ' ημων χειροτονηθεντων επισκοπων εφ τη ζωη τη ημετερα. κ. λ. L. vii. c. 46. in.

[b] H. E. l. iii. c. 32. p. 104. C.

[c] P. 165.

[d] L. viii. c. 46. p. 422. in.

[e] L. vi. c. 18. p. 349.

[f] Και γαρ δια της επιθεσεως των ημετερων χειρων εδιδοτο πνευμα αγιον τοις πιστευουσι. L. ii. c. 41. p. 250.

[g] Τουτοις δε πασιν — σκοπος ην εις. L. vi. c. 10. in.

[h] Ετεροι δε εξ αυτων ελεγον. Ib.

[i] Αλλοι δε—εδιδασκον. Ibid.

[k] Nimirum iis temporibus vixit impostor, quibus utrique illi hæretici apud Christianos esse desierant. De Pseudep. Ap. l. i. c. 6. p. 96.

[l] Ita enim bipedum nequissimus, qui Clementis personam quinto post excessum ipsius seculo, induit. &c. Dissertat. Ignat. cap. vi. fin.

1. 'And[a] the reader standing upon an eminence, in the middle of the church: let him read 'the books of Moses, and of Joshua the son of Nun, the Judges, the Kingdoms, and the 'Chronicles, and those[b] concerning the return from the captivity, and beside these the book 'of Job, and Solomon, and the sixteen prophets. And when there have been two readings, [or 'when two readings are over] let another sing [or read in a chanting manner] the hymns of 'David;[c] and let the people repeat the conclusions in a chanting voice. Afterwards let our 'Acts be read, and the epistles of Paul, our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under 'the conduct of the Holy Spirit. And afterwards let a deacon, or a presbyter, read the gospels 'which I Matthew, and I John, delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul, 'Mark, and Luke received and left to you. After this let one of the presbyters exhort the 'people, and last of all the bishop.'

Many remarks might be made here; but the most important are obvious, and cannot well be overlooked by any. The author received four gospels, and no more; also the Acts of the apostles, and St. Paul's epistles. Why the epistles of James, Peter, Jude, and John, are omitted may not be easy to say; but that he received others, beside those here mentioned, will appear presently. As Mark is here considered as a fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul, it is likely, the writer means Mark, nephew to Barnabas, often mentioned in the Acts, and in several of St. Paul's epistles, Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11, Philem. 24.

2. In the above passage, the names of all the evangelists, writers of the four gospels, are expressly named. The Acts of the apostles likewise is in this work ascribed to[d] St. Luke.

3. All St. Paul's epistles are here quoted, and most of them several times, particularly that to the Hebrews.

4. The writer received other epistles of apostles, beside those of Paul, as appears from those words, 'And[e] after the reading of the law, and the prophets, and our epistles, and the Acts of 'the apostles.' That direction is given in the name of the twelve[f] apostles.

5. There are supposed to be four or five quotations or references to the epistle of[g] St. James; but they are not all clear.

6. It should be here observed by us, that this writer did not esteem James, brother of the Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, one of the twelve apostles. He is distinguished from them in several places[h] of this work.

7. There are several plain quotations of the first epistle of Peter. I put in the margin[i] one or two: I transcribe one here for the sake of its singularity. 'You[k] therefore are the holy and 'sacred church of God, "written" or inrolled "in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a 'peculiar people," a bride adorned for the Lord God.' Here is a reference to Heb. xii. 23. and 1 Pet. ii. 9. Whether there be in the last words a reference to the Revelation, deserves to be considered; he may refer to[l] Rev. xxi. 2. Or, perhaps he has no text of scripture at all in his eye.

8. There are no[m] clear references to the second epistle of St. Peter.

9. There are not in the Constitutions any quotations of the three epistles of St. John, or of the epistle of St. Jude.

10. Some may wonder, that when there are so many quotations of St. Paul's epistles, and of most other books of the New Testament, there should be so few quotations of the catholic epistles. But that wonder may be abated, when we consider how little notice is taken of the catholic epistles, in comparison with Paul's, by divers learned Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who lived in the east.

St. Chrysostom, of the fourth century, has left homilies, or commentaries, upon the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the Acts of the apostles, and St. Paul's fourteen epistles, but none

[a] L. ii. c. 57. p. 261, 262.

[b] Και τα της επανοδȣ. Ib.

[c] Ανα δυο δε γενομενων αναγνωσματων, ἑτερος τις τας τȣ Δαβιδ ψαλλετω ὑμνȣς, και ὁ λαος τα ακροστιχια ὑποψαλλετο. Ibid.

[d] Ὡς πȣ λεγει ὁ Λȣκας. Ὡν ηρξατο ὁ Ιησȣς ποιειν και διδασκειν. [Act. i. 1.] L. ii. c. 6. p. 217. in.

[e] Και μετα την αναγνωσιν τȣ νομȣ, και των προφητων, των τε επιστολων ἡμων, και των Πραξεων, και των ευαγγελιων. L. viii. c. 5. p. 392.

[f] Vid. ib. c. 4. in.

[g] Vid. l. ii. c. 8. et c. 58. p. 266. l. vii. c. 5. l. viii. c. 2.

[h] Vid. l. ii. c. 55. l. vi. cap. 12. in. & c. 14. l. viii. c. 46.

[i] Lib. iii. c. 15. sub fin. l. vii. c. 2. l. v. c. 16. p. 321. l. vi. c. 29.

[k] Και ὑμεις ȣν εστε ἁγια τȣ θεȣ ιερα εκκλησια απογεγραμμενη εν ȣρανῳ, βασιλειον ἱερατευμα, εθνος ἁγιον, λαος εις περιποιησιν, νυμφη κεκαλλωπισμενη κυριῳ τῳ θεῳ. L. ii. c. 25. p. 238. m.

[l] —— ἡτοιμασμενην ὡς νυμφην κεκοσμημενην τῳ ανδρι αὐτης. Apoc. cap. xxi. 2.

[m] Vid. l. vii. c. 14.

upon the catholic epistles. And there are in his homilies and commentaries, few quotations of the catholic epistles, in comparison of St. Paul's. In the index of scriptures, at the end of the tenth tome of his works, of the Benedictine edition, a large volume of 730 pages, containing homilies upon the first and second to the Corinthians, and commentaries upon the epistle to the Galatians, there is not one text from the catholic epistles, though there are quotations of the four gospels, the Acts, and all Paul's epistles, except that to Philemon: and of most of them several, or many quotations. In the index at the end of the eleventh tome is but one text of the first epistle of St. Peter, and one of the first epistles of St. John: whereas all St. Paul's epistles, without exception, are there quoted, and most of them often. In the index at the end of the twelfth tome there is not one text from the catholic epistles, though there are quotations of all the preceding books, or epistles of the New Testament, and several quotations of most of them. Those indexes indeed, may not be complete; I believe they are not; though, I think, they are exacter than such things generally are. However, undoubtedly texts are not omitted designedly. The Benedictine editors of St. Chrysostom's works, were as willing to collect the quotations of the catholic epistles, as of any other books of the New Testament.

Theodoret, in the fifth century, who has questions, or commentaries, upon all, or most of the books of the Old Testament, and commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epistles, has none upon the catholic epistles. Nor does he in his works quote the catholic epistles oftener than St. Chrysostom has done. It is not needful to mention more particulars of this kind.

11. If the Revelation is not quoted here, that affords no argument that the Constitutions were composed before the publishing of that book. If the Constitutions were drawn up in the latter part of the fourth, or in the fifth century, there would be little reason to expect in them any quotation of the Revelation; because at that time it was received by few Greek writers, or Christians who lived in the eastern part of the Roman empire.

12. There can be no question made, but the writer of the Constitutions received all those books of the New Testament, which were all along generally received by Christians. Whether he received those catholic epistles, which were at some times doubted of, we cannot say certainly; but it appears to me somewhat probable, that he received all those books of the New Testament, which are commonly received now by us, except the Revelation: concerning which, it is likely, he was of the same opinion with many other Greek writers of the time above-mentioned, by whom it was not received.

13. This [a] author had the history of the woman taken in adultery, which we now have in St. John's gospel, chap. viii. at the beginning.

14. The common titles and divisions of the books of scripture occur here frequently: the [b] Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel; the [c] Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Gospel, and the like.

15. The respect of the writer, and of Christians in his time, for the sacred scripture, is manifest from many passages above transcribed, where they are quoted, and where the public reading of them in the assemblies of Christians is spoken of.

16. Christians in general are exhorted to private reading the scriptures in this manner: 'Sitting [d] at home, read the Law, the Kingdoms, the Prophets, sing the hymns of David; and 'with care peruse the gospel, which is the completion of them.' More to the like purpose follows there in the next chapter.

17. When a bishop is ordained, it is appointed by all the apostles met together, 'that [e] the 'divine gospels be held open over his head by the deacons.'

IX. Concerning the Canons, the judgment of Cotelerius is, that [f] they cannot be ascribed to the apostles, or Clement, because they are not received with other books of scripture, are not quoted by the writers of the first ages, and contain in them many things not agreeable to the apostolical times.

1. I do not think myself obliged to enlarge here: they who are curious may consult [g] Beve-

[a] Vid. l. ii. c. 25. p. 236. [b] L. ii. c. 39. p. 249.
[c] L. v. c. 19. p. 323. [d] L. i. c. 5. Vid. et cap. 6.
[e] —— των δε διακονων τα θεια ευαγγελια επι της τυ χειροτονουμενυ κεφαλης ανεπτυγμενα καθεχοντων. L. viii. c. 4. p. 391.
[f] Decreta ista apostolis et Clementi tribui non debere evincit, quod cum aliis sacræ scripturæ voluminibus non legantur, quod a primorum seculorum scriptoribus non laudentur, quodque multa contineant nondum temporibus apostolicis recepta. Cotel. Jud. de Canon. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.
[g] Codex Canon. Illustrat.

ridge, [a] Daillé, [b] Turner, [c] Sam. Basnage, and also James Basnage: which last says, that [d] some of them are ancient, others not older than the seventh century. Not now particularly to mention any more authors.

2. The 85th canon contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament: I take only the latter part of it. 'But our sacred books, that is, of the New Testament, are the 'four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; fourteen epistles of Paul; two epistles of Peter; 'three of John; one of James, one of Jude; two epistles of Clement; and [e] the Constitutions 'inscribed to you bishops, by me Clement, in eight books; which ought not to be divulged be-'fore all, because of the mystical things in them; and the Acts of us the apostles.'

3. Upon this canon I need not say any thing more, than that it is not ancient, or drawn up till after the end of the third century; which I think will appear from the following observations.

(1.) The epistle to the Hebrews was rejected, or doubted of by many in the first three centuries, and also in the fourth century: but if this canon had been then in-being, and acknowledged as apostolical, that epistle would have been received by all.

(2.) Several of the catholic epistles, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and that of Jude, were rejected, or doubted of by many in the early times of Christianity: whereas they would have been received by all if this canon had been in being, and had been acknowledged to be apostolical. Mill [f] has already argued in this manner, and, I think, invincibly.

(3.) The Revelation was received by many in the second, and third, and following centuries; which it would not have been, if there had been a canon composed by the apostles, or Clement their companion, in which all other books of scripture were distinctly enumerated, and that omitted.

Baronius has very good observations, in my opinion, upon this 85th, or last canon of the apostles. How [g] could so many of the Latin and Greek writers, says he, receive the Revelation, which was wanting in an apostolical canon? And how could there have been such different opinions about the epistle to the Hebrews, and several of the catholic epistles, if they had been made canonical by an apostolical decree?

(4.) The first epistle of Clement was reckoned canonical by a very few, if any of the writers of the first three centuries: therefore this pretended apostolical canon, which placeth it among books of sacred scripture, was not in being.

(5.) The second epistle, called Clement's was not [h] esteemed his in the third century: and that it is not a genuine work of his, has been clearly [i] shewn.

(6.) The Constitutions are never reckoned among canonical books of scripture by any writers of the first three centuries.

(7.) Finally, the silence here enjoined with regard to the Constitutions, because of the 'mystical things' contained in them, is another argument, that this canon was not drawn up in the early days of Christianity. For the Disciplina arcani, or Doctrine of Arcanism, has no countenance from the authentic books of the New Testament: and was also unknown to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and other primitive Christian writers; who declare freely, and without reserve, before all the world, the principles of their religion, and their method of wor-

[a] De Pseudep. Ap. p. 581—593.

[b] As before, p. 279. &c.

[c] Canonum, qui Apostolici usurpantur, non Clementem Rom. non Alexandrinum, sed anonymum quinto seculo collectorem fuisse existimamus. Qui, corrasis complurium synodorum decretis, seculis secundo, tertio, quarto labentibus congregatarum, synodicon confecit suum. Ann. 300. n. 14. Vid. et 15—17.

[d] On peut ajoûter à ce recueil les canones des Apôtres, dont quelques uns sont assez anciens, et les autres ne sont faits qu'au septième siècle. Hist. de l'Egl. l. ix. c. 7. n. 5.

[e] Και αι Διαταξαι υμιν τοις επισκοποις δι' εμε Κλημεντος εν οκτω βιβλιοις προσπεφωνημεναι, ας ε χρη δημοσιευειν επι πασιν, δια τα εν αυταις μυστικα· και αι Πραξεις ημων των αποστολων. Can. 85.

[f] Unde constat, canonem 85 ex his qui Apostolici dicuntur, in quo epistola Jacobi, cæteræque supra memoratæ inter canonicas recensentur, haud genuinum esse, neque primis sæculis exstitisse.——Certe, si canon iste mox ab initio exstitisset, ecclesiæ ab apostolis fundatæ epistolas isto canone approbatas nequâquam repudiâssent, aut in dubium vocâssent. Proleg. n. 201.

[g] Rursum vero, quod ad novissimum illum canonem spectat, quo libri canonici recensentur; ecquis unquam antiquorum Latinorum atque Græcorum adnumerare inter canonicos libros præsumsisset Apocalypsim, quam scîsset in apostolorum canone prætermissam, qui vel saltem causam aliquam ejusmodi silentii non adduxisset?——Vel quid quod cum de his frequens inter patres oborta sit controversia, nemo penitus reperiatur, qui ejusmodi canonis vel saltem obiter meminerit? Ann. 102. n. 15, 16.

[h] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. et Hieron. de. V. I. cap. 15.

[i] See vol. i. p. 291—293.

ship; as has been often observed by learned men of late times. And, I pray, why is this reserve enjoined, with regard to the Constitutions only? Are there no 'mysteries' in any other books here mentioned? And are there not in the Constitutions many directions given to the laity, and to all men in general? Are they not at the beginning inscribed to 'all who from among the 'Gentiles have believed in Jesus Christ?' There must have been some particular reason for this caution. And possibly this may be as probable a reason as any that the composer of this canon, who was either the author, or at least a great favourer of the Constitutions, being conscious of their novelty, inserted this caution with a view to evade, or weaken, the argument against their genuineness and authority, taken from the silence of antiquity about them. I place at the bottom of the page an [a] observation of Abp. Usher to the like purpose.

Upon the whole, I think, these observations demonstrate the late date of this canon, and that it had not a being in the first three centuries, or for some time after. Consequently it deserves not the regard of Christians now, who are willing to be determined by evidence.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

RHETICIUS, BISHOP OF AUTUN.

'RHETICIUS,[b] or Reticius, bishop of Autun,' says Jerom, 'was a man of great note in Gaul, in 'the time of the emperor Constantine. There are extant his Commentaries upon the Canticles, 'and another large work against the Novatians. Nor have I met with any other writings of his.'

2. Rheticius was mentioned by us [c] formerly, in the history of the Donatists. He [d] was one of the Gallican bishops appointed by Constantine to hear Cæcilian and them, in a council at Rome in 313. He was also present at the council of Arles, relating to the same cause, in 314.

3. Rheticius's Commentary upon the Canticles is mentioned by Jerom in some of his letters. I shall place a part of what he says [e] below. He owns, that [f] there was somewhat agreeable in the style; but says, the work was of little use for assisting men to understand the sacred author. He mentions some trifling thoughts: and blames Rheticius for not having first consulted Origen, and other interpreters, before he attempted to write a commentary himself.

4. Rheticius is mentioned by Augustine in his writings against the Pelagians. He speaks [g]

[a] Ita enim bipedum nequissimus, qui Clementis personam (quinto post excessum ipsius sæculo) induit, Constitutionibus a seipso interpolatis, et in aliam pene speciem transformatis, canonicam auctoritatem conciliare conatus est: eâ tamen ad mysterium iniquitatis suæ celandum cautione adhibitâ, ut eas nullo modo divulgandas——præciperet. Ex quibus et Albaspinæus [Obs. l. i. c. 13.] recte observavit, Constitutiones hasce primis seculis factas non esse; cum primi seculi Christiani sua lubentes mysteria, ut vel ex Justino constat, enuntiarent. Usser. Proleg. seu Diss. Ignat. cap. vi. fin.

[b] Rheticius, Æduorum, id est, Augustodunensis Episcopus, sub Constantino celeberrimæ famæ habitus est in Galliis. Leguntur ejus Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum, et aliud grande volumen adversus Novatianum. Nec præter hæc quidquam ejus operum reperi. De V. I. cap. 82.

[c] See p. 297.

[d] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 5. p. 39. et Optat. l. i. c. 13.

[e] Ob hoc et ego obsecro, et tu ut petas plurimum quæso, ut tibi beati Rheticii Augustodunensis episcopi Commentarios ad describendum largiatur, in quibus Canticum Canticorum sublimi ore disseruit. Ad Florent. ep. 4. al. 6. T. iv. p. 6. in.

[f] Nuper quum Rheticii Augustodunensis episcopi, qui quondam a Constantino imperatore sub Silvestro episcopo ob causam Montensium missus est Romam, Commentarios in Canticum Canticorum perlegissem,——vehementer miratus sum, virum eloquentem, præter ineptias sensuum cæterorum, Tharsis urbem putâsse Tarsum, in quâ Paulus apostolus natus sit.——Innumerabilia sunt, quæ in illius mihi Commentariis sordere visa sunt. Est quidem sermo compositus, et Gallicano cothurno fluens. Sed quid ad interpretem, cujus professio est, non quo ipse disertus appareat, sed quo eum, qui lecturus est, sic faciat intelligere, quomodo ipse intellexit qui scripsit? Rogo, non habuerat Origenis volumina? non interpretes cæteros? non certe aliquos necessarios Hebræorum, ut aut interrogaret, aut legeret, quid sibi vellent quæ ignorabat? Sed tam male videtur existimâsse de cæteris, ut nemo possit de ejus erroribus judicare. Frustra ergo a me ejusdem viri Commentarios postulas, quum mihi in illis displiceant multo plura, quam placeant. &c. Ad Marcell. Ep. 133. al. ep. 10. inter criticas. T. ii. p. 662. 624.

[g] Rheticium ab Augustoduno episcopum magnæ auctoritatis in ecclesiâ tempore episcopatûs sui, gesta illa ecclesiastica nobis indicant, quando in urbe Româ, Melchiade apostolicæ sedis episcopo præsidente, cum aliis judex interfuit, Donatumque damnavit, qui prior auctor Donatistarum schismatis fuit, & Cæcilianum episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginensis absolvit. Is cum de baptismo ageret, ita locutus est: 'Hanc igitur prin-'cipalem esse in ecclesiâ indulgentiam, neminem præteriit, in 'quâ antiqui criminis omne pondus exponimus, et ignorantiæ 'nostræ facinora prisca delemus, ubi et veterem hominem

of him, as a man of great repute in his time, and has twice quoted a passage of his concerning baptism, as favouring the doctrine of original sin. But it does not appear whence that passage is taken; whether from one of the books mentioned by Jerom, or from some other work, or from the debates in one of the councils above taken notice of.

5. I have thought it best to give some account of this eminent bishop and commentator, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, though his writings are not now extant. And I refer my readers [a] to some learned moderns, whom they may consult, if they think fit.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

TRIPHYLLIUS.

1. TRIPHYLLIUS [b] bishop of a city in Cyprus about the year 340, and afterwards, was a man of great repute for eloquence in the time of the emperor Constantius, as we learn from Jerom, whose article I place at length [c] below. He assures us that Triphyllius wrote a Commentary upon the Canticles, which he had read, and divers other works, which he had not met with. Triphyllius is likewise placed by Jerom among [d] other eminent Christian writers in his letter to Magnus.

2. Suidas in his Lexicon [e] says: 'Triphyllius, a bishop, and disciple of Spyridion of Cyprus, 'who wrought many miracles, wrote an account of our holy father Spyridion.' It is not unlikely, that this may be one of the many works of Triphyllius, which Jerom had not met with.

3. Sozomen relates divers things of Spyridion, or Spyridon, which are not very easy to be credited. One story however may be true enough; it is to this purpose. There [f] being upon some occasion a synod of the bishops of Cyprus, Spyridion and Triphyllius were present. Triphyllius had studied the Roman laws at Berytus for a considerable time, and was in repute likewise for his skill in other parts of learning. At an assembly for divine worship, Triphyllius was called upon to preach; and when he alleged that text [Mark ii. 9.] "Arise, take up thy bed," or couch, "and walk:" instead of the popular word in the evangelist, he made use of another Greek word, reckoned more elegant: at which Spyridion being much offended, rose up from his seat, and before all the people said aloud, 'Are you better than he who said 'couch,' that you are 'ashamed to use his expressions?'

4. If this be true, we have an argument of the virtue, particularly of the humility of Triphyllius, in that work of his where he celebrated Spyridion and his miracles. The public reproof which he had received, produced no lasting resentment in his mind; he still honoured his master: he was therefore both a learned and a good man, though, as it seems, too credulous.

'cum ingenitis sceleribus exuimus.' Audis 'antiqui criminis 'pondus.' Audis 'prisca facinora.' Audis 'cum sceleribus 'ingenitis hominem veterem.' Et audes adversus hæc ruinosam construere novitatem? Contr. Julian. Pelagian. l. i. cap. iii. n. 7. T. 10. P. i.

Si vis agnoscere vetustatem, ex quâ parvuli Christianâ gratiâ renovantur, audi fideliter quod ait homo Dei Rheticius ab Augustoduno episcopus, qui cum Melchiade Romano episcopo quondam judex sedit, Donatumque damnavit hæreticum. Hic enim, cum de Christiano baptismate loqueretur, 'Hanc 'igitur,' inquit, 'principalem esse in ecclesiâ indulgentiam.'—Audisne, non postea perpetrata, sed etiam ingenita scelera veteris hominis?' Numquid Manichæus fuit iste Rheticius? Op. Imperf. l. i. cap. cv. T. 10. P. 2.

[a] Vid Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 173. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 82. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 26. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Donatistes. Art. 12.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 206. Fabr. Bib. Ec. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 92.

[c] Triphyllius, Cypri Ledrensis, sive Leucotheon, episcopus, eloquentissimus suæ ætatis, et sub rege Constantio celeberrimus fuit. Legi ejus in Cantica Canticorum commentarios. At multa alia composuisse fertur, quæ in nostras manus minime pervenerunt. De Vir. Ill cap. 92.

[d] Exstant et—libri—et Triphyllii Cyprii. Ep. 83. T. iv. p. 656.

[e] V. Τριφυλλιος.

[f] ——και Τριφυλλιον τον Λεδρων επισκοπον ανδρα αλλως τε ελλοδιμον, και δια νομων ασκησιν πολυν· χρονον εν τη βερυτιων πολει διατριψαντα. Συναξεως δε επιτελουμενης, επιτραπεις Τριφυλλιος διδαξαι το πληθος, επει το ῥητον εκεινο παραδειν εις μεσον εδεησε, το αρον σου τον κραββατον, και περιπατει, σκιμποδα αντι του κραββατου, μεταβαλων το ονομα, ειπε. Και ὁ Σπυριδιων αδανακτησας, ου συδε, εφη, αμεινων του κραββατον ειρηκοτος, ὁτι ταις αυτου λεξεσιν επαισχυνη κεχρησθαι; τουτο ειπων, απεπηδησε του ἱερατικου θρονου, του δημου ὁρωντος, κ. λ. Sozom. l. i. c. 11. p. 416, 417.

5. Rufinus [a] supposes Spyridion to have been present at the council of Nice: and tells divers strange stories of him, which Socrates [b] transcribed into his Ecclesiastical History. They who desire to know more of Spyridion, may consult [c] Tillemont.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

FORTUNATIANUS.

1. As Jerom has a chapter for Fortunatianus, I transcribe it [d] below. He was born in Africa, but was bishop of Aquileia in Italy. In the reign of Constantius he wrote short commentaries or notes upon the gospels in a homely style. Fortunatianus is placed by Cave [e] at the year 340.

2. Though Jerom there speaks of Fortunatianus's commentaries as brief and rustic, he did not entirely neglect them. In a letter to Paul of Concordia, still extant, he intreats him [f] to send him those commentaries; and in the preface to his own commentary upon St. Matthew, he acknowledges, that [g] he had read what Fortunatianus had written upon that gospel.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

PHOTINUS.

I. *His history.* II. *Principles.* III. *Writings.* IV. *Character.* V. *Scriptures received by him.* VI. *His sect subsisted for some time.*

I. 'Photinus of Galatia,' says [h] Jerom, 'disciple of Marcellus, and bishop of Sirmium, endea-'voured to revive the heresy of Ebion. Being afterwards banished by the emperor Valentinian, 'he wrote many volumes; among which, the chief are his books against the Gentiles, and to 'Valentinian.'

Photinus was a native of Galatia, as Jerom intimates, and probably of Ancyra, the chief city. The same is intimated by [i] others. Jerom here, and [k] Sulpicius Severus, and [l] others, call him disciple of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, of whom we have spoken [m] formerly. He [n] is also said to have been deacon to Marcellus.

[a] Ex eorum numero (et si quid adhuc eminentius) fuisse dicitur etiam Spyridion Cyprius episcopus, vir unus ex ordine prophetarum: quantum etiam nos eorum, qui eum viderunt, relatione comperimus, &c. Rufin. H. E. l. i. cap. 5.

[b] Socr. l. i. c. 12. [c] Mem. Ec. T. vii.

[d] Fortunatianus, natione Afer, Aquileiensis episcopus, imperante Constantio, in Evangelia, titulis ordinatis, brevi et rustico sermone scripsit commentarios. Et in hoc habetur detestabilis, quod Liberium Romanæ Urbis episcopum, pro fide ad exilium pergentem, primus solicitavit ac fregit, et ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit. De V. I. cap. 97. Vid. Fabr. in h. l. et conf. Tillemont. Mem. T. vi. Les Ariens. art. 51. et 69. [e] H. L. T. i. p. 206.

[f] Et ne putes modica esse quæ deprecor——scilicet Commentarios Fortunatiani—Ad Paul. Concord. ep. 10. al. 21. T. iv. p. 17. in.

[g] Legisse me fateor in Matthæum—et Latinorum, Hilarii, Victorini Fortunatiani opuscula. Prolog. in Matt. T. iv.

[h] Photinus de Gallogræciâ, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis hæresim instaurare conatus est. Postea a Valentiniano principe pulsus ecclesiâ plura scripsit volumina: in quibus vel præcipua sunt contra Gentes, et ad Valentinianum libri. De Vir. Ill. cap. 107.

[i] ——γενος της μικρας Γαλαλιας. Socr. l. ii. c. 18. p. 96. D.

Οι απο Μαρκελλε και Φωτεινε αγκυροβαλαιων. Ap. eund. cap. 19. p. 99. B.

[k] Et tamen hoc ipsum Marcellum gravabat, quia Photinus auditor ejus fuisse in adolescentiâ videbatur. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Socr. l. ii. c. 36.

[l] ——Μαρκελλε τε τε καθηγημενε μαθητης, ακολεθων τω διδασκαλω, κ. λ. Socr. l. c. 18. p. 96. D.

[m] See p. 395.

[n] Photinus Sirmiensis episcopus fuit a Marcello imbutus. Nam et diaconus sub eo aliquamdiu fuit. Hilar. Fragment. ii. n. 19. p. 1275.

The time when Photinus was ordained bishop of Sirmium, is not exactly known; nor when he first began to publish his peculiar principles, whether in 341, or 343: but he was first condemned by the Arians or Eusebians [a] in a synod held at Antioch in 344, or 345. He was afterwards condemned in several councils. But it was not easy to remove him, because [b] of the affection which the people of Sirmium had for him, who would not part with him. In the end he was condemned and deposed in a council at Sirmium, held in 351, as is now generally supposed: after which he was banished. There being some difficulties about the time of the just-mentioned council, and other councils relating to Photinus, which for the sake of brevity I do not choose to concern myself with; I refer to several learned [c] moderns, who have written his history, in which there are divers intricacies.

Jerom says, that Photinus was banished by Valentinian; which creates a difficulty: for the council of Sirmium, by which Photinus was deposed, and after which he was banished, was held in the time of Constantius, who died in 361, whereas Valentinian did not begin to reign before 364. Some [d] therefore have thought, that what Jerom says here is a slip of memory, or mistake through haste, putting Valentinian for Constantius. Others [e] account for it in this manner; Photinus, they suppose, must have been restored by the edict of Julian, together with other bishops banished in the reign of Constantius; and Photinus was banished a second time, in the time of Valentinian, if Jerom is not mistaken. And indeed, there is in Facundus [f] a letter of Julian to Photinus, if it be genuine; and it is very complaisant.

It is concluded from Jerom's [g] Chronicle, that Photinus died in 375 or 376. He seems to have been living, when [h] Epiphanius wrote the article of his heresy in 375. Optatus [i] who wrote about 368, may be understood to speak of him as then living.

Whenever that council of Sirmium was held, by which Photinus was deposed and banished, there [k] was a conference held concerning his doctrine, at his request. The principal disputant on the other side was Basil the Arian bishop of Ancyra, who had been put in the room of Marcellus: and it is said, that Basil triumphed in the argument. The disputation was taken down by notaries appointed for that purpose; and there were several copies made of it, one to be sent to the emperor Constantius, another for the synod, and a third for the courtiers that were present, and before whom the conference was held by the emperor's order. But there is nothing of it remaining: if it had been still extant, in all probability it would have appeared curious to some in our times.

Socrates says, that [l] after Photinus had been deposed, the bishops offered to restore him if he would recant: but he refused. Sozomen [m] speaks to the like purpose. And perhaps Philaster refers to this, in a place to be taken notice of by and by: where he says, that Photinus refused to subscribe the creed which the synod had composed.

Germinius, an Arian, often mentioned by Athanasius, and the ecclesiastical historians, was successor of Photinus.

II. Accounts of Photinus's principles may be seen in many authors, particularly in the Symbol of the Eusebian council at Antioch, where he was first condemned. They [n] join him and

[a] Vid. Athanas. de Synod. n. vi. vii. et conf. Socrat. l. ii. cap. 18, 19.

[b] Verum inter hæc Sirmium convenitur Photinus hæreticus comprehensus, olim reus pronuntiatus, et a communione jampridem unitatis abscissus, nec tum quidem per factionem populi potuit amoveri. Hilar. Fragm. ii. n. 21. p. 1299. Vid. et n. 22.

[c] Vid. Cav. H. L. Ann. 344. T. i. p. 209, and Life of St. Athanasius, n. xi. p. 127—129. in Lives of the Fathers of the fourth century. Du Pin. Bib. T. ii. p. 112. Tillem. Mem. T. vi. Les Ariens. Art. 37. 41. 44. 46, 47. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 314. et seq. T. xi. p. 378. not. Petav. Diss. de Photin. Damnat. ap. Labb. Concil. T. ii. p. 279. &c. et Animadvers. in Epiphan. H. 73. p. 304, &c. Tho. Ittigii Historia Photini in App. ad librum de Hæresiarchis. Diss. M. Larrogue de Photino hæretico, ejusque multiplici damnatione. Baron. Ann. 357. n. i. et seqq. Pagi Ann. 344, 345. 347. n. v. viii. xv. 349. n. vi. vii. 351. n. x. xi. et seqq. Basnag. Ann. 345. n. v. 349. n. viii. 351. n. vi. viii. Athanas. Vit. a Benedict. adornat ad Ann. Chr. 343. 347. 349. 351.

[d] Vid. Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 71. p. 304.

[e] Vid. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 107. et ad Philastr. cap. 65.

[f] Vid. Facund. l. iv. cap. 2. p. 59.

[g] Chr. p. 187.

[h] Vid. H. 71. n. i. et Indic. Hæres. p. 808.

[i] Dictum est hoc de Photino præsentis temporis hæretico, qui Filium Dei ausus est dicere tantummodo hominem fuisse, non Deum. Optat. l. iv. c. 5.

[k] Vid. Epiph. H. 71. n. i. p. 829. Socrat. l. ii. cap. 29. et 30. Sozom. l. iv. cap. 6.

[l] Τοῖς τον Φωτεινον και μετα καθαιρεσιν συνεσθαι και συνυπογραψαι συμπειθειν επειρωντο, επαγγειλαμενοι αποδωσειν αυτῳ την επισκοπην, εαν εκ μετανοιας αναθεματισῃ μεν το παρευρεθεν αυτῳ δογμα, συνθηται δε τῃ αυτων γνωμῃ. Socr. l. ii. c. 30. p. 125. D.

[m] Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 543, 544.

[n] Τοιουτοι δε εισιν οι απο Μαρκελλε, και Φωτεινε των Ανκυρογαλατων, οι την προαιωνιον υπαρξιν τε Χριστε, και την θεοτητα, και την ατελευτητον αυτε βασιλειαν ομοιως Ιουδαιοις αθετουσιν, επι προφασει τε συνιστασθαι δοκειν τῃ μοναρχια. Ισμεν γαρ αυτον ημεις εκ' απλως λογον προφορικον, η ενδιαθετον τε Θεε, αλλα ζωντα Θεον λογον καθ' εαυτον υπαρχοντα, και Υιον Θεε και Χριστον.

Marcellus together, as denying the divinity and eternal pre-existence of the Son, and the personality of the Word, under a pretence of maintaining the divine Unity.

Philaster says little more of Photinus, than [a] that he held the same opinion with Paul of Samosata, and that he would not renounce it: for which reason he was deposed, and excluded from the church of Sirmium, by the bishops who had convicted him.

Epiphanius, in his Summary, says, that Photinus was of the same opinion with Paul of Samosata; though in some respects he expressed himself differently. But both agreed, that [b] Christ began to exist when he was born of Mary. In like manner, in his fuller account: that [c] he was not from eternity, but he was born of Mary, and the Holy Ghost came upon him: that [d] he was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary, and on that account was the Son of God.

Socrates says, that [e] Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, native of Galatia, following his master Marcellus who had been deposed, maintained, that Christ was a mere man: and that the bishops assembled at Sirmium deposed him, having found that he held the doctrine of Sabellius of Lybia, and Paul of Samosata.

Sozomen's account is, that [f] Photinus taught, there is one God Almighty, who by his own word made all things: that he did not allow the eternal generation and subsistence of the Son, but said that the Christ began to be, when he was born of Mary. He [g] was deposed, as holding the doctrine of Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata.

Theodoret does little more than say, that [h] Photinus held the same doctrine with Sabellius, except that he set it forth in a somewhat different manner; and that he was confuted by Diodorus of Tarsus in Cilicia. To which [i] there may be reckoned to be a reference in the letter ascribed to the emperor Julian, as preserved in Facundus.

Photinus is in Augustine's [k] book of Heresies; but I do not think it needful to transcribe him. However, in other places also he mentions the Photinians, and shews their sentiment. They said, that [l] Christ was a man, and a great prophet, and excelled all men, the best and most knowing, in wisdom and holiness; but he was not God. They said, that [m] the Father only is God, and Christ a man: and they denied the personality of the Spirit.

Sulpicius Severus was quoted before. I transcribe another passage [n] in the margin.

Vincent's account is as well expressed as most; I put it below [o] at length. 'Photinus holds "the unity of God after the Jewish manner. He allows not of any Trinity of persons. He says, 'that Christ was a man born of Mary. He denies the personality of the Word, and the Spirit. 'There is only one God the Father, and Jesus Christ, whom we ought to serve.'

Marius Mercator supposes Photinus to have taught, that [p] Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, after the manner of other men. But that is contrary to what is said by others, particu-

κ. λ. Apud Athanas. De Synod. p. 740. n. vi. Vid. et n. vii. Et apud Socrat. H. E. l. ii. c. 19. p. 99.

[a] Photinus doctrinam ejus secutus in omnibus similiter prædicabat. Inque hoc mendacio perseverans, projectus est de ecclesiâ. Sirmiensium civitatis, a sanctis episcopis superatus. Philast. cap. 65. p. 128. ed. Fabric.

[b] —— Και αυτοι και απο Μαριας και δευρο τον Χριστον διαξεβαιουνται. Indict. p. 808.

[c] Φασκει δε ουτος, απαρχης τον Χριστον μη ειναι, απο δε Μαριας και δευρο αυτον υπαρχειν, εξαις, φησι, το πνευμα το αγιον επηλθεν επ' αυτον, και εγεννηθη εκ πνευματος αγιου. H. 71. n. i. p. 829. A. B.

[d] —— γεννηθεις ὁ Χριστος εκ πνευματος αγιου και απο Μαριας. Ib. n. ii. p. 830.

[e] —— ακολουθων τω διδασκαλω, ψιλον ανθρωπον τον Υιον εδογματισε. κ. λ. Socr. l. ii. c. 18. p. 96. D.

[f] Ελεγεν δε, ως Θεος μεν εστι παντοκρατωρ εις, ὁ τω ιδιω λογω τα παντα δημιουργησας· την δε προ αιωνων γενεσιν τε και υπαρξιν τε Υιου ου προσιεσθαι· αλλ' εκ Μαριας γεγονεναι τον Χριστον εισηγειτο· Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 542. A.

[g] Ibid. D.

[h] Ὁ δε Φωτεινος μιαν ενεργειαν παλαιος και υιου και αγιου πνευματος ειρηκεν, ἑτεροις ονομασι την των Σαβελλιου δογματων κηρυττων διανοιαν. κ. λ. Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 11. in.

[i] Julianus etenim, perfidus imperator, sic Photino hæresiarchæ adversus Diodorum scribit: Tu quidem, O Photine, verisimilis videris, et proximus salvari, bene faciens, nequâquam in utero inducens quem credidisti Deum——Diodorus autem Nazaræi magus——acutus apparuit Sophista religionis agrestis. Ap. Facund. l. iv. c. 2. p. 59.

[k] Cap. 45.

[l] Quam multi dicunt, homo fuit magnus? Quam multi dicunt, propheta fuit? Quam multi antichristi, ut Photinus, homo fuit, plus nihil habuit: sed omnes homines pios et sanctos excellentiâ sapientiæ et justitiæ superavit. Serm. 246. n. 4. T. v.

[m] Photiniani quoque Patrem solum esse dicentes Deum, Filium vero nonnisi hominem, negant omnino esse tertiam personam Spiritum Sanctum. Serm. 71. cap. iii. n. v. T. 5. P. i. Vid. et ep. 185. c. xi. n. 48. T. ii.

[n] Photinus vero novam hæresim jam ante protulerat, a Sabellio quidem in unione dissentiens, sed initium Christi a Mariâ prædicabat. Sulpic. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. c. 37.

[o] Photini ergo secta hæc est. Dicit Deum singulum esse ac solitarium, et more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi, aut ullam Spiritûs Sancti putat esse personam. Christum vero hominem tantummodo solitarium adserit, cui principium adscribit ex Mariâ. Et hoc omnimodo dogmatizat, solam nos personam Dei Patris, et solum Christum hominem colere debere. Hæc ergo Photinus. Vincent. Lirin. Common. cap. 17.

[p] Photinus autem insanissimo Nestorio parem sententiam tenuit, Verbum Dei quidem non negans esse in substantiâ: sed hoc extrinsecus in isto, qui ex Mariâ, more communi conjugum, natus est, Jesu inhabitâsse peculiariter, &c. Diss. de xii. Anath. n. xvii. T. ii. p. 128.

larly by Epiphanius, who represents him to have taught, that Christ was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary. St. Ambrose likewise, not yet quoted, represents the doctrine of Photinus to be, that [a] Christ did not exist till he was born of the Virgin: as does [b] Hilary. The Eusebians also in the council of Antioch, suppose [c] that to be the opinion both of Marcellus and Photinus.

Perhaps, because Photinus was said by some, to have revived the principle of Ebion, Marius Mercatus concluded Photinus to have held the opinion which he ascribes to him. But it is not certain that all called Ebionites were of that opinion. And they who said Photinus aimed to revive the heresy of Ebion, might mean no more than that he was an Unitarian after the manner of the Jews.

III. We come now to his works. Jerom says, Photinus wrote many volumes. But none of them are now extant. Nor do I recollect any references elsewhere to those mentioned by Jerom, his book against the Gentiles, and to Valentinian. But Socrates [d] speaks of a work written by him after his banishment, against all heresies, and in support of his own opinion. And in like manner Sozomen, that [e] after his banishment Photinus did not desist from maintaining his own sentiments; but published books, both in Greek and Latin, in which he endeavoured to shew the falsehood of all other opinions beside his own.

Rufinus, at the beginning of his Exposition of the Creed, refers to something written upon it by [f] Photinus: but perhaps he does not intend any distinct work.

IV. The character of Photinus being in divers ancient authors, we are led to take some notice of it.

Epiphanius says, he [g] had a fluent way of speaking, and in that respect was wonderfully qualified to impose upon unwary people. Sozomen, that [h] he was naturally eloquent, and fitted to persuade men, and that he gained many to his opinions. Vincent of Lerins says, that [i] Photinus entered upon the bishopric of Sirmium with universal applause; and that he was a man of ready wit, extensive learning, and charming eloquence, and therefore was a great temptation. He spoke and wrote properly and elegantly both in Greek and Latin, of which his remaining works are a proof, there being some in each language. Socrates likewise speaks [k] of his skill in the Latin, as well as the Greek tongue, as did Sozomen before quoted.

V. There is no reason to doubt that Photinus received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as other Christians did, there being no complaints made against him upon that head.

From Hilary of Poictiers we know, that [l] Photinus argued from 1 Tim. ii. 5. Epiphanius says he boasted [m] of being able to support his doctrine by innumerable texts of scripture. He particularly takes notice of his alleging [n] 1 Cor. xv. 47. That Photinus received [o] the beginning of St.

[a] Neque, ut Photinus, initium Filii ex Virgine disputemus. Ambr. de Fide. l. i. c. 1.

[b] Hæc quia Photinus, adversus quem tum conventum erat, negabat, inserta fidei fuerunt; ne quis auderet, non ante Dei Filium quam virginis filium prædicere, &c. Hil. de Synod. n. 50. p. 1181. C. D.

—— quæ [hæresis] initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur. Ibid. n. 61. p. 1185. E.

[c] Χριστον δε αυτον και Υιον του Θεου——μη ειναι προ αιωνων βελονλας· αλλ' εκ τῆς Χριστον αυτον γεγονεναι και Υιον τε Θεου, εξ ἡ την ἡμεραν εκ της παρθενε σαρκα ανειληφε, προ τετρακοσιων ὁλων ἐτων. Ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 19. p. 99. A.

[d] Εγραφε δι καλα πασων αιρεσεων, το οικειον μονον δογμα παραλιθεμενος. Socr. l. ii. c. 30. p. 126. D.

[e] ——λογες τε τῃ Ῥωμαιων και Ἑλληνων φωνῃ συγγραφων εξεδιδε, δι' ων επειραλο, πλην της αυτε τας των αλλων δοξας ψευδεις αποφαινειν. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. fin. p. 544.

[f] Et quidem comperi nonnullos illustrium tractatorum aliqua de his pie et breviter edidisse: Photinum vero hæreticum scio eâtenus conscripsisse, non ut rationem dictorum audientibus explanaret, sed ut simpliciter et fideliter dicta ad argumentum sui dogmatis traheret. Rufin. in Symb. init.

[g] Γεγονε δε ὁ Φωτεινος λαλος τον τροπον, και ωξυμμενος την γλωτταν· πολλες δε δυναμενος απαλαν τῃ τε λογε φοφορᾳ, και ἑτοιμολογια. H. 71. n. 1. p. 829. B.

[h] Φυσεως δε εχων ευ λεγειν, και πειθειν ικανος, πολλες εις την ὁμοιαν αυτῳ δοξαν επηγαγετο. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 542. B.

[i] —— eos commemoremus, qui multis profectibus, multâque industriâ præditi, non parvæ tentationi catholicis exstiterunt. Velut apud Pannonias majorum memoriâ Photinus ecclesiam Sirmitanam tentâsse memoratur: ubi cum magno omnium favore in sacerdotium fuisset ascitus, & aliquamdiu tamquam catholicus administraret.—— Nam erat et ingenii viribus valens, et doctrinæ opibus excellens, et eloquio præpotens: quippe qui utroque sermone copiose et graviter disputaret et scriberet. Quod monumentis librorum suorum manifestatur, quos idem partim Græco, partim Latino sermone composuit. Commenit. cap. 16.

[k] Εν φυσῃ τε διαλων τε λοιπε, λογον συνεγραψεν αμφοτεραις γλωτταις, επει μηδε της Ῥωμαϊκης ην αμοιρος. Socr. l. xxx. p. 126. B.

[l] Hoc si timemus, deleamus in Apostolo quod dictum est, *Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus*, quia ad auctoritatem hæresis suæ Photinus hoc utitur. De Synod. n. 65. p. 1198. E.

[m] ——και μετα καυχησεως περι της ὑποθεσεως ἑκαστον μαρτυριας φερειν ὁ γενναδας επηγγειλαλο. H. 71. n. i. p. 729. D.

[n] Φασκων, ὁτι και ὁ αποστολος ειρηκεν· ὁ πρωτος ανθρωπος εκ γης χοϊκος, και ὁ δευτερος απ' ερανε. Ib. n. ii. p. 830. D.

[o] Και αυτος φημι, ειναι τον λογον απαρχης, αλλ' εκ Υιον Θεε γεγεννημενον. κ. λ. Ib. n. iv. in. p. 31. D.

——Αλλα, φησι, ὡσπερ δια λογε ὁ ανθρωπος πραττει ὁ βελεται, ἑτως παλιν δια τε υἱος εν αυτῳ λογε εποιησε τα παντα. κ. λ. Ib. p. 832. A. Conf. n. ii. p. 830.

John's gospel, and allowed the eternity of the Word, though thereby he did not understand the Son of God, is also manifest from Epiphanius.

VI. Though Photinus was deposed and banished, his doctrine was not extinguished: he still had admirers and followers. It is very likely that the books published by him after his banishment would affect some, especially considering that he was a good writer, as well as a good speaker. The bishops of the council of Aquileia, held in 381, in a synodical epistle to the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, say, that[a] whereas the Photinians still met together at Sirmium, even contrary to a law already made, they intreat farther care to be taken about it. In the law of the emperor Gratian, in 378, giving leave to all manner of sects to hold assemblies, there[b] is an exception of the Eunomians, Photinians, and Manichees. When St. Jerom in his Chronicle says, at[c] this time dies Photinus, from whom the Photinians are called; it is supposed that there were then some men of that denomination. Augustine[d] often mentions them in discourses to the people, which he would not have done, if there were no such men. Gennadius of Marseilles speaks of a Spanish bishop, named Audentius, placed by Cave[e] at 360, who[f] wrote a book against the Photinians. From the account which Gennadius gives of that work, it appears, that the Photinians were supposed to have believed our Saviour's nativity of a virgin. We learn from him likewise, that they were sometimes called Bonosians, or Bonosiacs: supposed to be so named from Bonosus, who[g] lived in the latter part of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth century, the place of whose bishoprick is not certainly known. Which Bonosus seems to have been of opinion, that Mary[h] had other children after the birth of Jesus.

CHAP. XC.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF VERCELLI.

1. EUSEBIUS, born in Sardinia, bishop of Verceil, or Vercelli, in Italy, is placed by Cave, as flourishing about the year 354. He died in the time of Valentinian and Valens, in[i] the year 370, or soon after. As he is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers[k] I place the chapter below.

2. In the reign of Constantius, after the council of Milan in 355, he was banished to Scythopolis in Syria, and afterwards removed to Cappadocia, and, as it seems, once[l] more to the

[a] Photinianos quoque, quos et superiori lege censuistis nullos facere debere conventus, et eam quæ de sacerdotum concilio data est congregando removistis; petimus, ut quoniam in Sirmiensi oppido adhuc conventus tentare cognovimus, clementiâ vestrâ interdictâ etiam nunc coitione, reverentiam primum ecclesiæ catholicæ, deinde etiam legibus vestris deferri debeatis. Ap. Ambros. ep x. n. 12. T. ii. p. 809.

[b] —— μονες δε των εκκλησιων ειρξειν Ευνομιανες, και Φωτινιανες, και Μανιχαιες. Socr. l. v. c. 2. p. 260. Conf. Soz. l. vii. c. 1. p. 705.

[c] Photinus in Galatiâ moritur. A quo Photinianorum dogma inductum. Chr. p. 187.

[d] Vos instruximus, quantam meministis, et meminisse debetis, contra hæreticos Photinianos, qui solum hominem sine Deo esse decernunt; contra Manichæos, qui solum sine homine Deum. In Johan. cap. x. Tr. 47. n 9. Tom. 3. P. 2. Vid. et in Johan. cap. vi. Tr. 26. n. 5. In Joh. c. xvi. Tr. 96. n. 3. Serm. 252. n. 4. Tom. v. In 1 ep. Joh. cap. iv. Serm. 183. cap. v. n. 8. et alibi.

[e] H. L. T. i. p. 224.

[f] Audentius, episcopus Hispanus, scripsit adversus Manichæos, Sabellianos, et Arianos, maxime quoque speciali intentione contra Photinianos, qui nunc vocantur Bonosiaci, librum, quem prætitulavit 'De Fide adversus hæreticos:' In quo ostendit antiquitatem Filii Dei coæternalem Patri fuisse, nec initium Deitatis tunc a Deo Patre accepisse, cum de Mariâ virgine homo, Deo fabricante, conceptus, et natus est. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 14.

[g] Of Bonosus, see Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. x. S. Ambroise. Art. 68. et. 70. and note 43. et. 45. and Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, or bishops of Rome, Vol. I. p. 263.

[h] Vid. Ambros. de Instit. Virg. n. 35. T. ii. p. 357. ed. Bened. et ejusd. Epist. Ibid p. 1008, 1009.

[i] Vid. Hierom. Chr. p. 186.

[k] Eusebius, natione Sardus, et ex lectore urbis Romanæ Vercellensis episcopus, ob confessionem fidei a Constantio Principe Scythopolim, & inde in Cappadociam relegatus, sub Juliano Imperatore ad ecclesiam reversus, edidit Commentarios Eusebii Cæsariensis, quos de Græco in Latinum verterat. Mortuus est Valentiniano et Valente regnantibus. De V. I. cap. 96.

[l] Vid. Socr. l. iii. c. 5. Soz. l. v. cap. 12. in. Thdt. l. iii. c. 4. Ruf. l. i. c. 27.

Upper Thebais. His and his friends sufferings are mentioned by [a] many writers. When Julian came to be emperor, they [b] had all leave to return home, in 362.

3. He translated the Commentary of his name-sake of Cæsarea upon the Psalms out of Greek into Latin. It is the only work of his, mentioned by Jerom in the fore-cited chapter. It is not unlikely, that in the place of his exile he learned Greek: for Jerom intimates, that the translation was made during that period, and published by him after his return home. This translation is mentioned by Jerom in [c] two of his letters, beside what he says of it in his Catalogue: and in one of those places he says, (if he may be relied upon,) that this bishop of Vercelli left out in his translation some heretical expressions of the original. That translation is now intirely lost, as is observed by Montfauçon,[d] in his Preliminaries to Eusebius's commentary upon the Psalms published by him in Greek and Latin.

4. However, there are still extant some letters, or fragments of letters, supposed to be his. For a particular account of which, and some other things, I refer to divers learned [e] moderns.

5. There is a manuscript in the cathedral church of Vercelli, kept there with great respect, and said to have been written by our Eusebius. It is mentioned by [f] Montfauçon in his Diarium Italicum. But though he describes its condition, as worn out by time, or much injured by accidents, he does not tell us what it contains. Cave, in his article of Eusebius, has endeavoured to supply this defect, by adding from Mabillon that it [g] contains the gospels of Matthew and Mark. Nevertheless there seems reason to think that it has the four gospels. I have not yet seen the Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Versionis antiquæ, seu Veteris Italicæ, published by Joseph Blanchini at Rome, in 1749, in which he has inserted the whole of this manuscript. But according to the accounts given of that work by two [h] journalists, the manuscript of Vercelli has the four gospels. And they observe particularly, that it is remarkable for two various readings in St. John's gospel: one of which is an addition at chap. v. 6, the other is an omission, there being wanting the whole history of the woman spoken of chap. viii. 1—11, and the last verse of the preceding chapter.

[a] Interea Mediolanum convenitur, ubi tum aderat Imperator. Eadem illa contentio nihil invicem relaxabat. Tum Eusebius Vercellensium, et Lucifer a Caralis Sardiniæ, Episcopi relegati. Sulp. Sev. H. E. l. ii. cap. 39. al. 55.

Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus, et Lucifer et Dionysius Caralitanæ et Mediolanensis ecclesiæ episcopi — distantibus inter se ab Arianis, & a Constantio damnati exiliis. Hieron. Chr. p. 184.

Vid. Athanas. ad Imp: Constant. Apol. p. 312. Apol. De fuga sua, p. 322. B. C. Ad Monach. seu, Solitar. p. 390.

[b] Omnes episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam novi Principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Tunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Ægyptus excepit. Tunc Hilarium de prœlio revertentem Galliarum ecclesia complexa est. Tunc ad reditum Eusebii lugubres vestes Italia mutavit. Hieron. advers. Lucif. T. iv. p. 301. in.

Sed mortuo Constantio, patrono hæreticorum, Julianus solus tenuit imperium, cujus præcepto omnes episcopi Catholici de exiliis relaxantur. Faustin. et Marcell. lib. Pr. ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 656. B.

[c] Apud Latinos autem Hilarius Pictaviensis, et Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus, Origenem et Eusebium transtulerunt. Ad S. Augustin. ep. 74. al. 89. T. iv. p. 627.

Sit in culpâ ejusdem confessionis Vercellensis Eusebius, qui omnium Psalmorum Commentarios hæretici hominis vertit in nostrum eloquium: licet hæretica prætermittens optima quæque transtulit. Ad Vigil. ep. 36. al. 75. T. 4. p. 276.

[d] Hæc porro Eusebii interpretatio jam diu interiit. Nec memini me uspiam ejus vel codicem, vel fragmenta memorata deprehendisse. Prælim. in Euseb. comm. in Ps. cap. 2. n. iii.

[e] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. ad Hieron. de V. I. Tillem. Mem. T. vii. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 235.

[f] Ecclesiam inde Cathedralem adiimus, in cujus ærario reliquiæ insignes — Codicem ibidem inspeximus in chartâ membranaceâ tenuissimâ exaratum. Aiebantque ipsâ S. Eusebii manu, qui seculo quarto floruit, descriptum, versionemque ex Græco in Latinum ab eodem adornatam. Nonnulla hinc et inde legi, comperique, versionem esse a Vulgatâ nostrâ toto cælo discrepantem. Codex multis in partibus labefactatus putrefactusque est. Quod casu plus quam vetustate evenisse dictitabant. Narrabantque diu in flumine demersum, indeque erutum fuisse. — Alium item librum eodem in sacrario repositum aiebant usui fuisse S. Eusebio Vercellensi. Sed xi. tantum seculi esse arbitror. Montf. Diar. Ital. c. 28. p. 444, 445.

[g] Idem fere antea observaverat Cl. Mabillonus [It. Ital. T. i. p. 9.] qui subdit, Codicem Evangelia SS. Matthæi et Marci continere, membranam situ fere esse corruptam. &c. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 216.

[h] See Bibliotheque Raisonée. T. 45. P. 2. Art. x. and the Universal Librarian. Vol. i. P. i. p. 1. &c.

CHAP. XCI.

LUCIFER, BISHOP OF CAGLIARI IN SARDINIA.

I. *His history, and testimony to the scriptures.* II. *The request of his followers, Faustinus and Marcellinus.* III. *A book of Faustinus concerning the Trinity.*

I. LUCIFER [a] bishop of Cagliari, or Carali (as the ancients always write it,) in Sardinia, well known in his time, and a sufferer with the fore-mentioned Eusebius in the reign of Constantius, has [b] a place in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: whose chapter therefore I transcribe below.

He seems to have been removed several times. Faustinus and Marcellinus say [c] four times. The last place of his banishment was Thebais, where [d] he was with the fore-mentioned Eusebius at the time of the death of Constantius. He is supposed to have died [e] in 370.

Athanasius, for a while at least, had a great regard [f] for him, and he wrote him [g] two letters. In the first of which he desires him to send his writings: and by his order they were translated out of Latin into Greek. Faustinus and Marcellinus express themselves, as if [h] they had been translated by Athanasius himself.

Lucifer was always a man of a vehement temper, as appears from his books, written in the time of Constantius, and during his banishment; the titles [i] of which I place below. And after his liberty, in the time of Julian, contrary to the sentiment of the catholic bishops in general, he went into [k] a rigid principle, refusing, though [l] it had been determined in a synod at Alexandria in 352, to receive those bishops who in the reign of Constantius had in any measure complied with the Arians, or to communicate with those who received them, upon the acknowledgment of their fault. Jerom [m] at once represents his principle, and speaks tenderly of Lucifer himself: as [n] does also Sulpicius Severus.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Basnag. Ann. 362. n. xx. et alibi. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 95. et Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 402. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 99. Tillem. Mem. T. vii.

[b] Lucifer Caralitanus Episcopus, cum Pancratio et Hilario, Romanæ ecclesiæ clericis, ad Constantium Imperatorem a Liberio episcopo pro fide legatus missus, cum nollet sub nomine Athanasii Nicænam damnare fidem, in Palæstinam relegatus, miræ constantiæ et præparati animi ad martyrium, contra Constantium scripsit librum, eique legendum misit. At non multo post sub Juliano Principe reversus Caralis Valentiniano regnante obiit. De V. I. cap. 95.

[c] ——non solum in Sardiniâ, sed in ipsis quoque quatuor exiliis. Lib. Prec. ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 658. F.

Et post aliquot annos beatus Lucifer de quarto exilio Romam, pergens, ingressus est Neapolim Campaniæ. Ib. p. 656. H.

[d] Vid. Socr. H. E. l. iii. cap. 5. Soz. l. v. c. 12. in. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4.

[e] Vid. Hieron. Chr. p. 186.

[f] Vid. Athan. Apol. de fugâ suâ. p. 322. C. Histor. Arian. ad Monach. p. 363, 364.

[g] Ap. Athan. Opp. p. 565, 566.

[h] Quos quidem libros——suspexit et Athanasius, ut veri vindices, atque in Græcum stylum transtulit, ne tantum boni Græca lingua non haberet. &c. Faustin. et Marcell. lib. pr. p. 658. B.

[i] Ad Constantinum Imp. pro Athanasio Libri duo. De Regibus Apostaticis. Lib. i. De non conveniendo cum hæreticis. Lib. i. De eo quod moriendum est pro Dei Filio. Lib i. De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus. Lib. i. Ad Florentium epistolâ brevis. Ap. Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 181—250.

[k] Vid. Hieron. adv. Luciferian. T. iv. Augustin. De Hær. cap. 81. T. viii.

[l] Pergit interea Eusebius Alexandriam, ibique confessorum concilio congregato—quo pacto post hæreticorum procellas, et perfidiæ turbines, tranquillitas revocaretur ecclesiæ—discutiunt. Aliis videbatur fidei calore ferventibus, nullum debere ultra in sacerdotium recipi, qui se utcumque hæreticæ communionis contagione maculâsset. Sed alii dicebant, melius esse—et ideo sibi rectum videri, ut, tantum perfidiæ auctoribus amputatis, reliquis sacerdotibus daretur optio, si forte velint, abjurato errore perfidiæ, ad fidem patrum statutaque converti, nec negare aditum redeuntibus, quin potius de eorum conversione gaudere. Rufin. Hist. Ec. l. i. cap. 28. Conf. Socr. l. iii. c. 9. Soz. l. v. c. 13. Theod. l. iii. c. 5.

[m] Sed, ut dicere cœperamus, post reditum confessorum, in Alexandrinâ postea synodo constitutum est, ut, exceptis auctoribus hæreseos, quos error excusare non poterat, pœnitentes ecclesiæ sociarentur. Assensus est huic sententia Occidens ——Ventum est ad asperrimum locum, in quo adversum voluntatem et propositum meum cogor beato Lucifero secus quidquam, quam et illius meritum, et mea humanitas poscit, existimare. Sed quid faciam? Veritas os reserat—In tali articulo ecclesiæ, in tantâ rabie luporum, segregatis paucis ovibus, reliquum gregem deseruit. Adv. Lucif. T. iv. p. 302.

[n] Cæterum Lucifer, tum Antiochiæ, longe diversâ sententiâ fuit. Nam in tantum eos, qui Arimini fuerunt, condemnavit, ut se etiam ab eorum communione secreverit, qui eos sub satisfactione vel pœnitentiâ recepissent. Id recte, an perperam constituerit, dicere non ausim. S. Sever. H. S. l. ii. c. 48. al. 60.

Lucifer [a] and his followers, as it seems, were willing to receive the laity who came over from the Arians, upon renouncing their error; but they would not consent that bishops, who had complied with the Arians, should be received as such. They might, upon returning to the catholics, be received as laymen, but they were not any more to officiate in the church.

This occasioned a schism; which, however, never [b] spread very far. Rufinus [c] speaks of it as very small, and Theodoret as [d] extinct in his time. And yet in the year 384, or thereabout, they obtained a [e] rescript from Theodosius, to secure them from persecution, since they made no innovations in the faith. However, they were for some time in several parts of the [f] world; and the authors of the aforesaid request complain particularly, that at Rome, [g] where they had a bishop named Aurelius, Pope [h] Damasus disturbed their assemblies, and did all he could to hinder their worship, whether by day or by night.

Lucifer's works have not yet been published with all the advantage that might be wished. Cotelerius [i] once intended a more exact edition of them, as thinking they both wanted and deserved it. I shall observe a few things in them, and likewise in the request or petition of the presbyters Faustinus and Marcellinus, his admirers and followers, drawn up in 383, or 384.

Lucifer's writings consist very much of passages of the Old and the New Testament, cited one after another, which he quotes with [k] marks of the greatest respect. Particularly he has largely quoted the book of the Acts; he has likewise largely quoted the [l] epistle to the Hebrews, the [m] second epistle of John, and the [n] epistle of Jude.

Lucifer has quoted almost the whole of the epistle of St. Jude. Undoubtedly he used the ancient Latin version; and there are in him two readings, which deserve our notice.

Jude, ver. 4, "Denying [o] the only Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ." He omits the word "God," saying, "the only Lord:" as do [p] many Greek manuscripts.

Jude, ver. 7, "and going after strange flesh, are set forth an example." He reads thus: "and [q] going after the flesh have been set forth an example by ashes."

Both these readings are mightily confirmed by 2 Pet. ii. 6. 10. For at ver. 10, the expression is, "But chiefly them that walk after the flesh:" without the word "strange." And at ver. 6, "And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes." Upon these readings should be consulted Mr. Beausobre's notes upon Jude ver. 4. 7. and a Latin letter in the third volume of Mr. La Roche's Literary Journal, p. 192, 193.

II. Faustinus and Marcellinus, in their request to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, say, that [r] one thing for which Lucifer was eminent, was the study of the sacred

[a] Orthod. Expone mihi, quare laïcum venientem ab Arianis recipias, episcopum non recipias? Lucifer. Recipio laïcum, qui errâsse se confitetur. Et Dominus mavult pœnitentiam peccatoris quam mortem. Orth. Recipe ergo et episcopum, qui et errâsse se confitetur.—Lucifer. Si errare se confitetur, cur episcopus perseverat? Deponat sacerdotium, concedo veniam pœnitenti. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 290.

[b] Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut si in Sardiniâ tantum habet, nimium pauper est. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 298. [c] Rufin. H. E. l. i. cap. 30.

[d] Απεσβη δε και τελο το δογμα, και παρεδοθη τη ληθη. Theod. H. E. l. iii. c. 5. p. 128. D.

[e] Ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 661.

[f] Sed hæc fraus, hæc atrocitas, adversus fideles in Hispaniâ, et apud Treviros, et Romæ agitur, et in diversis Italiæ regionibus. F. et M. Libr. Prec. p. 658. G.

[g] Ibid. p. 657. G. H.

[h] Eodem tempore gravis adversus nos persecutio inhorruerat, infestante Damaso egregio archiepiscopo, ita ut fidelibus sacerdotibus per dies sacros plebis cœtus ad deserviendum Christo Deo convocare libere non liceret. Sed quia pro conditione rerum quolibet tempore, vel clam salutis nostræ sacramenta facienda sunt, idem sanctus Presbyter Macarius dat vigilias in quâdam domo convocare fraternitatem, ut vel noctu divinis lectionibus fidem plebis sancta roboraret——Denique tendunt insidias clerici Damasi, & ubi cognoverunt, quod sacras vigilias celebraret cum plebe Presbyter Macarius, irruunt cum officialibus in illam domum, &c. Ibid. p. 658. A.

[i] Vid. Coteler. Annot. ad Constit. Apost. l. ii. c. 7.

[k] Quod ita esse, Dominus in sacris Evangeliis manifestat dicens. De non conveniendo cum hæreticis. Ap. Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 226. E.

[l] Beatus Apostolus Paulus dicit ad Hebræos: 'Et Moyses quidem fidelis erat in totâ domo ejus tanquam servus.' &c. [ad Hebr. cap. iii. et iv.] Ibid. p. 424. E. F. G.

[m] Idcirco etenim etiam Apostolus in hac dicit secundâ epistolâ: 'omnis qui recedit, et non manet in doctrinâ Christi, Deum non habet. Qui autem manet in doctrinâ ejus, ille et Patrem et Filium habet.' Ib. p. 226. F. Vid. et ib. B.

[n] Cum exhortetur Judas, gloriosus Apostolus, frater Jacobi Apostoli—'Judas, Jesu Christi servus, frater autem Jacobi,' &c. [Jud. ver. 1—8. ver. 10—13. 18. 20.] Ibid. p. 227. C—E.

[o] ——et qui est dominator noster, et dominus Jesus Christus, eum negantes.—Ib. p. 227. D.

[p] Vid. Mill. in loc.

[q] ——cum adulterium fecissent, et carnem secutæ essent, cinis [cineris] propositæ sunt exemplum, ignis æterni pœnam sustinentes. Ibid.

[r] Sed et, Apostolicus vir Lucifer de Sardiniâ Caralitanæ urbis episcopus, ob hoc, quod bene esset agnitus per contemtum seculi, per studium sacrarum literarum, per vitæ puritatem—A Romanâ ecclesiâ missus est legatus ad Constantium. Lib. Prec ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 654. C.

scriptures: that [a] Athanasius commended his writings for the many passages therein collected out of the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical scriptures. They continually speak with [b] the highest veneration for the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles: and [c] they blame those who practise any thing contrary to their authority. The epistle to the Hebrews [d] is quoted here very respectfully. Finally, they complain that [e] they were called Luciferians. They say, that Christ is their master, and his doctrine they follow: they ought therefore to be called by no other than the sacred name of Christians, as they hold nothing but what Christ taught by his apostles.

III. Beside that request, there [f] is a book ascribed to Faustinus, Concerning the Trinity, against the Arians, in seven chapters, addressed to the empress Flaccilla, first wife of Theodosius, who died in 385.

I now transcribe below [g] a chapter of Gennadius, giving an account of Faustinus and Marcellinus. And I shall observe a few things in this book of Faustinus.

The writer expresseth [h] the highest respect for the divine scriptures, from which alone all doctrines of religion ought to be proved. Here are quoted [i] the Acts of the apostles, the epistle [k] to the Hebrews, and [l] the Revelation of the apostle John. Moreover Jerom, in his book against the Luciferians, quotes [m] the Revelation by way of proof very freely; which shews that it was received by them.

CHAP. XCII.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF ELVIRA.

1. As he is in Jerom's Catalogue, I add here Gregory, bishop of Illiberis or Elvira, in the province of Bætica in Spain. Jerom [n] says, that Gregory was still living in 392, when he wrote his Catalogue; but was of a great age. He had written several treatises in a plain style, and a good book concerning the faith, esteemed more polite than his other works.

2. Gregory is placed by [o] Cave, as flourishing about the year 370; but Tillemont, [p] from a story told in the Request of Faustinus and Marcellinus, concludes, he was bishop before the year 357. And indeed, if their authority may be relied upon, I should think him to have been bishop in

[a] Idem Athanasius eosdem libros prædicat, ut Prophetarum, et Evangelistarum, atque Apostolorum doctrinis, et piâ confessione contextos. Ib. p. 658. E.

[b] ——illam fidem sine dolo vindicant, quæ apud Nicæam Evangelicâ atque Apostolicâ ratione conscripta est. p. 653. F. Si quidem, dicentibus Divinis Scripturis, doctrina dæmoniorum hæresis est. p. 654. F.

[c] ——evertentes illa forte statuta, quæ prius adversus eos Propheticâ atque Apostolicâ auctoritate decreverant. p. 656. C. Vid. et p. 658. F.

Annon Scripturæ Divinæ impugnantur, quando cum episcopis, Filii Dei negatoribus, pax ecclesiæ copulatur? p. 656. H.

[d] Credite, religiosissimi Imperatores, beatum Heraclidem unum esse de illo numero sanctorum, de quibus refert Scriptura Divina, dicens: 'Circuierunt in melotis et caprinis pellibus.'—[Hebr. xi. 37, 38.] p. 658. C.

[e] Nam et hoc ipsum necessarium est, ut falsi cognomenti discutiamus invidiam, quâ nos jactant esse Luciferianos—— Sed nobis Christus magister est, cujus doctrinam sequimur, atque ideo cognomenti illius sacra appellatione censemur; ut non aliud jure dici debeamus, quam Christiani, qui nec aliud sequimur, quam quod Christus per Apostolos docuit. p. 858. D.

[f] De Trinitate, seu de Fide, adv. Arrian. Ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 637—651.

[g] Faustinus Presbyter scripsit ad personam Flaccillæ Reginæ adversum Arianos et Macedonianos libros septem: his eos maxime sanctarum scripturarum testimoniis arguens et convincens, quibus illi pravo sensu abutuntur ad blasphemiam. Scripsit et librum, quem Valentiniano et Arcadio Imperatoribus, pro defensione suorum, cum Marcellino quodam Presbytero, obtulit. Ex quo ostenditur, Luciferiano schismati consensisse, quia Hilarium Pictaviensem, et Damasum urbis Romanæ, episcopos in eodem libro culpat, quasi male consuluerint ecclesiæ, quod prevaricatores episcopos in communionem et sacerdotium recepissent. Quod Luciferianis ita displicuit, recipere episcopos, qui in Ariminensi Concilio Arianis communicaverant, quo modo Novatianis apostatas pœnitentes. Gennad. De V. I. cap. xvi.

[h] Inspice potius divinos libros, et de divinâ fide divinis utere sermonibus. De Trinit. adv. Arian. cap. i. ib. p. 639. G.

[i] Cap. v. p. 647. H.

[k] Cap. ii. p. 645. A. et passim.

[l] Sed et Apostolus Johannes in Apocalypsi hæc dicit. Cap. iii. p. 645.

[m] Contr. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 290. f. et 304. infr. m.

[n] Gregorius Bæticus, Iliberi episcopus, usque ad extremam senectutem diversos mediocri sermone tractatus composuit, et de Fide elegantem librum, qui hodieque superesse dicitur. De V. L. cap. 105.

[o] H. L. T. i. p. 235.

[p] Lucifer de Cagliari. Art. viii. Mem. T. vii.

355; I therefore place him next after Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer. Du Pin [a] says, he flourished from 357, to the end of that age.

3. It is very probable, that this Gregory was a Luciferian. In the fore-cited Request he is spoken of as [b] a man of remarkable firmness: he [c] alone of those who would not comply with the Arians in the time of Constantius was not banished. Again, he [d] is spoken of as an admirable man: and he is honourably mentioned in [e] the Rescript of Theodosius. Moreover, in [f] Jerom's Chronicle he is joined with others, who never complied with the Arians.

4. Whether the book concerning the faith, mentioned by Jerom, be now extant, is somewhat doubtful. There is a tract with a like title, called [g] Gregory Nazianzen's 49th Oration, and usually joined also [h] with the works of St. Ambrose; which [i] Quesnell thinks to be the work of Gregory of Illiberis: others [k] say, it is not his. It is however the work of some ancient writer. Concerning this point several moderns may [l] be consulted.

5. I scarce need make any extracts out of this treatise. I only observe that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are here quoted with great respect. The [m] book of the Acts is here quoted; and here occurs the phrase, which we have sometimes observed formerly, of [n] the Lord's scriptures; meaning thereby, more particularly, the scriptures of the New Testament.

CHAP. XCIII.

PHŒBADIUS, BISHOP OF AGEN.

1. Says Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Phœbadius [o] bishop of Agen in Gaul, 'has published a book against the Arians. He is said to have written some other small pieces, 'which I have not yet seen. He is still living, at a great age.'

2. There is honourable mention made of Phœbadius by Sulpicius Severus [p] in his Sacred History. The book against the Arians is still [q] extant. The author is placed by Cave [r] at the year 359, the supposed time of writing that work.

3. I need say nothing more of it, than that the author quotes very frequently the generally received books of scripture. There is supposed to be a reference to [s] the epistle to the Hebrews, but it is not clear: a reference to [t] the Revelation may be reckoned undoubted.

4. Throughout the whole work Phœbadius shews great respect for the holy scriptures. The [u] bishops of the Nicene council, he says, first consulted the sacred volumes, and then declared their faith. He himself [x] professeth a strong resolution, not to forsake the doctrine taught by the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles.

[a] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 106.

[b] Vid. Libr. Pr. p. 654. H. et. 655. A.

[c] Inde est, quod solus Gregorius ex numero vindicantium integram fidem, nec in fugam versus, nec passus exilium, cum unusquisque timeret de illo ulterius vindicare. Ibid. p. 655. E.

[d] Jam quantus vir Lucifer fuerit, cum illum admiretur et Gregorius, qui apud cunctos admirabilis est. p. 658. F. Vid. et p. 657. E. [e] Ibid. p. 661. D.

[f] Lucifer, Caralitanus episcopus, moritur, qui, cum Gregorio episcopo Hispaniarum, et Philone Libyæ, nunquam se Arianæ miscuit pravitati. Chr. p. 186.

[g] Ap. Greg. Naz. Opp. T. i. p. 726—736.

[h] De Fide Orthodoxâ contra Arianos. In Append. Opp. S. Ambros. T. i. p. 346—358. ed. Bened.

[i] Vid. Diss. xiv. in S. Leon. M. opp. sect. vii.

[k] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum. p. 340.

[l] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 235. in Greg. Bæt. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 105. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 429. Tillem. Mem. T. vii. Lucif. de Cagl. Art. 8.

[m] Et Spiritum sicut ignem esse, Apostolorum Acta declarant. Apud Greg. Naz. T. i. p. 735. in.

[n] Sed ego probo, Deum de Deo —— in Scripturis Dominicis contineri. Ibid. p. 730. fin.

[o] Phœbadius, Agenni Galliarum episcopus, edidit contra Arianos librum. Dicuntur et ejus alia esse opuscula, quæ necdum vidi. Vivit usque hodie decrepitâ senectute. De V. I. cap. 108. [p] L. ii. cap. 44. al. 59.

[q] Phœbadii episcopi liber contra Arianos. Ap. Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 300—305.

[r] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 217. Conf. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 108. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 420. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 107. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Ariens art. 72.

[s] Vid. p. 304. F. Bib. PP. 74. T. iv.

[t] Quod Johannes in Filio recognoscens: 'Qui est,' inquit, 'et qui erat, et qui venturus est, Omnipotens.' Ibid. p. 303. D.

[u] Quid egistis, o beatæ memoriæ viri, qui, ex omnibus orbis partibus Nicæam congregati, et sacris voluminibus pertractatis, perfectam fidei catholicæ regulam circumspecto sermone fecistis? Ib. p. 301. C.

[x] Hoc credimus, hoc tenemus, quia hoc accepimus a Prophetis. Hoc nobis evangelia locuta sunt, hoc Apostoli tradiderunt, hoc Martyres passione confessi sunt. Ib. p. 305. B.

CHAP. XCIV.

CAIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER.

1. 'CAIUS Marius Victorinus, [a] born in Africa,' says Jerom, [b] in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, 'taught rhetoric at Rome in the time of the emperor Constantius. And in his old age 'embracing the Christian religion, he wrote some books against the Arians, which are so obscure, 'that they are understood by the learned only. He likewise wrote Commentaries upon the 'apostle Paul's epistles.'

2. Victorinus is mentioned by Jerom several times elsewhere. In [c] his Chronicle he says, that Victorinus had taught rhetoric at Rome with so much reputation, that he had the honour of a public statue, set up in Trajan's forum. In [d] the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerom again speaks of the above-mentioned Commentary upon the apostle Paul; and he represents Victorinus as a very indifferent interpreter of scripture.

3. Some have thought, that Jerom studied rhetoric under Victorinus; but as Jerom says nothing of it, though he had a fair occasion, when he mentions Victorinus in his Chronicle, it is more probable, that [e] he never was his scholar.

4. I choose to place at the bottom of the page a part of what Augustine writes concerning this illustrious convert: That [f], after having long been an idolater, and taught rhetoric at Rome with great applause, and had his statue erected in the Roman forum, he in his old age embraced, and made open profession of the Christian religion, at a time when the greatest part of the Roman nobility were heathens. He particularly observes, that by reading the scriptures Victorinus had been convinced of the truth of the Christian religion. He moreover says, that [g] when the emperor Julian published his edict forbidding Christians to teach grammar and rhetoric, and other branches of polite literature, Victorinus shut up his school, rather than purchase a liberty of teaching by compliances unbecoming a Christian. All which Augustine had been informed of by Simplician, bishop of Milan, who was well acquainted with Victorinus, and had often seen him at Rome, and was a principal instrument of persuading him to an open profession of the Christian religion, if not of his conversion.

5. The books against the Arians, mentioned by Jerom, are still [h] extant. Beside which, we have also a letter or treatise against the Manichees, and some other small tracts, written in the same style, and generally reckoned works of Victorinus. And his Commentaries upon St. Paul's

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 228. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 101. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 421. et seqq. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 100. Tillem. Mem. T. x. dans S. Simplicien.

[b] Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio Principe Rhetoricam docuit. Et in extremâ senectute Christi se tradens fidei, scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelliguntur, et commentarios in Apostolum. De V. I. c. 101.

[c] Victorinus Rhetor, et Donatus Grammaticus, Præceptor meus, Romæ insignes habentur. E quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in Foro Trajani meruit. Chr. p. 184.

[d] Non quod ignorem Caium Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ pueros rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in Apostolum; sed quod occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum Scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit. Et nemo potest, quamvis eloquens, de eo bene disputare quod nesciat. Pr. in Galat. T. iv. p. 222.

[e] Vid. Fabr. not. (c) ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 101.

[f] Ubi autem commemoravi legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum, quos Victorinus quondam Rhetor urbis Romæ, quem Christianum defunctum esse audieram, in Latinam linguam transtulisset, gratulatus est mihi [Simplicianus.]—— Deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi.——Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem, Romæ cum esset, familiarissime noverat. Deque illo mihi narravit, quod non silebo: ——Quemadmodum ille doctissimus senex, et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus: (quippe Philosophorum tam multa legerat, et dijudicaverat et dilucidaverat) doctor tot nobilium Senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne præclari magisterii, quod cives hujus mundi eximium putant, statuam in Romano Foro meruerat et acceperat, usque ad illam ætatem venerator idolorum, sacrorumque sacrilegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana Nobilitas inflata, inspirabat populo jam et omnigenûm deorum monstra,——quæ iste senex Victorinus tot annos ore terricrepo defensitaverat, non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui. ——Legebat, sicut ait Simplicianus, sanctam Scripturam, omnesque Christianas literas investigabat studiosissime et perscrutabatur. Et dicebat Simpliciano, non palam, sed secretius, et familiarius: Noveris me esse Christianum. &c. Aug. confess. l. viii. c. 2. n. 1. et 2. T. i.

[g] Postea quam vero et illud addidit, quod imperatoris Juliani temporibus lege datâ prohibiti sunt Christiani docere literaturam, et oratoriam; quam legem ille amplexus loquacem scholam deserere maluit, quàm verbum tuum, quo linguas infantum facis disertas. Ibid. c. 4. n. 10.

[h] Apud Bib. P P. T. iv. p. 253, &c.

epistles, upon some of them at least, are supposed to be still in being, in manuscript, in some libraries; but they have not been yet published.

6. I shall now observe a few things, chiefly taken out of the books against the Arians, which, as we now have them, are four in number.

7. Most of the books of the New Testament are here frequently quoted, particularly the [a] Acts of the apostles, the [b] epistle to the Hebrews, and [c] the Revelation.

8. He several times quotes [d] the epistle to the Ephesians, with that title.

9. He says, that [e] Paul in all his epistles, does nothing else but bear testimony to Christ; and that to him alone Christ appeared after his ascension.

10. He says, that [f] the Holy Ghost may be not unfitly styled the mother of Jesus. He has divers [g] other expressions relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, which are not agreeable to the apprehensions of learned divines of late times. Nor, indeed, is he very intelligible: but he seems to say, that the Word silent is the Father, or, the will of the Father; and the word speaking, or operating, is the Son. Which may induce some to recollect what was said formerly [h] of Sabellianism, in the chapter of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria.

CHAP. XCV.

APOLLINARIUS, BISHOP OF LAODICEA.[i]

I. *His time and history.* II. *His works, particularly his Commentaries upon the scripture, and his writings in the defence of the Christian religion.* III. *His peculiar opinions in the latter part of his life.* IV. *His works relating to those opinions.* V. *Scriptures received by him.* VI. *His character.*

I. Says Jerom, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Apollinarius [i] bishop of Laodicea in 'Syria, son of a presbyter of the same name, in his younger days employed himself chiefly in 'grammatical studies. Afterwards he published innumerable volumes upon the holy scriptures, 'and died in the time of the emperor Theodosius. His thirty books against Porphyry are still 'extant, and are esteemed the most valuable of all his works.'

Apollinarius is placed by Cave [k] as flourishing about the year 370; but [l] Tillemont thinks he was bishop of Laodicea in 362, at the latest. For certain, I think, he may be reckoned to have flourished in the time of the emperor Julian, and afterwards.

It has been questioned whether Apollinarius ever was bishop; but [m] Tillemont, [n] Basnage, and [o] some others, are clear that he obtained that dignity in the church: as is said by Jerom in the chapter just transcribed, and also [p] in his Chronicle, and by [q] Rufinus in his Ecclesiastical History. He died in the reign of Theodosius, as Jerom said just now; and probably, not long

[a] Et in Actis Apostolorum et ipse [Petrus,] et Lucas, qui scripsit de iis. Adv. Arian. l. iii. p. 280. B.

[b] Lectum apud Paulum ad Hebræos de Christo. Adv. Ar. l. ii. p. 272. G. & passim.

[c] Item in Apocalypsi ipse dixit: 'Et habeo claves mortis et inferi.' l. iii. p. 280. C.

[d] Paulus ad Ephesios. l. i. p. 254. H. Item ipse ad Ephesios. l. iii. p. 280. C.

[e] Paulus tamen in omnibus epistolis suis quid aliud agit, nisi de Christo testimonium dicit? Et post abscessum Christi solus Christum vidit, et soli apparuit. L. iii. p. 280. A.

[f] Natus est Filius, Λόγος qui sit, hoc est vita virtute patriâ, generante intelligentiâ, hoc est quod esse omnium quæ sunt veluti æternum fontem. Non fallatur ergo, si quis subintellexerit Sanctum Spiritum matrem esse Jesu. L. i. p. 270. B.

[g] Pater ergo, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, Deus, Λόγος Παράκλητος, unum sunt, quod substantialitas, vitalitas, beatitudo, silentium: sed apud se loquens silentium, verbum, verbi verbum. Quid etiam est voluntas Patris, nisi silens Verbum? Hoc ergo modo cum Verbum Pater sit, et Filius Verbum, id est, sonans Verbum atque operans. L. iii. p. 278. A.

[h] See Vol. i. p. 619.

[i] Apollinarius, Laodicenus Syriæ episcopus, patre Presbytero, magis Grammaticis in adolescentia operam dedit. Et postea in sanctas Scripturas innumerabilia scribens sub Theodosio Imperatore obiit. Exstant ejus adversus Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cætera ejus opera vel maxime probantur. De V. I. cap. 104.

[k] H. L. T. i. p. 250.

[l] Les Appollinaristes. Art. v. Mem. T. vii.

[m] Ubi supra. [n] Ann. 364. n. xi.

[o] Vid. Cav. ubi supr. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 125. and 127.

[p] Chr. p. 186. [q] Ruf. H. E. l. ii. cap. 20.

after the beginning of it, in 382, or soon after. For Epiphanius in 376 or 377, calls him [a] an old man, and a venerable old man: and Suidas says,[b] that he lived in the time of Constantius, and Julian the apostate, to the reign of Theodosius the great, being contemporary with Basil and Gregory, those admirable men of Cappadocia, with whom also he was acquainted.

Apollinarius the father, as we learn from [c] Socrates, was an Alexandrian. From thence he went to Berytus, where he taught Greek learning: after that he removed to Laodicea, and married, still continuing to teach grammar. Here likewise he was made presbyter, and his son reader; who, as we suppose, was at length ordained bishop of that city. And moreover, it is observed [d] by ecclesiastical writers, that the elder Apollinarius and his son were both intimate with Epiphanius, an heathen sophist at Laodicea; and [e] the son studied under him. Suidas adds, that [f] he was acquainted with Libanius.

II. As Jerom in the chapter already transcribed says, that Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea, published many volumes upon the scriptures, and in another place reckons him among those who [g] had left monuments of their diligence in studying the scriptures; I am led, agreeably to my design, to give an account of his works. Moreover, we perceive, that [h] Jerom, when young, often heard Apollinarius preach at Antioch; and he seems to have been then well pleased with his explications of the scriptures, though he did not approve of every thing said by him. His Apology for the Christian religion against Porphyry affords another reason, why I should give a more distinct account of this author's works, than I do of most others of so late an age.

1. The emperor Julian [i] in the year 362, published an edict, forbidding the Christians to teach the Greek learning, or read their authors. At [k] this time, says Socrates, the two Apollinarii before-mentioned were very useful to the Christians: the elder wrote a grammar in a Christian form, and put the books of Moses into heroic verse, and all the other books of the Old Testament into various kinds of metre, used by the Greek poets. The [l] younger, who was an excellent writer, put the gospels and the apostolical doctrine, into dialogues, after the manner of Plato.

2. Sozomen, without ascribing any works to the father, says of Apollinarius of Syria, that [m] employing his extensive learning and happy genius suitably to the occasion, for supplying to Christians the want of Homer, he wrote the Jewish Antiquities to the reign of Saul, in four and twenty books, giving to each book the name of a Greek letter, as Homer had done. He also, wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies in imitation of Euripides, and lyric poems after the manner of Pindar, still taking his subjects from the sacred scriptures. To these works, as well as to some other, Jerom may be supposed to refer, when he says in his Chronicle; at [n] this time Apollinarius bishop of Laodicea, composes many writings relating to our religion. Among the poems of Gregory Nazianzen [o] is a tragedy, intitled Χριστος πασχων, Christ suffering: which [p] some suppose to have been written by Apollinarius. Others [q] think that opinion to be without foundation, and that it is neither Gregory's, nor Apollinarius's.

3. Beside these, we can trace out from ancient writers, particularly from Jerom, commentaries of Apollinarius upon most parts of scripture.

4. He wrote, as we learn from Jerom, a [r] Commentary upon the whole book of Psalms: I

[a] Ὁ πρεσβυτης, και σεμνοπρεπης, κ. λ. H. 77. n. ii. p. 996. —— τον γεροντα. Ib. n. xxvi. p. 1031.

[b] —— γεγονως εν ημεραις Κωνσταντιε και Ιουλιανε τε παραβαλε, και εως της αρχης Θεοδοσιε τε μεγαλε, συγχρονος Βασιλειε και Γρηγοριε, των εκ Καππαδοκιας θαυμαζομενων. Εγενετο δε γνωριμος αμφοτερων, και Λιβανιε, και αλλων τινων. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[c] Socr. l. ii. cap. 46.

[d] Socr. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 25.

[e] Διδασκαλω δε αυτω χρωμενος Απολλιναριος, ὁν γαρ νεος ην. So . ib. p. 672. A. See before note.[b]

[g] Quod e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinario possumus dicere. Et tamen omnes in explanationibus Scripturarum sudoris sui nobis memoriam reliquerunt. Ad Minerv. et Alex. ep. 152. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 220.

[h] Dum essem juvenis, miro discendi ferebar ardore—Apollinarium Laodicenum audivi Antiochiæ frequenter, et colui. Et quum me in sanctis scripturis erudiret, numquam illius contentiosum dogma suscepi. Ep. 40. al. 64. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. T. iv. P. 2. p. 342

[i] Vid. Pagi. Ann. 362. n. xxxix.

[k] Socr. l. iii. c. 16.

[l] Ὁ δε νεωτερος Απολλιναριος, ευ μαλα το λεγειν παρεσκευασμενος, τα ευαγγελια, και τα αποστολικα δογματα, εν τροπω διαλογων εξεθετο, καθα και Πλατων παρ' Ἑλλησιν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 187.

[m] Soz. l. v. c. 18. p. 623.

[n] Apollinarius, Laodicenus episcopus, multimoda religionis nostræ scripta componit. Chr. p. 186.

[o] Ap. Gregor. Naz. Opp. T. ii. p. 253—298.

[p] Basnag. Ann. 390. n. x. Cav. H. L. p. 248. De Greg. Naz.

[q] S. Greg. Naz. art. 110. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.

[r] —— et maxime in explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotes, quartus Asterius Scythopolitanus, quintus Apollinarius Laodicenus, sextus Didymus Alexandrinus. Feruntur et diversorum in paucos psalmos opuscula. Sed nunc de integro psalmorum corpore dicimus. Ad Augustin. ep. 74. al. 89. T. iv. P. 2. p. 627. in.

place the whole passage below, though it contains more than we now immediately want. But it will be acceptable to some of my readers, Jerom there mentioning together six antient Greek writers, who had commented upon the whole book of Psalms, beside what had been done by others, who had explained some psalms only.

5. There is still extant [a] a Paraphrase of the Psalms, in hexameter verse, generally ascribed to our Apollinarius, and generally well esteemed, and the only entire work of his remaining: and I suppose it may be different from the commentary just mentioned in Jerom.

6. In his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes, Jerom several times [b] mentions explications that had been given by Apollinarius.

7. In the preface to his Commentaries upon Isaiah, Jerom gives a character of Apollinarius's commentaries, representing them [c] to be exceeding short, quite passing over some things, and touching only upon others.

8. In the preface to his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel, Jerom says, that [d] Apollinarius, in the 26th book of his work against Porphyry, which was a very long book, considered the objections which Porphyry had made to the book of Daniel. Here likewise Jerom says, that [e] Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinarius, and divers others of the Greek catholic writers, rejected the stories of Susanna, Bell and the Dragon, as not extant in Hebrew; and therefore Eusebius and Apollinarius in their answers to Porphyry insisted, that they were not obliged to take notice of his objections against Daniel, founded upon a supposition, that they were part of his book, when indeed they were of no authority, nor a part of sacred scripture.

9. It seems probable, that beside what Apollinarius wrote in favour of Daniel's prophecies in his work against Porphyry, he also wrote a commentary upon that prophet. For Jerom [f] makes remarks upon his explication of Dan. ix. 27, and quotes a long passage from him. From whence (if I may observe it by the way) it appears, that Apollinarius computed our Lord's ministry to have lasted somewhat more than two years, there being in it, according to St. John's gospel, three passovers, as he says.

10. In the preface to his Commentaries upon Hosea, Jerom says, that [g] Apollinarius in his younger days, wrote short commentaries upon all the prophets; that afterwards he was desired by his friends to write more fully upon Hosea. But still, even in this latter work, Jerom finds the fault of too great brevity.

11. Some learned men have been of opinion, that Apollinarius published a New Greek translation of the books of the Old Testament, composed out of the several Greek versions that had been made before. This supposition is chiefly built upon two passages of Jerom, which [h] I

[a] Psalmorum Davidicorum Metaphrasis. De quâ Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 666, 667. Exstat Græce et Latine in Bib. Patr. Morell. Par. 1644. T. xiv. p. 162—298. Et alibi.

[b] Laodicenus Interpres res magnas brevi sermone exprimere contendens, more sibi solito etiam hic loquutus est. In Ec. cap. iv. T. 2. p. 741. Vid. et in cap. xii. 5. Ibid. p. 785. in.

[c] Apollinarius autem more suo sic exponit omnia, ut universa transcurrat, et punctis quibusdam atque intervallis, immo compendiis, grandis viæ spatia prætervolet; ut non tam Commentarios quam Indices capitulorum nos legere credamus. Pr. in Is. T. iii. p. 6.

[d] Cui solertissime responderunt Eusebius Cæsariensis,—— Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est vicesimo sexto, ——Pr. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1071.

[e] Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententiâ responderunt: Susannæ, Belisque ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraïco.—Unde et nos ante annos plurimos, quum verteremus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eos in Hebraïco non haberi. Et miror quosdam μεμψιμοιρους indignari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum; quum et Origenes, et Eusebius, et Apollinarius, aliique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Græciæ, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur: nec se debere respondere Porphyrio pro his quæ nullam Scripturæ sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant. Pr. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1074.

[f] Apollinarius autem Laodicenus, omni præteritorum temporum se liberans quæstione, vota extendit in futurum, & periculose de incertis profert sententiam. Quæ si forte hi qui post nos victuri sunt statuto tempore completa non viderint, aliam solutionem quærere compellentur, & magistrum erroris arguere. Dicit ergo, ut verbum verbo interpreter, ne calumniam videar facere non dicenti.——Tricesimo enim, juxta Evangelistam Lucam, anno ætatis suæ cœpit in carne Dominus evangelium prædicare: et juxta Johannem Evangelistam per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos. In Dan. ix. T. iii. p. 1114.

[g] ——Apud Græcos reperi Apollinarium Laodicenum, qui quum in adolescentiâ suâ breves et in hunc et in alios Prophetas commentariolos reliquisset, tangens magis sensus quam explicans, rogatus est postea, ut in Osee plenius scriberet; qui liber venit in nostras manus. Sed et ipse nimiâ brevitate ad perfectam intelligentiam lectorem ducere non potest. Præf. in Osee. T. iii. p. 1235.

[h] Origenes in omnibus libris suis, post septuaginta Interpretes, Judæorum translationes explanat et edisserit. Eusebius quoque et Didymus idem faciunt. Prætermitto Apollinarium, qui bono quidem studio, sed non secundum scientiam, de omnium translationibus in unum vestimentum pannos assuere conatus est, et consequentiam Scripturarum non ex regulâ veritatis, sed ex suo judicio texere. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433.

Cujus [Symmachi] interpretationem Laodicenus sequutus nec Judæis placere potest, nec Christianis: dum et ad Hebræis procul est, et sequi Septuaginta Interpretes dedignatur. In Eccles. xii. 5. T. ii. p. 785. in.

transcribe below. But it seems to me, that Humphry Hody has shewn, that [a] nothing more is intended, than that in his commentaries upon the scriptures, and his explications of them, Apollinarius, without good judgment, mingled all the former translations of the Old Testament. Nevertheless Fabricius, either not attending to what Hody has said, or not being convinced by it, in his enumeration of the works of our author, reckons [b] this for one, A Greek Translation of the Books of the Old Testament: and refers to [c] R. Simon, as of the same opinion.

12. Here I would take a part of Suidas's article concerning Apollinarius. He says, he [d] put the whole Jewish scripture into heroic verse; he also wrote epistles, and many commentaries upon the sacred scriptures. After which, Suidas quotes a long passage of Philostorgius, which is also briefly taken notice of by Photius, in his extracts [e] out of Philostorgius's Ecclesiastical History. Comparing Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Apollinarius, and speaking of them all as eminent writers in their way, he observes to the advantage of Apollinarius, that [f] his style was best for a commentator of scripture, and that he understood Hebrew.

13. There is however a passage of Jerom, where he is supposed to refer to [g] Apollinarius; which may occasion a doubt, whether he had any, or at least a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew. And [h] as it has some respect to the point just now spoken of, his making a new Greek version of the Old Testament, I have transcribed it at large.

We now proceed,

14. In the [i] preface to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, Jerom speaks of a commentary of Apollinarius upon that gospel; and he refers to it [k] in his own comment.

15. Apollinarius [l] is mentioned by him together with others, who had explained the first epistle to the Corinthians.

16. He wrote also upon [m] the whole, or a part of the epistle to the Galatians.

17. His Commentary [n] upon the epistle to the Ephesians is mentioned by Jerom several times.

18. He also wrote [o] upon the whole, or a part of the first epistle to the Thessalonians.

19. In the chapter of the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, transcribed above, Jerom mentions and commends our author's work against Porphyry; as he does also in [p] several other places. This work is particularly mentioned by Suidas: and we took some notice of it [q] formerly.

20. Sozomen, speaking of the works of Apollinarius, says: There [r] is also a valuable work of his addressed to the emperor himself and the Greek philosophers, entitled Of the Truth; in

[a] Apollinarium, Apollinarii F. episcopum Laodiceæ, editionem quamdam mixtam Bibliorum ex Interpretum omnium Versionibus conflatam elaborâsse existimant eruditi.—Sed falluntur omnes. Loquitur enim Hieronymus non de ullâ Bibliorum editione ab Apollinario confectâ, sed de illius tantum Scripturarum explanationibus, in quibus sine ullo judicio translationes omnes commiscuerat, secutusque fuerat. Hod. de Bib. Text. Origen. l. iv. c. 3. p. 631. Conf. l. iii. p. 318.

[b] Versio Græca librorum V. T. contexta ex variis interpretationibus, præcipue Symmachi. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 664.

[c] Hist. Cr. du V. T. l. ii. ch. 10. p. 242.

[d] Οὗτος ἑξάμετρον——καὶ δι' ἡρώων ἐπων πασαν τὴν Ἑβραικων γραφην. Ἑξαμετρον δε και επιστολας, και αλλα πολλα εις τὴν γραφην ὑπομνηματα. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[e] Philost. H. E. l. viii. c. 11.

[f] Οὗτος γαρ δὴ και της Ἑβραΐδος διαλεκτου επαΐειν οἷος τε ην. κ. λ. Ap. Suid. ib.

[g] Vid. Hod. ubi supra. p. 631.

[h] Primum enim magnorum sumtuum est et infinitæ difficultatis, exemplaria posse habere omnia: deinde etiam qui habuerint, et Hebræi sermonis ignari sunt, magis errabunt, ignorantes quis e multis verius dixerit: quod etiam sapientissimo cuidam nuper apud Græcos accidit, ut, interdum Scripturæ sensum relinquens, uniuscujusque interpretis sequeretur errorem. Prol. in libr. Ezr. ex Hebr. convers. T. i. p. 1107. Et Conf. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 427. infr. m.

[i] Legisse me fateor——Apollinarisque Laodiceni, ac Didymi Alexandrini. Pr. in Matt. T. iv. P. i. p. 3.

[k] Vid. in Matt. ib. p. 115. f.

[l] Origenes,——Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinarius, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt. Ad Pamm. ep. 31. al. 52. T. iv. p. 243. f.

[m] Prætermitto Didymum videntem meum, et Laodicenum, de ecclesiâ nuper egressum, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentariolos reliquerunt. Pr. in Gal. T. iv. P. i. p. 222. Conf. ad August. ep. 74. al. 89. T. iv. P. ii. p. 619.

[n] Ego enim in Commentariis ad Ephesios sic Origenem, et Didymum, et Apollinarium sequutus sum,——ut fidei meæ non amitterem veritatem. Adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 365.

In epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios tria Origenes scripsit volumina. Didymus quoque et Apollinarius propria opuscula edidere. Quos ego, vel transferens vel imitans, quid in prologo ejusdem operis scripserim, subjiciam, &c. Adv. Ruf. ib. p. 373. Conf. Pr. in ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 322. f.

[o] Ad Minerv. et Alex. de eo quod omnes quidem dormiemus, &c. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 216. et conf. ib. p. 211. et 220.

[p] Apollinarius contra Porphyrium egregia scripsit volumina. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. P. ii. p. 345. Vid. ib. p. 342. Vid. et Pro. libr. adv. Jovinian. Apol. ep. 30. al. ep. 50. p. 236. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433. in. Ad Magn. ep. 43. p. 665. Pr. Comm. in Dan. T. iii.

[q] See p. 357.

[r] Ουκ αξεννης δε και πρὸς αυλον τον βασιλεα ἡ λοι τας παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφους εστιν αυτῳ ὁ λογος, ἐν ὑπερ αληθειας επεγραψεν· εν ᾧ και διχα της των ἱερων λογων μαρτυριας εδειξεν αυτους ἀποξενολογηθεντας τε θεσπεσιου περι Θεου φρονειν. Τα δε γαρ επιλωβαζων ὁ βασιλευς τοις τοτε διαπρεπουσιν επισκοποις επεστειλεν· Ανεξνων, εἰνων, και καλεξνων——αξεσθαι δικαιον ανδρειας και παιδευσεως τον γραψαντα. Soz. l. v. c. 11. p. 624.

which, by reason alone, without alleging the divine scriptures, he shewed that they did not think rightly of the Deity. And it was said, that upon occasion of this book, Julian wrote a letter to some Christian bishops to this purpose: 'I have read, understood, and condemned.' To which he received this answer, 'You have read, but you did not understand; if you had 'understood, you would not have condemned.' Some [a] ascribe this work to Basil of Cappadocia: but however that be, says Sozomen, the writer deserves to be admired both for his courage and learning.

Whether this be the same as the work against Porphyry, or different from it, is not clear. Fabricius [b] thinks it to be a different work, and written before the other. He imagines, that Apollinarius, provoked at Julian's remark, was induced after this short performance to write the large work against Porphyry.

21. Beside all these, Apollinarius wrote divers books against those called heretics.

Vincent of Lerins [c] supposeth him to have written against many heresies; who at the same time mentions and commends his noble work against Porphyry. Epiphanius [d] mentions Apollinarius together with others who had written against the Manichees. Philostorgius [e] says he wrote against Eunomius. By Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 385, he is said to [f] have written against the Arians, Eunomians, and other heretics.

III. There are some other works of Apollinarius spoken of by ancient writers, which I may take some notice of by and by. But I would first of all give an account of the wrong opinions which he is said to have advanced in the latter part of his life: this I could willingly have declined, if it had not been a necessary part of his history. Of these errors, accounts may be seen in many [g] ancient, and [h] modern writers, to whom I refer; some of which, especially the ancient, I shall quote.

1. Epiphanius, who speaks of Apollinarius with great respect, and says, that he had been long highly esteemed by Athanasius, and all the catholics in general, represents his opinion in this manner: that [i] when the Son of God became incarnate, he took a human body, and animal or sensitive soul, but not mind, or an intelligent soul, and thereby denied him to have taken upon him perfect man. The [k] doctrine concerning the thousand years to be spent on this earth by raised saints and martyrs, appeared to Epiphanius so absurd, that he could not believe it of him, though he had been assured of it by several.

2. Basil speaks as if Apollinarius had in some of his writings endeavoured [l] to revive the Sabellian doctrine concerning the Deity. In another letter [m] he mentions some obscure expressions concerning the Trinity, which perhaps were not his; and are not, I think, delivered by

[a] Others understand Sozomen differently, after this manner: that some ascribed that saying or answer to Basil. Hanc responsionem Basilio M. non Apollinari plerosque tribuisse, Sozomen. narrat. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 662.

[b] Videtur autem inde Apollinaris permotus esse, ut post brevem istum libellum editum, justo deinde opere libros, quorum maxima erat apud Ethnicos auctoritas, Tyrii philosophi Porphyrii adversus Christianos confutaret. Ægre enim assentior viris doctis, qui libros XXX contra Porphyrium cum λογῳ confundunt. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 662.

[c] Quam multas ille hæreses multis voluminibus oppresserit, quot inimicos fidei confutaverit errores, indicio est opus illud triginta non minus librorum nobilissimum ac maximum, quo insanas Porphyrii calumnias magnâ probationum mole confudit. V. E. Adv. Hær. cap. 16.

[d] Hær. 66. n. xxi. [e] Hist. Ec. l. viii. c. 12.

[f] Cessent Apollinaris discipuli ea quæ contra ecclesiasticas regulas est locutus, propter alia ejus scripta defendere. Licet enim adversus Arianos, et Eunomianos scripserit, et Origenem, aliosque hæreticos suâ disputatione subverterit, &c. Theoph. lib. Pasch. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 694.

[g] Athanas. Ep. ad Epictet. T. i. p. 901, &c. [et ap. Epiphan. H. 77. n. iii.—xiii. p. 997, &c.] Contr. Apollin. l. i. et ii. p. 921—925. Greg. Naz. Ep. ad Nectar. seu Or. 46. T. i. p. 721. Ep. 1. et 2. ad Cledon. sive Or. 51. et 52. p. 737—749. Greg. Nyss. Antirrhet. adv. Apollinar. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 123—287. Basil Ep. 129. al. 59. T. iii. p. 220. Ep. 131. al. 382. p. 223. et alibi.——Epiph. H. 77. Socrat. l. ii. c. 46. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 28. Theodoret. H. E. l. v. cap. 3, 4. Hær. Fab. l. iv. c. 8. et. 9. l. v. cap. xi. Rufin. H. E. l. ii. c. 20. Aug. de Hær. cap. 55. Leont. Byzant. adv. fraudes Apollinaristarum. ap. B. PP. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 707.

[h] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 250. and Lives of the Fathers (in English,) in the Life of Greg. Naz. sect. v. p. 312. Pearson upon the Creed, Art. v. p. 237, &c. Lond. 1676. Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, Vol. i. p. 203—211. S. Basnag. Ann. 364. n. xi. xii. Fr. Spanheim. T. i. p. 890.

[i] Εδοξε γαρ τισι——παραβαλλειν τον θεον απο της τε Χριστε ενσαρκε παρρησιας, και λεγειν, ὁτι σαρκα ελαβεν ὁ Χριστος ελθων ὁ κυριος ἡμων και ψυχην, νεν δε ουκ ελαβεν. τουτ' εστι τελεον ανθρωπον. H. 77. n. i. p. 996. Vid. et. n. ii.

[k] Αλλοι δε εφασαν τον γερονλα ειρηκεναι, ὁτι εν τη τρωλη αναστασει χιλιονλαετηριδα τινα επιλελεμεν, τοις αυτοις εμπολιτευομενοι, ὁποιοις και νυν, ως και νομον, και αλλα φυλαττονλες, και παντα της χρησεως της εν τω κοσμω, γαμε τε και τεριτομης, και των αλλων μετεχονλες, ὁπερ ε πανυ περι αυτε τεπιστευκαμεν· ως δε τινες διεβεβαιωσανλο, τελο εφησαν αυτον ειρηκεναι. H. 77. n. xxvi. p. 1031.

[l] Ουχι οι περι τε Θεε λογοι πληρεις παρ' αυτω εισιν ασεβων δογματων της παλαιας ασεβειας τε μαλαιοφρονος Σαβελλιε δι' αυτε αναγεωβετισης εν τοις συνλαγμασιν. Basil. ep 265. al. 293. T. iii. p. 409. D.

[m] Vid. ep. 129. al. 59. T. iii. p. 220. Conf. ep. 265. p. 409. D. E.

Basil, as certainly known to be his.* His [a] opinion concerning the person of Christ, or his incarnation, Basil says, had occasioned great disturbances. That letter is supposed to have been written in 377, or thereabout. The doctrine of Apollinarius concerning the Millennium, as represented by [b] Basil in the same letter, is a very crude notion; and yet is agreeable to that which Epiphanius had been informed of; and is also much the same with what Jerom not seldom ascribes to [c] our people, meaning catholics. I have put down below several of his passages, to be added to some others, transcribed [d] formerly. Well might Basil and Jerom call it a Jewish doctrine, and they who held it Judaizers; if indeed they expected that good men should be raised up again to spend a thousand years in the land of Judea, and that the law of Moses should again be set up with circumcision, sacrifices at the temple in Jerusalem, and other usages of that institution.

3. Gregory Nazianzen, in his letter to Nectarius of Constantinople, represents Apollinarius to teach in his writings, that Christ [e] brought his body from heaven: this he argued from John iii. 13. 1 Cor, xv. 47. Next, that this man from heaven was not endowed with mind, but that the only begotten of the Father supplied the place of mind, being joined to an animal sensitive soul, and a body: and that he likewise taught, that God the Word, or the only begotten, suffered in his Deity. In another place [f] Gregory takes notice of Apollinarius's notion concerning the Millennium: but undoubtedly, the particulars just mentioned were the most offensive. However, Gregory does also charge him with teaching, that [g] there are degrees in the Trinity.

4. Theodoret, in his Heretical Fables, says, that [h] in some of his writings Apollinarius made no innovations in the doctrine of the Trinity, but appeared to agree with us, teaching one substance of the Deity, and three persons. But in some of his writings he speaks of degrees in the Trinity, saying, that the Spirit is great, the Son greater, the Father greatest of all. In other writings, he confounds the properties of the Divine Persons, and for that reason has been charged with Sabellianism. Moreover he says, that when God the Word took flesh, he took a body and soul, not a rational, but an irrational soul, which some call sensitive and animal: and the Divine nature supplied the place of a soul. In another place Theodoret expresseth himself after this manner: Arius [i] and Eunomius said that Christ had a human body, and that the Divinity was in the place of a soul. Apollinarius said, that Christ had an animated [or living] body, but not a reasonable soul: for the mind was superfluous where God the Word was present. Again in his Ecclesiastical History also, Theodoret speaks distinctly of Apollinarius's several opinions, and there slightly mentions also [k] his opinion concerning the divine promises, or the retributions to be hereafter given to good men.

5. Jerom sometimes speaks of Apollinarius's opinions concerning the incarnation, or [l] his defective notion of the person of Christ, not allowing him to be perfect man; and [m] the Millen-

[a] Εἰλα και τα περι σαρκωσεως τοσαυτην επoιησε τῃ αδελφοτῃτι την ταραχην, ὡστε ὀλιγοι λοιπον των εντευξομενων τον αρχαιον της ευσεβειας διασωζουσι χαρακτηρα. κ. λ. ep. 263. al. 74. p. 407. A.

[b] Εστι δε αυτῳ και το περι αναστασεως μυθικως συγκειμενα, μαλλον δε Ιουδαϊκως. Εν οἱς φησι παλιν ἡμας προς την νομικην ὑποτρεφειν λατρειαν· και παλιν ἡμας περιμηνησεσθαι, και σαββατιζειν, και βρωματων απεχεσθαι, και θυσιας προσοισειν Θεῳ και προσκυνησιν εν Ἱεροσολυμοις, επι τω ναω, και ὁλως απο Χριστιανων Ιουδαιους γενησεσθαι. ep. 263. p. 406. E.

[c] Respondeant amatores tantum occidentis literæ, et in mille annos exquisitos cibos gulæ ac luxuriæ præparantes——qui post secundum in gloriâ Salvatoris adventum sperant nuptias, et parvulos centum annorum, et circumcisionis injuriam, et victimarum sanguinem, et perpetuum sabbatum. In Is. cap. lix. T. iii. P. i. p. 396.

Hæc illi et nostri Judaïzantes, qui mille annorum regnum in Judææ sibi finibus pollicentur, et auream Jerusalem, et victimarum sanguinem, et filios ac nepotes, et delicias incredibiles. In Joel. cap. iii. T. 3. P. ii. p. 1364. Vid. ibid. p. 1367.

Hæc omnia——Judæi et Judaïzantes nostri, immo non nostri, qui Judaïzantes, sperant futura corporaliter utique et circumcisionem sibi, et conjugia in mille annorum imperio promittentes. In Zach. xiv. T. iii. p. 1803.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 640.

[e] Ad Nectar. Or. 46. p. 722.

[f] Ad Cledon. ep 2. al. Or. 52. p. 747. C.

[g] Ad Cledon. ep. 1. seu. Or. 51. p. 744. C. D.

[h] Αλλ' ὁμοιως ἡμιν και την μιαν της Θεοτητος θσιαν, και τας τρεις ὑποστασεις εκηρυξεν· εν ενιοις δε βαθμους αξιωματων ὡρισαλο, ἑαυτον διανομεα της θειας χειροτονησας νομης. Αυτε γαρ εστιν εὑρεμα, το μειζα, μειζον, μειστον——Εν ενιοις τοινυν παλιν ἑτερος συγγραμμασι τας των ὑποστασεων συνεχεεν. ιδιοτητας—— Ὁθεν και την τε Σαβελλιανισμε καθηγοριαν εδεξαλο. Σαρκωθηναι τε τον Θεον εφησε λογον, σωμα και ψυχην ανειληφοτα, ε την λογικην, αλλα την αλογον, ἡν φυσικην ἡδεν ζωτικην τινες ονομαζουσι. H. F. l. iv. c. 8. p. 240.

[i] Αρειος δε και Ευνομιος σωμα μεν αὑτον ειληφεναι, την Θεοτητα δε της ψυχης ενηρτηκεναι την χρειαν· ὁ δε Απολλιναριος εμψυχον μεν εφησε ειναι τε σωτηρος σωμα, ε μην την λογικην εσχηκεναι ψυχην· περιττος γαρ ἡν, φησι, ὁ νους, τε Θεε λογε παρονλος. Hær. Fab. l v. c. 11. p. 278. Conf. ad Flavian. ep. 104. T. iii p. 975. D.

[k] Και ἑτερως δε μυθως και ληρως ταις θειαις επαγγελειαις συνεζευξεν. H. E. l. v. c. 3. p. 200. D.

[l] ——dimidiatam Christi introduxit œconomiam. Ad Pamm. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 342.

[m] Hic [Papias] dicitur, mille annorum Judaïcam edidisse δευτερωσιν, quem secuti sunt Irenæus, et Apollinarius, et cæteri, qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. De Papiâ cap. 18. V. I. Vid. et Procem. in Is. Comm. l. xviii. T. 3. p. 478. et in Ezech. c. 36. p. 952. m.

narian doctrine. He also speaks of an opinion of [a] his concerning the soul: which, however, was not reckoned a part of his heresy.

6. I put below what [b] Rufinus, and [c] Vincent of Lerins say of Apollinarius's doctrine concerning the incarnation.

7. I transcribe below [d] at length Augustine's article of the Apollinarists. He speaks of them in several other places; from one of which we perceive, that [e] they argued in favour of their doctrine concerning the incarnation from John i. 14. I transcribe in the margin [f] a passage or two more, to be observed by my readers at leisure. And I refer also to [g] other places of Augustine, where he treats somewhat largely of the opinions of these people.

8. Socrates entirely agrees with Rufinus, whom probably he copied, in the account of their doctrine concerning the incarnation: but he adds, the [h] Apollinarians said, in this only did they differ from the catholics, for they believed a consubstantial Trinity. Vincent also, transcribed not long ago, has somewhat to the like purpose. And it must be owned to be in favour of Apollinarius in this respect, that [i] Philostorgius, a learned Arian, reckons Apollinarius, together with Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, one of the best defenders of the homoüsian doctrine. And that he and his followers still professed to retain the Nicene faith, may be inferred from [k] Athanasius's arguments with them. And Leontius of Byzantium, who was no friend to Apollinarius, allows [l] him to be orthodox upon the Trinity; and imputes to him only an erroneous doctrine concerning the incarnation: for though Gregory and some others charge him with advancing degrees in the Trinity, he did not use the word *created* of the Son or the Spirit. Concerning this point, may be seen a note of the Benedictine editors [m] of St. Ambrose's works.

9. S. Basnage [n] allows the truth of what is generally said of Apollinarius, that he supposed the Word to supply in the man Jesus the place of a rational soul: and as what he says may illustrate

[a] —— an certe ex traduce; ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius, et maxima pars Occidentalium. Ad Marcell. et Anaps. ep. 78. al. 82. T. iv. p. 642.

[b] ——asserens solum corpus, non etiam animam a Domino in dispensatione susceptam——Post —— ait, eum quidem habuisse animam, sed non ex eâ quæ rationabilis est sed ex eâ solum quæ vivificabat corpus: ad supplementum vero rationabilis partis, ipsum Verbum Dei fuisse perhibebat. Ruf. H. E. l. ii. c. 20.

[c] Apollinaris vero in unitatem quidem Trinitatis quasi consentire se jactat, et hoc ipsum plenâ fidei sanctitate. Sed in Domini incarnatione apertâ professione blasphemat. Dicit enim, in ipsâ Salvatoris nostri carne aut animam humanam penitus non fuisse, aut certe talem fuisse, cui mens et ratio non esset. Sed et ipsam Domini carnem non de sanctæ virginis Mariæ carne susceptam, sed de cœlo in virginem descendisse dicebat: eamque nutabundus semper et dubius modo cœternam Deo Verbo, modo de Verbi Divinitate factam prædicabat. Vincent. Lirin. Comm. cap. 17.

[d] Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de animâ Christi a Catholicis dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine animâ suscepisse. In quâ quæstione testimoniis evangelicis victi, mentem, quæ rationalis est anima hominis, defuisse animæ Christi, sed pro hac ipsum Verbum in eo fuisse dixerunt. De ipsâ vero ejus carne sic a rectâ fide dissensisse perhibenter, ut dicerent, carnem illam et Verbum unius ejusdemque substantiæ; contentiosissimè asseverantes, Verbum carnem factum, hoc est, Verbi aliquid in carnem fuisse conversum atque mutatum, non autem carnem de Mariæ carne fuisse susceptam. De Hær. cap. 55. T. viii.

[e] ——quemadmodum argumentantur Apollinaristæ, vel quicumque sunt alii, adversus animam Domini: quam propterea negant, quia scriptum legunt, "Verbum caro factum est." Si enim et anima, inquiunt, ibi est, debuit dici: Verbum homo factum est. De Animâ et ejus Origine. l. i. c. 18. p. 31. T. x.

[f] Nec ita hominem, [dicimus Christum] ut aliquid minus habeat quod ad humanam certum est pertinere naturam, sive animam, sive in ipsâ animâ mentem rationalem, sive carnem, non de feminâ sumtam, sed factam de Verbo in carnem converso atque mutato. Quæ omnia tria falsa et vana, hæreticorum Apollinaristarum tres partes varias diversasque fecerunt. De Dono Perseverantiæ. cap. 24. T. x. P. i.

Fuerunt enim quidam hæretici, et pulsi sunt ab ecclesiâ, qui putarent, non habere mentem rationalem corpus Christi, sed quasi animam belluinam. In Joan. Evang. Tr. 23. n. 6. T. iii. Ps. 2. Vid. ib. Tr. 47. n. 9.

[g] Vid. Enarr. in Ps. 29. n. 2. in Ps. 85. n. 4. T. iv.

[h] Περι τελε μονε δη λεγεσι διαφερεσθαι, οι νυν εξ εκεινων την προσωνυμιαν εχοντες· την γαρ τριαδα ομοουσιον ειναι φασι. Socr. l. ii. c. 46. p. 161. B.

[i] Vid. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[k] Ep. ad Epictet. p. 903. E. p. 904. A. B. et alibi.

[l] Ὁ δε Απολλιναριος περι μεν την Θεολογιαν ε φαινεται ἁμαρτανων, πλην διελεγχεσι και τελον οι Γρηγοριοι περι ταυτην αμαρτανονσι· Κλισμα μεν γαρ, φασιν, ε λεγει· ὑποβασιν δε μικραν λεγει τε Υιε και τε Πνευματος, προς τον Πατερα· Περι δε την οικονομιαν φανερως διεβαλλετο. Ελεγε γαρ, το σωμα, ὁ ενεδυσατο ὁ Θεος Λογος, ψυχην μεν εχειν, νεν δε ε βουλομενος· αλλ' ὡσπερ αλογον ψυχην, ε̃λως ελεγεν εχειν. De Sectis. Act. iv. Ap. B. PP. Morell. T. xi. p. 507. et Latine ap. B. PP. Ludg. T. ix. p. 666.

[m] Ad Ambr. de Incarnat. Domini Sacram. c. 2. T. ii. p. 705.

[n] Id etiam luculentissime demonstrat ipse Apollinaris, epistolâ episcopis Diocæsareæ scriptâ, quam ab oblivione Leontius vindicavit. Confitemur, non ad hominem sanctum venisse Verbum Dei, quod erat in Prophetis, sed ipsum Verbum carnem factum esse, non assumptâ mente humanâ, mente mutabili, quæ turpibus cogitationibus captiva ducitur, sed divinâ mente immutabili et cœlesti. Leont. adv. Fraudes Apollinarist. ap. Bib. PP. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 712. Mentem itaque, non animam, a Christo abjudicabat.——Ex fontibus porro Platonis videtur errorem deduxisse suum. Quod et asserit Nemesius de Nat. Hom. cap. i. Quidam, e quibus est Plotinus, aliud esse animam, et aliud mentem statuentes, ex tribus constare volunt hominem, e corpore, animâ, et mente. Hos secutus est Apollinaris Laodiceæ episcopus. His enim jactis fundamentis sententiæ suæ, reliqua dogmati suo consentanea superstruxit. S. Basn. Ann. 364. n. xii. p. 6.

the point, I have transcribed him somewhat largely in the margin. But he thinks, that the opinions ascribed to Apollinarius by Gregory Nazianzen, in the letter to Nectarius before quoted, written about the year 385, not to have been held by him; as that our Saviour brought his body from heaven, and that his divinity suffered. Though Gregory quotes as a voucher, a work of Apollinarius himself; he says, it [a] could not be his, but rather a work of one of his disciples. He moreover argues, that Theodoret in his Heretical Fables does not ascribe the opinion of the descent of Christ's body from heaven to Apollinarius, but to some of his followers.

10. To which I would answer, that there appears not any good reason to deny the genuineness of the book alleged by Gregory Nazianzen. To do so is an arbitrary proceeding: for what account can be given of Gregory's mistaking the author? Secondly, Theodoret in his work of Heretical Fables does, indeed, make two chapters, one of Apollinarius, another of the Polemians, and others his disciples. And in this last chapter he says, that [b] some of these were of opinion, that the Lord's body came down from heaven. Nevertheless, in his Ecclesiastical History, Theodoret speaking of Apollinarius says: Sometimes [c] he said, that our Lord took flesh, or his body, of the holy virgin: at other times, that his flesh came down from heaven, together with God the Word. Sometimes he said, that the Word was made flesh, without taking any thing from us. Which diversity of sentiments is hinted also in the just cited chapter of the Heretical Fables. Yea, he there expressly says, that [d] those of his followers, who said, that the Lord's body came down from heaven, supported themselves by his writings. Thirdly, all the sentiments ascribed to Apollinarius by Gregory, in his letter to Nectarius, appear in other authors of the same time, who wrote against him. That [e] the body of Christ came down from heaven; that [f] his flesh and Divinity were homoüsian; that [g] his Deity suffered; are all opinions of Apollinarius, or his disciples, taken notice of by Athanasius in his books against the Apollinarists in 372, or thereabout. The same things are observable in the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus bishop of Corinth, written about the year 371, particularly those offensive notions, that the body of Jesus was [h] consubstantial and [i] coëternal with his Deity. The like things are taken notice of by Epiphanius [k] in his article concerning them, written in 377. As Apollinarius was then living, it seems to me to make little difference, whether they were his notions, or his disciples. I might refer likewise to Gregory Nyssen's long work against them published by Zacagni, where all the same sentiments are disputed: as [l] the mortality of the Deity in Christ, the [m] pre-existence of his body, and [n] its being brought down from heaven, as well [o] as the Word's supplying the place of a rational soul in Christ. And Gregory Nyssen supposeth all along that he argued with Apollinarius himself, as he had expressed his notions in his own work. Indeed some of these things are very strange; which may make us doubt, whether Apollinarius be not misrepresented, and whether some of the opinions ascribed to him are not consequences which he did not own: but I apprehend, that they are as much his, as his disciples.

11. The principal doctrine, by which Apollinarius and his followers were distinguished, was, that Christ had no rational soul, and that the Word supplied the office of it. With respect to that opinion, Epiphanius [p] gave them the denomination of Dimœritæ, and so entitled his article

[a] Librum tamen Apollinaristæ potius, quam Apollinaris ipsius esse existimamus——Librum ea impia continentem subditum esse existimamus. Ib. p. 7. a.

[b] Καὶ ἄλλοι δέ τινες ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλιναρίου συναγωγῆς, ἐκ τῶν ἀρανῶν ἐφασαν καταληλυθέναι τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα. Διαφορὰ δὲ εὑρίσκεται ἐκ τοῖς ἐκείνου συγγράμμασι δοκίμοις, οἱ μὲν τέλειοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνοις ὑπεσθησαν. H. F. l. iv. cap. 9.

[c] Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ συνωμολόγει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου προσειληφθῆναι τὴν σάρκα· ποτὲ δὲ οὐρανόθεν τὰύτην τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ συγκαταληλυθέναι φησὶν· ἀλλοτέ δὲ αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι σάρκα, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰληφότα. H. E. l. v. c. 3. p. 200. D.

[d] See note.[b] [c]

[e] Πῶς ὑμεῖς πάλιν λέγετε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα; Athanas. contr. Apollinarist. l. i. n. 7. T. i. p. 927. B.

[f] Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὴν σάρκα τῆς Θεοτόκου λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖτε. Ib. p. 929. B. Vid. et E.

[g] Ματαῖοι ἂν οἱ τὴν Θεοτόκῳ αὐτὸ παθος προσαπτοντες.—l. ii. p. 955. C.

[h] Ποῖος ἀνὴρ τρεῦξαιτο, ὁμοούσιον εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐκ Μαρίας σῶμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου Θεοτόκου; Ad Epict. p. 902. B.

Πόθεν ὑμῖν ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὦ ἄθλοι, ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου Θεοτόκου; Ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καλὸν ἐστιν ἄρξασθαι. Ib. p. 903. E.

[i] ——ὥστε εἰπεῖν μὴ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Θεοτόκου, ἀλλὰ συναΐδιον αὐτῷ διαπαντὸς γεγενῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς σοφίας συνέστη. p. 902. D.

[k] Vid. H. 77. n. ii. p. 997, 998.

[l] Ἅπας γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς λογογραφίας ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπει, τὸ θνητὴν τὸ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ τὴν Θεότητα. Gr. Nyss. adv. Apoll. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 132. in.

Εἰ γὰρ αὐτὴ τεθνήκεν τὸ μονογενοῦς Θεότης, συναπέθανε ταύτῃ πάντως καὶ ἡ ζωή. κ. λ. Ibid. infr. Vid. et p. 133, 134.

[m] Ib. p. 150, 151. et alibi.

[n] Ib. p. 205. [o] Ib. p. 220. &c. et alibi.

[p] Dimœritarum porro nomine Apollinaristas insectatur Epiphanius, Hær. 77. Cujus appellationis causam aperit Gregorius Nazianz. cum ait Orat. 46. p. 722. corpus et animam esse in Christo τὸ τριμερίον, tertiam partem. Apollinaristæ quippe aiebant, in Christo partem unam hominis, νοῦν scilicet, seu mentem, a Verbo suppleri, solumque Verbum junctum corpori et animæ, [nempe sensitivæ, ut dictitabant illi] totum constituere Christum. Quamobrem, cum ex Catholicorum

concerning them: denoting persons who maimed the person of Christ, and made him consist of two parts only, animated flesh, and Divinity: whereas the catholics supposed him to have an human soul, or mind, and a human body, with the Word.

IV. I now proceed to observe some of his works, which have not yet been taken notice of.

1. Basil, in a letter written in 376, mentions [a] a book concerning the Holy Spirit, which he had not seen. Whether this book regarded any of his peculiar notions, I cannot certainly say. Here Basil says, he had heard, that Apollinarius was become the most voluminous of writers: but he had seen few of his works. In another letter, written in 377, he says, that [b] Apollinarius, being endowed with a great facility of writing, had filled the whole world with his books, neglecting the advice of Solomon in Ecc. xii. 12.

2. When Basil [c] gives an account of Apollinarius's doctrine concerning the incarnation, he may be supposed to refer to some writing of his. When Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the same matter, he appears [d] to have had a volume of Apollinarius before him, though he does not mention the title. Gregory Nyssen [e] expressly names the book confuted by him.

3. When Basil gives an account of Apollinarius' notion concerning the Millennium, he seems also to refer [f] to some book: whether he means the work against Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, mentioned by [g] Jerom, I cannot say.

4. Apollinarius wrote verse easily, and agreeably: and [h] accordingly composed short psalms and hymns, fitted for festivals, and for all seasons, and upon a great variety of subjects, all tending to the praise and glory of God. The men sung them at their work, and at their entertainments; the women sung them at their spindle: and some were sung by his followers in their religious assemblies, in the room of those which were generally used. So says Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History. Gregory Nazianzen, referring to these poems, speaks, as [i] if they had a new Psalter, but dissonant from that of David; and as if his writings were made by his followers a third Testament, or a part of sacred scripture: in which he may be supposed to aggravate more than a little.

5. There is a collection of small poems,[k] fifty-three in number, called Homerici Centones de Christo. The subjects are taken out of the Old and New Testament, chiefly the latter: They are such as these, our Saviour's conception and birth, the presents brought by the Magi, the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, John the Baptist, the wedding at Cana, the woman of Samaria, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and several other of our Saviour's miracles, our Lord's crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and ascension. But these are not generally ascribed to Apollinarius.

6. I hope I have now given a sufficient account of the works and opinions of Apollinarius; not thinking it needful to enter farther into the history of his followers, or the sentences of condemnation pronounced by councils upon him, or them. They who desire a more particular account of those things may consult the writings of the learned moderns formerly [l] referred to.

V. It is almost needless to observe, that Apollinarius received all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament which we do, without adding to them any other, so far as we know. His firm belief of the Christian religion, appears in the books written in the defence of it, and in the

sententiâ tribus, constaret Christus, Verbo scilicet, mente humanâ, et corpore animato, qui unam ex illis demerent partem, mentem scilicet, a duabus aliis διμοιριται audiebant. Nam διμοιρον Græcis est duæ tertiæ partes, &c. Benedictin. in ep. ad Epictet. Admon. ap. Athan. p. 900.

[a] Ου μην περι τε Πνευματος τε ἁγιε η αιτησας αυτον οιδα βιβλιον, η απεσταλεν ὑποδεξαμενος. Αλλα πολυφωνοταιον μεν αυτον ακεω ποιητων συγγραφεων γεγενησθαι. κ. λ. Ep. 244. al. 82. T. iii. p. 378.

[b] Ep. 263, al. 74. p. 404.

[c] Ep. 263. p. 407. A. Vid. supra p. 459. note.[b]

[d] ——ὁτι μοι πυκτιον εν χερσι τε Απολλιναριε, εν ω τα καταστηναζομενα πασαν αιρετικην κακιαν περιερχεται, Or. 46. p. 722. A.

[e] Ὡς δ' αν μη δοκοιη λοιδορια το λεγομενον ειναι, ἑνα των παρ' αυτε περιφερομενων λογων προσθησομεν, ἑ η επιγραφη εστιν αυτη· Αποδειξις, φησι, περι της θειας σαρκωσεως της καθ' ὁμοιωσιν ανθρωπε. Gr. Nyss. Antirrhet. adv. Apol. ap. Zacagn. p. 125, 126.

[f] Ep. 263. p. 406. Vid. supr. p. 459. not. [b]

[g] Cui duobus voluminibus respondit Apollinarius, quem non solum suæ sectæ homines, sed et nostrorum in hac parte duntaxat plurima sequitur multitudo. Comm. in. Is. T. iii. p. 478. M.

[h] —— παρα τας νενομισμενας ἱερας ωδας, εμμελη τινα μελυδρια ψαλλοντες, παρ' αυτε Απολλιναριε ευρημενα—— Ανδρες τε παρα τας πολεις και εν εργοις, και γυναικες παρα τας ἱστας τα αυτε μελη εψαλλον. Σπευδης γαρ και ανεσεως, και ἑορτων, και των αλλων, προς τον ἑκαστε καιρον ειδυλλια αυτω πεποιητο, παντα εις ευλογιαν Θεε τεινοντα. Soz. l. vi. c. 25. p. 671. B. C.

[i] Ει δε οι μακροι λογοι, και νεα ψαλτηρια, και αντιφωνα τω Δαβιδ, καινη των μελων χαρις, η τριτη διαθηκη νομιζεται· και ημεις ψαλμωδησομεν, και πολλα γραψομεν, και μετρησομεν. Greg. Naz. ad Cledon. ep. 1. p. 745. B. C.

[k] Ap. Bib. PP. Morell. T. xiv. p. 95—152.

[l] See p. 458. note [h].

various compositions designed for the benefit of Christians in the troublesome time of Julian's reign. His respect for the scriptures is manifest to all, from his numerous commentaries upon them, which have been particularly taken notice of in this chapter.

VI. I never intended to draw the character of Apollinarius. Shall I, nevertheless, present the reader with that given by Tillemont? but without adopting it. 'He seems,' says [a] that laborious writer, to have preserved always the outside of a holy and exemplary life; of which 'nevertheless Gregory of Nyssa seems not to have been fully persuaded. But he also maintained 'to the end his impiety, and died in his heresy. So [b] that we cannot admit the hope of any other 'lot for him, but the condemnation of hell. Such has been the unhappy condition of this great 'man, who had received so extraordinary talents of nature, and so great gifts of grace, who had 'combated with so much courage, and so much glory, for the true faith against the enemies of it. 'But because he trusted in his own wisdom, because he would solve those difficulties, which 'human reason cannot clear up, because he gave way to the desires of a vain curiosity; all the 'advantages which he had, became unprofitable to him, and he has deserved to be regarded by 'all the church, as a schismatic and a heretic.'

It must be owned, that the notions advanced by him in the latter part of his life have greatly diminished his credit: but yet, I would hope, they need not to be understood to have obliterated the merit of his past services for the Christian religion. And I believe, that all my readers in general may concur in a wish, that we still had his confutation of Porphyry, which has been highly commended by learned Christians of different sentiments in former times.

Du Pin [c] having mentioned Apollinarius's Paraphrase of the Psalms, adds: 'All the other 'works of this author are lost, except some fragments. His error, in all probability, occasioned 'this loss: the catholics had such a dread of the books of heretics, that they have not preserved 'so much as those which had no relation to their heresy, and which might have been useful 'to the church: for which reason we have scarce any books of heretics left. And the Euty-'chians were obliged to put out the works of Apollinarius with the names of catholic authors.'

If that be so, we must acknowledge, that the catholics were to blame; it is like rooting up tares and good corn all together. And we may hence receive this instruction; to be upon our guard, that we admit not too great an aversion for men on account of difference of sentiment, in things of a speculative nature; lest by violence in opposing error we should obstruct the progress of knowledge, and the cause of truth, which we are desirous to serve.

I have written the name of this author Apollinarius. I shall here transcribe a note of [d] Du Pin, as it may serve for my justification with those who are but little acquainted with such things. 'The [d] Greeks,' says he, 'always call him Απολιναριος. St. Basil alone writes his name with two 'λλ. ll. St. Jerom calls him Apollinarius. The generality of the Latin writers give him the name 'of Apollinaris, as more soft.' I have chosen to follow the Greeks, and Jerom in the termination of his name: unless I might have dropped the harsh ending, and written his name Apollinaire, as the French do. I shall only add, that in L. Kuster's edition of Suidas, a Greek author, the name is written with a double l. His name is written in the like manner, in [e] the Paschal Chronicle.

[a] Il semble avoir toujours conservé l' extérieur d' une vie sainte et exemplaire. Les Apollinaristes. Art. 13. Mem. T. vii.

[b] De sorte qu' on ne peut espérer d' autre sort pour lui que la condamnation d' enfer. Ibid.

[c] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 127.

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. ii. p. 127. not. [a]

[e] P. 237. C. Paris. 1688.

CHAP. XCVI.

DAMASUS, BISHOP OF ROME.

1. DAMASUS, though not without a warm contest with Ursinus, or Ursicinus, his competitor, succeeded Liberius, bishop of Rome, who died in September 366. The disturbances in the city, occasioned by that competition, are taken notice of by Jerom in his [a] Chronicle, and by Ammianus Marcellinus [b] a heathen author, as well as by [c] our Ecclesiastical Historians. Socrates says, 'there [d] was at that time a great disturbance among the citizens of Rome. Nor was it owing 'to a contention about any doctrine of the faith, or about heresy, but only who should have the 'episcopal chair.' Damasus sat in that see above eighteen years, and died in 384, being then almost eighty years of age.

2. Damasus is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: and I transcribe the article [e] below. What he says of him is chiefly this: That he had a good talent for poetry, and wrote several small pieces in verse. In another place he says, that [f] Damasus had written in praise of virginity, both in prose and verse. There [g] are still extant several small poems, which are ascribed to him, but not allowed by all to be genuine, which have been published, together with his epistles, and a history of his life, and numerous testimonies to him, collected out of ancient and later writers.

3. Damasus had a great regard for Jerom, on account of his learning and knowledge of the scriptures. Jerom [h] whilst in the east wrote to Damasus, asking his advice concerning his own conduct. When [i] Jerom came to Rome in 382, Damasus employed him as his secretary, to write letters for him upon ecclesiastical affairs, in answer to councils or bishops in foreign parts. Here [k] Jerom stayed three years, that is, till some time after the death of Damasus, and returned into the East in 385.

4. At the desire of Damasus, Jerom [l] corrected the edition of the Latin version of the New Testament, or of the gospels at least. At his request it is also said [m] that Jerom revised the Latin version of the Psalms, which had been made from the Greek of the Seventy: and it is certain, that [n] this was done by him when at Rome. Damasus [o] put Jerom upon translating

[a] Romanæ ecclesiæ tricesimus quintus ordinatur episcopus Damasus. Et non post multum temporis intevallum Ursinus a quibusdam episcopus constitutus Sicinnium cum suis invadit. Quo Damasianæ partis populo confluente, crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexûs perpetratæ. Chr. p. 186.

[b] Damasus et Ursinus, supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopatûs sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis.——Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. Constatque, in basilicâ Sicinini, ubi ritûs Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum: efferatamque plebem ægre postea delenitam. Ammian. l. xxvii. c. 3.

[c] Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 29. Soz. l. vi. c. 23. Ruf. l. ii. c. 10. Faustin. et Marcellin. Lib. pr. in Præf. ap. Bib. PP. T. V. p. 652.

[d] Εξασιαζον εν τοις εαυτες, ου δια τινα πιστιν η αιρεσιν, αλλα περι του μονον τις οφειλει του επισκοπικου θρονου εληρατης γενεσθαι. l. iv. c. 29.

[e] Damasus, Romanæ Urbis episcopus, elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit, multaque et brevia metro edidit, et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio Principe mortuus est. De V. I. cap. 103.

[f] Legas—beati Cypriani volumen egregium, et Papæ Damasi super hac re, versu prosâque composita. Ad Eustochium. ep. 18. al. 22. T. iv. p. 37. m.

[g] S. Damasi Papæ Opera quæ exstant, et Vita ex Cod. mss. cum notis M. S. Sarazanii. Romæ 1638. Paris. 1672. et ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. xxvii. p. 55—97. Vid. et Baron. Ann. 384. n. xxxi. &c.

[h] Vid. Hieron. ep. 14. al. 17. T. iv. P. 2. p. 19. ep. 16. al. 58. p. 22.

[i] Ante annos plurimos, quum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum Romanæ Urbis episcopum, et Orientis atque Occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem. Ad Agerach. ep. 91. T. iv. p. 744. f.

[k] Pene certe triennium cum eis vixi. Ad Asell. ep. 28. al. 94. T. iv. p. 66. in.

[l] Vid. Hieron. ep. 142. seu Præf. in. iv. Evangelia. T. i. p. 1426. edit. Bened.

[m] Vid. Baron. Ann. 382. n. 27. et Tillem. S. Damase. art. 13. Mem. T. 8.

[n] Psalterium Romæ dudum positus emendâram, et juxta Septuaginta Interpretes, licet cursim, magnâ illud ex parte correxeram. Pr. in libr. Psalm. T. i. p. 1222.

Psalterium quoque, quod certe emendatissimum juxta septuaginta Interpretes nostro labore dudum Roma suscepit, rursus juxta Hebraïcum vertens, præfatione munivi. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 429.

[o] Cum in Babylone versarer, et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus, et jure Quiritum viverem, volui garrire aliquid de Spiritu Sancto, et cœptum opusculum ejusdem Urbis Pontifici dedicare.——Itaque, mi Paulinîane frater, quia supradictus Pontifex Damasus, qui me ad hoc opus primus impulerat, jam dormit in Christo.——Pr. in libr. Didym. de Sp. S. T. iv. P. i. p. 494.

Dydimus's Treatise upon the Spirit out of Greek into Latin: but it was not finished until after his death.

5. Damasus often wrote to Jerom letters containing questions concerning difficult texts of scripture. To him is addressed [a] Jerom's explication of the vision of the Seraphim in the sixth chapter of Isaiah. In a letter [b] still extant, Damasus desires Jerom to give him a clear explication of the word Hosanna found in the New Testament, he having met with very different interpretations of it in the Greek and Latin Commentaries of catholic writers, which he had read. This occasioned Jerom to write a letter [c] upon that subject, which we still have. At his request likewise Jerom explained the parable of the Prodigal Son. I shall transcribe below [d] a part of Damasus's letter, which is inserted in Jerom's answer: whereby it appears that there were then two common interpretations of that parable: some by the elder and younger sons understanding the Jewish people and the Gentiles, others righteous men and sinners.

6. These [e] three epistles or discourses upon the Seraphim, Hosanna, and the Prodigal Son, are mentioned by Jerom in the last chapter of his Catalogue, where he enumerates his own works. To his discourse upon the Hebrew word Hosanna, he refers likewise in [f] his Commentary upon St. Matthew, and to that upon the Seraphim in [g] a letter, written about the year 398 or 399.

7. There is also still extant another letter of Damasus, written in the last year of his life: in which he says, there [h] could be no higher entertainment, than to confer together upon the holy scriptures: and he desires, that he may propound questions, whilst Jerom makes answers. Here he proposes several difficult texts to Jerom, which [i] he afterwards explained. In the same letter Damasus passeth that judgment upon Lactantius, which was formerly [k] taken notice of.

8. Finally, Jerom [l] calls Damasus a great man, and says, he was well acquainted with the scriptures.

9. For a fuller history of Damasus, and his works, I refer to [m] several.

CHAP. XCVII.

BASIL, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA IN CAPPADOCIA.

I. *His time, and works.* II. *Books of scripture received by him.* III. *A passage relating to the epistle to the Ephesians considered.* IV. *Respect for the scriptures.*

I. As St. Basil is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and the chapter is not long, I place it entire at the bottom of the [n] page.

[a] Ep. 142. T. iii. p. 515. ed Bened.

[b] Commentaria quum legerem Græco Latinoque sermone in Evangeliorum interpretatione a nostris, id est, orthodoxis viris, olim ac nuper scripta de eo quod legitur Osanna Filio David [Matt. xxi. 9,] non solum diversa, sed etiam contraria sibi proferunt. Dilectionis tuæ est, ut ardenti et illo strenuitatis ingenio——quid se habeant apud Hebræos vivo sensu scribas. Ep. 144. ap Hieron T. iv. P. i. p. 145.

[c] Ep. 145. ib. p. 145. &c.

[d] Ais: 'Quis est iste in Evangelio Pater, qui duobus filiis 'substantiam dividit? Qui duo filii? Qui major, quive minor? '——Addis insuper: Scio multos in hac lectione diversa dix-'isse: et fratrem majorem Judæum, minorem existimâsse 'Gentilem populum. Sed quæro, quomodo Judaïco populo 'possit aptari:' 'Ecce tot annis servivi tibi, et numquam 'mandatum tuum præterii.'——'Si autem, ut ais, de justo et 'peccatore voluerimus esse parabolam, justo non potuit con-'venire, ut de salute alterius, et maxime fratris, contristetur.' Ad Damas. ep. 146. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 149.

[e] De Seraphim, et Osanna, et de frugi et luxurioso filiis. De V. I. cap. ult.

[f] In Matth. T. iv. P. i. p. 95, 96.

[g] In lectione Isaïæ, in quâ duo Seraphim clamantia describuntur.——Habetur liber in manibus; ante viginti annos editus. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. ii. p. 243. in.

[h] Neque vero ullam puto digniorem disputationis nostræ confabulationem fore, quam si de Scripturis sermocinemur inter nos: id est, ut ego interrogem, tu respondeas. Quâ vitâ nihil puto in hac luce jucundius, quo animæ pabulo mella omnia superantur, &c. Ep. 124. Vid. T. ii. p. 561.

[i] Ep. 125. p. 262, &c. ib.

[k] See p. 260, 261.

[l] Dum adhuc viveret sanctæ memoriæ Damasus, librum contra Helvidium de beatæ Mariæ virginitate perpetuâ scripsimus. Num vir egregius, et eruditus in Scripturis, et virgo, et ecclesiæ virginis doctor, aliquid in illo sermone reprehendit? Ad Pamm. ep. 30. al. 50. T. iv. P. 2. p. 240. f.

[m] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 230, and his Life of Damasus, in the Appendix to the Lives of the primitive Fathers, Vol. ii. p. 30. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 151. Tillem. Mem. T. viii. Pagi ann. 384. n. ii. iii. and Mr. Bower's History of the Bishops of Rome, Vol. i. p. 179—233.

[n] Basilius, Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, quæ prius Mazaca vocabatur, episcopus, egregios contra Eunomium elaboravit libros,

It is generally supposed, that Basil, commonly called the Great, was born in Cappadocia in the year 328 or 329. And according to [a] the different apprehensions of learned men, he was ordained bishop of Cæsarea, the capital city of his native country, in 369, or 370, or 371, and died in the very beginning of 378, or 379, or 380, having been bishop eight years, and somewhat more.

Many writings have been ascribed to Basil without ground. For which reason divers learned moderns [b] have taken commendable pains in distinguishiug the spurious from the genuine. In which service none, I think, have excelled Julian Garner, the Benedictine editor of St. Basil's works. I wish, however, that he had been able to reduce his observations into less compass.

II. I know of no reason to doubt, that Basil received all the books of the New Testament that we do; but I cannot say, that he has quoted them all. He has quoted all St. Paul's epistles, particularly that to the Hebrews, as his. He does not much quote the catholic epistles: however, he has several times quoted the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John. The second epistle of St. Peter is once quoted [c] in the fifth book against Eunomius, not allowed by all to be genuine. The epistle of St. James is very seldom quoted, the epistle of St. Jude, and the first and second epistle of St. John not at all, that I remember. Though there be very little notice taken of the book of the Revelation in his writings, I presume it cannot be said to have been rejected by him: for in his second book against Eunomius, having before quoted St. John's gospel, i. 1, he adds: 'And [d] the same evangelist in another book says: "Which is," and "Which was, even the Almighty." [Rev. i. 8.] The same text is also [e] quoted in the fourth book against Eunomius. But that book is not universally allowed to be genuine, some thinking, that Basil wrote no more than three books against Eunomius. I would add, that [f] Basil is named by Arethas among those who received the book of the Revelation as inspired scripture.

III. In St. Basil's second book against Eunomius is a very singular passage to this purpose. 'And [g] writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him "who is," through knowledge, he 'called them in a peculiar sense "such who are," saying: "To the saints who are, and" [or 'even] "the faithful in Christ Jesus." For so those before us have transmitted it, and we 'have found it in ancient copies.'

It is well known, that there is a question agitated of late among the learned, concerning the persons, to whom the epistle, called to the Ephesians, was written. But I do not now concern myself about that question: I am at present only desirous to settle, as far as I am able, the meaning of this passage of Basil; in which he has been supposed by some to say, that he had seen copies, in which the words εν Εφεσω, 'at Ephesus,' were wanting. So particularly Dr. [h] Mill. But Mr. Lenfant in his remarks [i] upon Mill's New Testament, soon after its publication at Oxford, argues, that Basil does not say, those words, 'at Ephesus,' were wanting in any copies. Ludolph Kuster in the preface to his edition of Mill's New Testament, justifies Mill, and condemns Lenfant. But this learned author soon replied in a Latin [k] letter, vindicating the interpretation he had given of St. Basil. Mr. Wolff, [l] who approved Mr. Lenfant's opinion, has given a very good account of his argument, with some additional observations of his own in support of it. And I must own, it seems to me likewise, that Mr. Lenfant's interpretation is the truest.

Says that ingenious writer, 'The [m] various reading consists in the emphatical particle τοις, 'and not εν εφεσῳ, as may appear from these several considerations: 1. St. Basil moves not the 'question, whether that epistle be written to the Ephesians or others. 2. At the beginning of

et de Spiritu Sancto volumen, et in Hexaëmeron homilias novem, et Ασκητικον, et breves variosque tractatus. Moritur imperante Gratiano. De V. I. cap. 116.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. Pagi Ann. 369. xvi. 370. ix. x. xxiii. 378. ii. Basnag. A. 370. n. vi. &c. 380. n. viii. ix. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 60. Du Pin T. ii. p. 154. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 69. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. ix. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 154. &c.

[c] Adv. Eunom. l. v. in. T. i. p. 296. D.

[d] Αλλ' αυτος ἡμιν ὁ ευαγγελιστης εν ἑτερῳ λογῳ τȣ τοιȣτȣ—— ὁ ων, και ὁ ἡν, και ὁ παντοκρατωρ. Adv. Eunom. l. ii. T. i. p. 249. E.

[e] Και εν τῃ Αποκαλυψει· ὁ ων, και ὁ ην, και ὁ ερχομενος. Adv. Eunom. l. iv. p. 282. A.

[f] Vid. Areth. p. 640. ad calcem Commentar. Œcumenii. T. ii.

[g] Αλλα και τοις Εφεσιοις επιστελλων, ὡς γνησιως ἡνωμενοις τῳ οντι δι' επιγνωσεως, οντας αυτȣς ιδιαζοντως ωνομασεν, ειπων· Τοις ἁγιοις τοις ȣσι, και πιστοις εν Χριστῳ Ιησȣ. Οὑτω γαρ και οἱ προ ἡμων παραδεδωκασι, και ἡμεῖς εν τοις παλαιοις των αντιγραφων εὑρηκαμεν. Adv. Eunom. l. ii. p. 254. E.

[h] Εν Εφεσῳ.] Omittit Basil. l. ii. adv. Eunomium, fide patrum, quod dicit, ac veterum exemplarium. Mill. ad Eph. i. 1. Vid. et ejusdem Prolegom. n. 89.

[i] Bib. Choisie. T. xvi. p. 301. &c.

[k] Bib. Choisie. T. xxi. p. 96. &c.

[l] Vid. Prolegom. in ep. ad Ephes. et in cap. i. p. 10—13. ap. Cur. Philol. T. iv.

[m] See, as before, Bib. Ch. T. xvi. p. 301. &c.

the passage, he supposeth that it was written to the Ephesians, without saying that there was any contest about it. 3. The design of Basil is to shew, that the Ephesians are justly and properly called οντες 'such who are,' because of their union with him 'who is.' 4. The word 'ιδιαζονΐως, 'peculiarly,' must relate to the emphatical article τοις, which is necessary to answer 'to ο ων, 'him who is,' and which, according to Mill's own account, is wanting in one MS. at 'least. This is the point: Τοις was wanting in the common copies in the time of St. Basil, 'but he had read it in ancient MSS. and he avails himself of it, to authorize his speculation. 'It is true, that in his quotation he does not put the words 'at Ephesus,' because that was not 'the thing in contest, and he had mentioned it before, and he had no occasion to mention it 'again. Moreover, he might be disposed to omit those words, 'at Ephesus,' the [a] more to favour 'his speculation upon τοις ουσι, 'such who are,' taken in an absolute sense. 5. St. Jerom, who 'refutes this speculation of St. Basil, makes it turn upon the particle τοις, and mentions not any 'various reading upon the place.'

Let me enlarge a little farther, and agreeably, as I apprehend, to Lenfant's mind, though without transcribing him.

The passage of Jerom, just referred to, which is usually alleged, as illustrating the passage of Basil, in my opinion greatly favours Lenfant. Jerom [b] in his comment upon the epistle to the Ephesians mentions Basil's speculation, or forced interpretation, which we have seen and rejects it. Not a few learned men think, that [c] Jerom has a particular reference to Basil; but I see no ground for that supposition. He might find perhaps that observation [d] in Origen, or Apollinarius, or Didymus, whose commentaries upon the epistle to the Ephesians, he mentions in his preface, or in some others. In Basil this interpretation is produced as an argument against the Arians; but nothing of that kind appears in Jerom's account of it: however, Jerom's passage, as I said, favours Lenfant's opinion, that Basil does not say, those words 'at Ephesus,' were wanting in his copies: because Jerom, mentioning the same interpretation, takes no notice of any various reading. On the contrary, he again and again supposeth the common reading. And he says, that some thought 'the saints and faithful at Ephesus were said to be such as are.' But others, he says, without stopping at the expression, 'such who are,' or without laying a stress upon that expression, understood the inscription in a plain manner and continued sense, 'to the saints and faithful who are at Ephesus.'

One thing more to be observed here, and not omitted by Lenfant [e] in his second letter upon this subject, is, that for two hundred years last past, and more, many manuscripts of the New Testament have been discovered, and the various readings have been diligently collected; but as yet there has not been one copy found to support Basil's account; supposing him to say, that the words εν εφεσω were wanting in his time, in the ancient copies, and that it had been so transmitted by those of former times: nor is there any version, to confirm that supposition. In a word, it appears to be incredible, that such a various reading, supposing it to have been in many copies in St. Basil's time, should have been totally lost. To which might be added, that there would have been notice taken of it by many remaining ancient writers, beside Basil.

If it should be said, that there are scarce any copies, that bear witness to our supposed various reading: I think, it may be fitly answered, that our various reading is a trifling thing; but a various reading in the words εν εφεσω, is very remarkable, and must have appeared in some remaining copies, if there had been many such in Basil's time.

I should not forget to observe, that [f] elsewhere also Basil quotes this epistle with the title of the epistle to the Ephesians, without hesitation.

[a] Omisit potius eas, quod ex alterâ parte satis ipsi erat, articulum τοις ex antiquis exemplaribus tamquam necessarium vindicare; ex alterâ vero intelligebat expositionem suam pro nullâ facile habitum iri, si voces εν Εφεσω voci ουσι subjectæ legerentur. Wolf. Curæ. T. iv. p. 12. m.

[b] 'Sanctis omnibus qui sunt Ephesi.'] Quidam curiosius quam necesse est, putant ex eo quod Moÿsi dictum sit: 'Hæc dices filiis Israël: Qui est, misit me?' [Exod. iii. 14.] etiam eos qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles, essentiæ vocabulo nuncupatos. Ut quomodo a sancto sancti, a justo justi, a sapientiâ sapientes: ita ab eo 'qui est,' hi 'qui sunt' appellentur, et juxta eumdem Apostolum elegisse Deum ea quæ non erant, ut destrueret ea quæ erant.——Alii vero simpliciter, non ad eos qui sunt, sed qui Ephesi sancti et fideles sint, scriptum arbitrantur. Hieron. in Eph. cap. i. T. iv. P. i. p. 323.

[c] Vid. Benedictin. Annot. ad Basil. loc. T. i. p. 254. not. [i]

[d] Denique Basilium hic tantum de articulo τοις ante ουσιν cogitâsse, ut suam posterioris vocis interpretationem ingeniose potius, quam vere stabiliret, ex Hieronymi, expositionem illam (sive apud Basilium, sive Origenem, Apollinarem et Dydimum legerit,) aversantis, loco manifestum est.—— Wolff. Curæ in ep. ad Eph. i. ver. i.

[e] See Bib. Ch. T. xxi. p. 112.

[f] Γραφων ὁ αποστολος προς Εφεσιους φησιν· Αληθευοντες δε εν αγαπῃ· κ. λ. [cap. iv. 15.] De Sp. Sto. cap. v. n. 9. T. iii. p. 8. A.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that there is no reason to understand St. Basil to say, that εν εφεσῳ, 'at Ephesus,' was wanting in any copies in his time.

And I imagine, that there were two ways in use among those, who fancied the forced interpretation, which we have seen in Basil. Some understood it thus, 'To the saints who are, even the faithful in Christ Jesus at Ephesus:' others after this manner, 'To the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus at Ephesus, who are.' The former seems to have been Basil's method, and the latter that of the persons mentioned by Jerom.

IV. I now proceed. St. Basil bears witness to the respect, which was all along paid by Christians to the sacred scriptures.

1. Upon Ps. lx. otherwise lix. 'If [a] any should say, this psalm was written to us, he would 'not say amiss: for the divine oracles are ours, and they are proposed to the church of God in 'every assembly, as gifts sent from God, containing nourishment for the soul, afforded by the 'Spirit.'

2. In a homily, containing an exhortation to baptism, having [b] quoted a text of Isaiah, of the Psalms, the Acts, and St. Matthew, he says, 'For all these were in to-day's reading.'

3. The usefulness of the divine scriptures is shewn by him in a homily upon the first Psalm: 'All [c] scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable, and for that end was written by the 'Spirit, that [d] as in a common treasury of medicines for souls, all might find what is proper for 'the healing of their several maladies. The prophets teach some things, the historical books 'other things, the law others: and the Proverbs have instructions for regulating our manners. 'The book of Psalms contains whatever is useful in all the rest.'

4. In a letter to Gregory Nazianzen: 'The [e] best way to know our duty is to meditate on 'the divinely inspired scriptures: here are instructions concerning our conduct; and the 'examples of good men recorded therein, are as it were living patterns, set before us for our 'imitation. And whatever malady any man labours under, if he acquaints himself with the 'scriptures, he will there find a medicine suited to his case.'

5. In a letter to a woman of condition who was a widow, and had sought to him for counsel, he says, 'If [f] you attend to the consolations of the divine scriptures, you will neither need my 'advice, nor the advice of any other, the directions of the Holy Ghost being sufficient to lead 'you into a right conduct.'

6. To another widow of quality he writes: 'And by [g] you I salute your good daughter, and I 'exhort her to live in the meditation of the oracles of the Lord, that by their excellent institu-'tion her mind may be nourished, and improve more than her body does according to the course 'of nature.'

According to Basil therefore, the scriptures might be profitably read by all sorts of people.

7. I might add other passages, where he says, all [h] things are to be proved by the scriptures. And [i] whatever appears agreeable to the divinely inspired scriptures, let that be received by us as true. He likewise says, that [k] hearers well acquainted with the scriptures, ought to examine what is said by their teachers; and to embrace what is agreeable to the scriptures, and to reject what is otherwise. If any should say, that Basil speaks only of such as are 'well acquainted 'with the scriptures,' I think it may be justly answered, that Basil's rule is general. All ought to be well acquainted with the scriptures, and may be so, if they will but seriously endeavour it.

[a] Hom. in Ps. lix. T. i. p. 190. E.

[b] Συ δε, δια προφηλων διδασκομενος——δια ψαλμων νηθελιαμενος——δι' αποστολων ευαγγελιζομενος——ὑπ' αὐτε τε κυριε προσλαμβανομενος, λεγοντος.—Ταυτα γαρ παντα σημερον συνεδραμε προς την αναγνωσιν. Hom. in sanct. bapt. T. ii. p. 114. B. C.

[c] In Ps. i. T. i. p. 90. A. B

[d] ——ὡσπερ εν κοινῳ των ψυχων ιατρειῳ. κ. λ.

[e] Ad Gregor. Ep. ii. al. 1. T. iii. p. 72, 73.

[f] Ep. 283. al. 284. p. 424. D. E.

[g] Ep. 296. al. 285, T. iii. p. 434. B.

[h] Οτι δει παν ῥημα η πραγμα πιστευεσθαι τη μαρτυρια της θεοπνευστε γραφης. κ. λ. Moral. Reg. 26. T. ii. p. 256. B. C.

[i] Ουκουν η θεοπνευστος, ἡμιν διαιτησατω γραφη· και παρ' οις αν εὑρεθη τα δογματα συγγενη τοις θειοις λογοις, επι τουτοις παντως της αληθειας η ψηφος. Ep. 189. al. 80. T. iii. p. 277. E. Vid. et Moral. Reg. 80. c. 22.

[k] Οτι δει των ακροατων τους πεπαιδευμενους τας γραφας δοκιμαζειν τα παρα των διδασκαλων λεγομενα· και τα μεν συμφωνα ταις γραφαις δεχεσθαι, τα δε αλλοτρια αποβαλλειν. κ. λ. Moral. Reg. 72. cap. 1.

CHAP. XCVIII.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, with remarks.* III. *General titles and division of scripture.* IV. *Select passages.*

THOUGH Jerom's chapter concerning Gregory Nazianzen be somewhat long, I cannot forbear to transcribe [a] the greatest part of it: but I shall not translate it. In the general, I observe, that Jerom celebrates Gregory's eloquence, and calls him his master, whom he had heard interpreting the scriptures: of which he likewise speaks [b] elsewhere. He also mentions several of his works; and says, he had died about three years before. For fuller accounts of Gregory's life and works, I refer to [c] several.

It is, I think, generally allowed, that Gregory flourished about the year 370, and afterwards. But learned men are not agreed about the time of his birth, and the age at which he died. Cave says he was born about the time of the Nicene council, and died in 389, and about the 65th year of his age. With whom Basnage [d] agrees, supposing, that Gregory might be born in 326. But Suidas expressly says, that [e] Gregory died in the 13th of the emperor Theodosius, [or the year of our Lord 391], when he was above 90 years of age. This has induced Pagi to argue, and with some appearance of truth, that [f] Gregory was born in 301, and died in 391: nor does Jerom, as he thinks, contradict, but confirm this account, when he says, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, that Gregory had died three years before. For he says, that Jerom did not publish that work till the 15th year of Theodosius, the year of our Lord 393; and, understanding those three years to be incomplete on both sides, Gregory died, according to him, in 391. This opinion has been embraced by [g] I. A. Fabricius; and in his notes upon the 117th chapter of Jerom's fore-cited work, seems to suppose [h] it the general opinion of learned men at present. And indeed I observe, that [i] the late Mr. Le Clerc readily followed Pagi therein. But all do not: S. Basnage [k] argues strongly against Pagi, and supposeth that he confutes him. Tillemont,[l] after weighing arguments on both sides, still inclines to the other opinion, as most probable, and thinks, that Gregory was born in 329, or thereabout.

Indeed, the opinion of Pagi is attended with several great difficulties: first, he is obliged to allow, that [m] Gregory was thirty years at Athens, and did not leave it before the 55th or 56th year of his age; which is very strange. Secondly, the intimate friendship of Gregory and Basil

[a] Gregorius, primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus episcopus, vir eloquentissimus, præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici, ad triginta millia versuum omnia opera sua composuit. E quibus illa sunt: De morte fratris Cæsarii. Περι φιλοπτωχιας. Laudes Maccabæorum. Laudes Cypriani. Laudes Athanasii—et liber, hexametro versu, Virginitatis et Nuptiarum contra se disserentium. Adversum Eunomium liber unus. De Spiritu sancto liber unus. Contra Julianum Imperatorem libri duo. Sequutus est autem Polemonem dicendi charactere. Vivoque se episcopum in loco suo ordinans, ruri vitam monachi exercuit. Decessitque ante hoc ferme triennium sub Theodosio Principe. De V. I. cap. 117.

[b] ——sine caussâ Gregorium Nazianzenum et Didymum in Scripturis sanctis catechistas habui. Ad Domnion. ep. 32. al. 51. T. iv. p. 245. in.

Numquid in illâ epistolâ Gregorium virum eloquentissimum non potui nominare? Quis apud Latinos par sui est? Quo ego magistro glorior et exulto. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 363. m.

Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Lucâ Sabbatum δευτεροπρωτον, id est, secundoprimum, eleganter lusit: Docebo te, inquiens, super hac re in ecclesiâ, in quâ mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus scire quod nescis. &c. Ad Nepotian. ep. 34. al. 2. p. 262.

Et præceptor meus Gregorius Nazianzenus virginitatem et nuptias disserens Græcis versibus explicavit. Adv. Jovin. l. i. p. 157.

[c] Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 246. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T ii. p. 201. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. ix. Basnag. Ann. 373. xvi.—xix. et alibi. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 507. &c.

[d] Ann. 373. n. xvi.

[e] Ελασας δε περι τα εννενηκονία ἑτη και επεκεινα, Θεοδοσιω τριτον και δεκατον ἑτος αἰονιος, καταλυει τον βιον. Suid. V. Γρηγοριος.

[f] Vid. Ann. 354. xi.—xiii. 389. n. iv. v.

[g] Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 508.

[h] Cum Hieronymus A. 392 hunc librum scripserit, putavit is Nazianzenum exstinctum A. 389. Sed viri docti malunt assentiri Suidæ, qui ait obiisse anno xiii. Theodosii Magni, hoc est, Christi 391, ætatis 90. Ad Hieron. cap. 117. ap. Bib. Ecc.

[i] Bibl. univ. T. 18. p. 2, 3.

[k] Ann. 373. n. xvi. et 390. n. ix.

[l] S. Greg de Naz. art. i. viii. et note iv. Mem. T. ix.

[m] Ann. 354. n. xii.

seems to imply their being of near the same age: it is, I think, generally allowed, that [a] Basil was born in 328 or 329, or thereabout; if Gregory was a little older than Basil, and survived him some years, that will make little difference. Thirdly, Jerom mentions the time of Gregory's death; if he had reached to the age of ninety years, that being a remarkable circumstance, he could not have avoided mentioning that also. Fourthly, if Gregory had been ninety years of age when he died, it would have been taken notice of by many writers before Suidas.

II. Among the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, there is one, which contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, and is to this purpose:

'Meditate [b] and discourse much on the word of God.....But as there are many falsely 'ascribed writings, tending to deceive, accept, my friend, this certain number. There are twelve 'historical books of the most ancient Hebrew wisdom: the first Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus, 'Numbers, Deuteronomy; the next Joshua, the Judges, Ruth the eighth, the ninth and tenth 'the Acts of the Kings, and then the Remains, and Esdras the last. Then the five books in 'verse, the first Job, next David, then the three books of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song, and 'the Proverbs. The prophetic books are five: the twelve prophets are one book, Hosea, Amos, 'Micah, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; all 'these make one book: the second is Isaiah, then Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Which [c] make 'twenty-two books, according to the number of the Hebrew letters. The [d] books of the New 'Testament are as follows: Matthew wrote for the Hebrews, Mark for the Italians, Luke for the 'Greeks, for all that great herald John, enlightened with the heavenly mysteries. Next the 'Acts of the apostles; fourteen epistles of Paul; seven catholic epistles, which are these, one of 'James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, which is the seventh. If [e] there are any 'besides, they are not among the genuine.'

1. I scarce need to make remarks upon any parts of this catalogue. The reader is able to do it of himself.

2. The number of the books of the Old Testament is exactly according to the Hebrews: but the book of Esther is not particularly mentioned. The catalogue of the books of the New Testament contains all those, which are now commonly received, except the book of the Revelation. And there is no notice taken of any later books as having the least title to make a part of the Christian canon.

3. I would not deny, that Gregory supposed Matthew to have written his gospel in Hebrew; though his manner of expression does not necessarily imply it: for he says, that Mark 'wrote 'for the Italians;' and yet, undoubtedly, he allowed him to have written in Greek: he seems therefore only to intimate that Matthew published his gospel in Judea, Mark his in Italy, and Luke his in Achaia, or Greece. There [f] is another passage of Gregory, in which he speaks of the places, where several of Christ's apostles preached, that will countenance this supposition.

4. Whether Gregory Nazianzen received the book of the Revelation, is doubted: if this poem be his, as is generally supposed, it may be argued, that he did not receive it. Baronius [g] gives him up, and reckons him with Basil, Nyssen, and other Greeks, whom he supposes not to have received it. Andrew of Cæsarea, in his Commentary upon the book of the Revelation, names Gregory among others, by whom it was received: as does Arethas likewise. But James Basnage thinks [h] this poem to be of greater value for shewing Gregory's opinion, than the testi-

[a] See S. Basile. Du Pin. T. ii. p. 154. and S. Basile art. i. et note 1. Tillem. Mem. ix.

[b] Carm. 33. T. ii. p. 98.

[c] Αρχαιας μεν εθηκα δυω και εικοσι βιβλους.

[d] Ματθαιος μεν εγραψεν Εβραιοις θαυμαια Χριστου,
Μαρκος δ' Ιταλιη, Λευκας Αχαϊαδι.
Πασι δ' Ιωαννης κηρυξ μεγας ουρανοφοιτης.

[e] Ει τι δε τουτων εκτος, ου κ εν γνησιοις.

[f] Εγω Πετρου ἡ Ιουδαια, τι Παυλῳ κοινον προς τα εθνη, Λευκα προις Αχαιαν, Ανδρεᾳ προς Ηπειρον, Ιωαννῃ προς Εφεσον,—— Μαρκῳ προς Ιταλιαν.——Orat. 25. T. i. p. 438. A. B.

[g] Quod vero idem auctor [Hieronymus] affirmat suis temporibus Græcorum ecclesias non recipere Joannis Apocalypsin. ——Certe inter Græcos scriptores ecclesiasticos, eosdemque Catholicos, qui Hieronymi ætate vixere, Epiphanius——non huic veritati adstipulatur, sed non ab aliis quam hæreticis Alogis tradit impugnatam esse Joannis Apocalypsim. Cæterum nequâquam putandum, Hieronymum ea temere effutisse, aut Græcorum ecclesias calumniatum esse. Sed eâ in re visus est habuisse respectum ad sanctum Basilium, Amphilochium, Gregorium Nazianzenum, atque Nyssenum, qui visi sunt ab eâ interdum abstinuisse. Nam ipse Gregorius Nazianzenus, dum texuit catalogum librorum canonicorum, nullam penitus de Apocalypsi Joannis habuit mentionem, sicut nec Concilium Laodicenum——Et Amphilochius, æqualis Basilii atque Gregorii, in carmine ad Seleucum, quo texit catalogum canonicorum librorum, hæc in fine habet.

Ast Apocalypsim Joannis aliqui
Iis inserunt. Rursus sed longe plurimi
Adulterinam dicunt. Baron. Ann. 97. n. vi.

[h] Gregoire de Nazianze, qui dressa dans ce tems là un canon des Ecritures, passoit l'Apocalypse sous silence: ce qu'il n'auroit pas fait, s'il l'avoit reçuë dans le canon des Ecritures. Sixte de Sienne [Bib. sacr. l. viii, c. x.] et plusieurs

mony of Andrew: nevertheless, I think, Andrew's testimony ought not to be quite neglected. Moreover, we find the Revelation twice quoted in [a] Gregory's remaining works.

5. I do not intend to translate or transcribe any more of Gregory's poems; but it may not be amiss to put down here the titles of some of [b] them: Of the twelve apostles; Of Christ's genealogy [as in Matthew and Luke]; The miracles of Christ according to Matthew; Christ's parables and similitudes according to Matthew; Christ's miracles according to John; Christ's miracles according to Luke; Christ's parables according to Luke; Christ's miracles according to Mark; The [c] parables of the four Evangelists.

III. General titles and divisions of books of scripture, in Gregory, are such as these: The [e] Law, Prophets, Christ. We are [d] taught by reason, the Law, Prophets and Apostles. The Law [f] and Grace, Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists. Prophetical [g] and apostolical books.

IV. I shall observe a few select passages.

1. He [h] calls Christ the first martyr.

2. He has a criticism [i] upon Acts ii. 8. It seems, that some questioned, whether the miracle of the gift of tongues was in the speaker or the hearers.

3. The [k] apostle says [Eph. ii. 3.] "And we were by nature children of wrath;" not meaning, as Gregory says, on account of our nature, but that sinners are really liable to wrath. So Judas was "the son of perdition," on account of those evil actions which bring perdition upon men.

4. Gregory [l] quotes 1 John v. 7, without the heavenly witnesses, mentioning only these three witnesses, "the Spirit, water, and blood."

5. The Christians [m] he says, when in power, did not persecute the heathens, as the heathens had persecuted them. In another place he says, that [n] religion ought to be free, and that the Christian law compels none, and that violence is not suited to promote the true interest of religion.

6. Nevertheless, Gregory seems not to have understood the genuine principles of reasonable and Christian moderation toward men of different sentiments; for in a letter written to Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, in the year 385, or soon after, he speaks of it as [o] the greatest calamity to the church that the Apollinarists (whose errors were purely speculative), were permitted to assemble together, as freely as the catholics. To [p] suffer this, and let them teach and preach their doctrines freely, he says, is equivalent to an approbation of their errors, and a condemnation of the truth. And [q] he earnestly desires Nectarius to admonish the emperor [Theodosius], and let him know, that all he had hitherto done for the churches would avail nothing, if this evil were suffered. A large part of this letter is inserted by Sozomen [r] in his Ecsiastical History.

autres, éblouïs par l'authorité d'André de Césarée, comptent toujours Grégoire de Nazianze entre les défenseurs de l'Apocalypse. Mais il est inutile de chercher son sentiment dans les écrits d' autrui, puisque son ouvrage est entre les mains de tout le monde, par lequel on peut juger plus sûrement. Et puisque Grégoire finit son canon des Ecritures à la lettre de S. Jude, et qu'il declare, que tous les livres, dont il ne parle point, sont suspects et douteux, il faut qu' il ait mis l'Apocalypse, dont il ne parle pas, au rang des livres qui n'avoient point de caractères sensibles de leur divinité. Bilius attribuë à Grégoire de Nazianze des vers iambes, qui sont plutôt d'Amphilochius, évêque d'Icone. Car il n' y a point d'apparance, que Grégoire eut fait deux fois le canon des Ecritures dans ses vers. Ja. Basn. Hist. de l'Egl. l. viii. ch. 7. p. 435.

[a] Προς δε τας εφεσ-ιας αγγελας· Πειθομαι γαρ αλλας αλλης προσ-αλειν εκκλησιας, ως Ιωαννης διδασκει με δια της Αποκαλυψεως. Or. 32. T. i. p. 516. C.

Και ο ων, και ο ην, και ο ερχομενος, και ο παντοκρατωρ. [Apoc. cap. i. 8.] Or. 35. p. 573. D.

[b] Carm. xxxvi.—xlv. T. ii. p. 99—105.

[c] Παραβολαι των τεσσαρων ευαγγελισ-ων. Carm. xlv. p. 103—105. [d] Or. 1. p. 11. C.

[e] Or. 18. p. 276. A. [f] Or. 3. p. 76. B. C.

[g] Αι προφητικαι δε και αποστολικαι βιβλοι μοναι ανελιτ-ιεσθων. Or. 4. p. 127.

[h] ——αυτων των Χρισ-ε παθηματων, τε πρωτε μαρτυρος επι τον σταυρον ανελθοντος. Or. 18. p. 276. A.

[i] Or. 4. p. 715. D.

[k] Και ημεν φυσει τεκνα οργης, ε καια φυσιν λεγων· αλλ' ότι εν αληθεια υπευθυνοι οργης τυγχανουσιν οι αμαρτανοντες. Και περι τε Ιουδα γεγραπται, ότι υιος απωλειας: Απωλειας δε υιον αυτον ειπε, τω τα της απωλειας πεπραχεναι. Or. 47. T. i. p. 724. C.

[l] Τι δαι ο Ιωαννης; τρεις ειναι τας μαρτυριας λεγων εν ταις καθολικαις, το πνευμα, το υδωρ, το αιμα, αρα κρινειν φαινεται; Or. 36. p. 603. D. [m] Or. 3. p. 95. B. C.

[n] Επειδαν μη προς βιαν αγειν, τε ημετερε νομε, μηδε αναγκασ-ως, αλλ' εκουσιως——την δε ημετεραν, εκ αρχην, αλλα παιδαγωγιαν, και παντων μαλισ-α συνιησει το εκουσιον. Βελομεναν γαρ, ε τυραννουμενων, το της ευσεβειας μυσ-ηριον. Or. 8. p. 148. D. 145. A.

[o] Το δε πανδεινον χαλεπωταον εν ταις εκκλησιασ-ικαις συμφοραις, ή των Απολλιναριστων εστι παρρησια, ως εκ οιδα πως παρειδε σε ή ουσιοτης πορισαμενος εαυτοις τε συναγειν ομοτιμως ημιν εξουσιαν. Ad Nectar. Or. 46. T. i. p. 721. D.

[p] ——το λαβειν αυτος εξουσιαν συναξεως, οδεν ετερον εστιν, η αληθεσ-ερας τε καθ' ημας δογματος νομισθηναι. Ει γαρ ως ευσεβουντες εκεινοι διδασκειν ως φρονουσι, και κηρυττειν εν παρρησια το καθ' εαυτους επιτρεπονται δογμα, δηλον ότι καταγνωσ-αι ο της εκκλησιας λογος, ως της αληθειας παρ' αυτοις ουσης. Ib. p. 722. D.

[q] ——και διδαξαι τον ευσεβεσ-ατον βασιλεα, ότι οδεν κερδος εσ-αι της λοιπης αυτε περι τας εκκλησιας σπουδης, ει το τοιουτον κακον επικαθαιρεσει της υγιαινουσης πισ-εως δια της παρρησιας αυτων καταισχυνει. Ibid. p. 723. A.

[r] L. vi. cap. 26.

7. Gregory [a] asserts the doctrine of free-will.

8. He speaks, as if [b] many miracles were then wrought by the reliques of martyrs.

9. Gregory in several places [c] speaks with great freedom of the synods of bishops. As those places have been often taken notice of by learned men, I have thought it best to refer to them.

CHAP. XCIX.

AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM.

I. *His history, and works.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *A law of Theodosius against Heretics, procured by him, with Remarks.*

I. AMPHILOCHIUS bishop of Iconium, the chief city of Lycaonia, is [d] in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: where, however, he mentions but one book of his, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, not now extant.

Amphilochius was a native of Cappadocia. The exact time of his being constituted bishop of Iconium is not [e] known: Cave [f] says in 370, or somewhat later: Tillemont [g] about the year 374. He [h] was alive in 394; and it is supposed, that he died not long after.

His [i] eminence is collected from the several letters written to him by Basil, from the character given of him by [k] Theodoret, and others. And Jerom in his letter to Magnus joins [l] him with Basil, Gregory, and others, who were equally skilful in secular learning, and the sacred scriptures.

Accounts of his works may be seen in divers writers, referred to at the bottom of the pages of this chapter; but very few of his works [m] remain: I take particular notice of but one only.

II. It is an iambic poem of considerable length, addressed to Seleucus, in which is inserted a catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament. It has been ascribed by many to Amphilochius; but some learned men are of opinion, that it was written by Gregory Nazianzen: they say the style is his; and that we have no knowledge, that Amphilochius ever wrote verse. Cave [n] and [o] Du Pin therefore say, it is Gregory's. On the other hand, Combefis [p] and [q] Tillemont still maintain the right of Amphilochius, to whom it is ascribed in manuscript copies, and by some ancient authors: moreover, they observe several differences in this catalogue from the preceding. Bishop Beveridge [r] puts down both these poems distinctly, calling one, that of

[a] Or. 1. p. 9. A.

[b] Or. 3. p. 77. A. Vid. et Or. 1. p. 35. B.

[c] Vid. Ep. 55. et Carm. x. Conf. Ep. 65. 71, 72.

[d] Amphilochius, Iconii Episcopus, nuper mihi librum legit de Spiritu Sancto, quod Deus est, et quod adorandus, quodque omnipotens sit. De V. I. cap. 133.

[e] Quo anno Iconiensi Ecclesiæ sit, 371, vel 375, non satis liquet. S. Basnag. Ann. 394. n. ix.

[f] Circa annum 370, vel forsan paulo serius, Iconii, Lycaoniæ metropolis, episcopus constituitur. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 251.

[g] S. Amphiloque, Art. iii. Mem. T. ix.

[h] Vid. Tillem. ubi supr. Art. vi. et Pagi Ann. 394. n. vii.

[i] See Tillem. as above, Art. i.

[k] H. E. l. iv. c. 30. l. v. c. 8. et 16. Socrat. l. v. cap. 8. Sozom. l. vii. c. 6. et 9.

[l] —— Cappadocumque Basilii, Gregorii, Amphilochii. Qui omnes in tantum Philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos infarciunt libros: ut nescias, quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem seculi, an scientiam Scripturarum. Ep. 83. al. 84.

[m] Præter fragmenta quædam veterum monumentis disseminata, unum forte Amphilochii genuinum opus superest, Epistola Synodica, quam Cotelerius edidit. [Ap. Monum. Gr. T. ii. p. 99—104.] Basnag. Ann. 394. n. ix. Conf. Cav. H. L.

Il suffit de dire, que tout ce que nous avons aujourdhui d'entier de ce Saint, est la lettre aux Evêques Macédoniens ——et un poëme qu'il adressa à Seleuque neveu de Sainte Olympiade. &c. Tillem. Mem. T. ix. St. Amphiloque, art. vi.

[n] Ad Seleucum Iambi Gregorio Naz. a Billio adjudicati, nec invitâ quidem veritate. Cav. H. L. in Amphiloch.

[o] Le poëme à Seleucus, quoiqu' en dise le Père Combefis, est du stile de saint Grégoire; et il y a bien de l'apparence, qu'il a été composé par ce Père sous le nom d'Amphiloque. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 234.

[p] —— Sunt nihilominus hæc leviora, quam ut fidem codicum vindicantium Amphilochio nostro elevent. Primum enim, minus quadrant hic posita de libris canonicis, cum iis quæ habet Theologus carmine de iisdem p. 98. ed. Par. ubi absolute pronuntiat de Pauli epistolis, et septem Catholicis, nullâ mentione libri Esther, aut Apocalypsis.—Etiam Balsamon habet ut Amphilochii, p. 1080. ed. Paris. passimque Damascenus in elementis in codice Eminentiss. Rupifucaldii. Combef. not. ad Amphil. p. 254.

[q] See Mem. Ecc. T. ix. S. Greg. de Naz. sect. 140. Amphiloque, sect. 6. et note 6.

[r] Synodicon. T. ii. p. 178, 179.

Gregory the divine, and the other, that of Amphilochius from his iambics to Seleucus: and some others are of [a] the same opinion. Whether it belongs to one or the other, it is a different performance from the foregoing, and therefore deserves to be put down here.

'The author of this poem recommends [b] the reading of the scriptures of the Old and New 'Testament, as fitted to teach men virtue, and the right worship of God. Then [c] he cautions 'his friend against spurious, and falsely ascribed writings, even though they have in them some 'appearance of truth. After [d] which he enumerates the divinely inspired books, and in the first 'place those of the Old Testament, which are these: The Pentateuch, containing first Genesis, 'then Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Then Joshua, and the Judges, and Ruth, 'four books of the Kings, two of the Remains, the first and second of Esdras. After them five 'books in verse, Job, the book of Psalms, three books of Solomon, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, 'and the Song of Songs. To these add the Twelve Prophets, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, 'Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. After 'whom are the four Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. To these some add Esther. 'The books of the New Testament to be received by you are these: Four Evangelists only; 'Matthew, then Mark, the third Luke, and John [e] the fourth in time, but first in the sublimity 'of his doctrine. Next [f] receive a second book of Luke, the book of the Acts of all the 'Apostles. Then fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, one to the Romans, two to the Corin-'thians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, two to the 'Thessalonians, two to Timothy, and to Titus and Philemon, to each one, and one to the He-'brews. But [g] some say, the epistle to the Hebrews is spurious; not speaking rightly, for it is 'a genuine work. Then the catholic epistles: Of which some receive seven, others three only: 'one of James, one of Peter, one of John: while others receive three of John, and two of 'Peter, and Jude's the seventh. The [h] Revelation of John is approved by some; but many '[or the most] say it is spurious. Let this be the most certain canon of the divinely inspired 'scriptures.'

I shall make but one remark upon this poem, and what has been transcribed from it: That it affords a new proof of the care and caution of the ancient Christians concerning books received as a part of sacred scripture, and the rule of their faith.

III. As very little of Amphilochius remains, I have no select passages to present the reader with at the end of this chapter. I shall therefore put down here a story told by [i] Theodoret; which is also in [k] Sozomen and [l] Nicephorus, with only some variations. Amphilochius, as Theodoret says, presented a petition to Theodosius, desiring him to prohibit Arian assemblies, without obtaining it. He therefore thought of a method to gain his point. And being in the palace with other bishops, he paid his respects to Theodosius, as usual, taking little or no notice of Arcadius, who stood by, and had been lately declared Augustus. The emperor supposing the omission might have proceeded from forgetfulness, called to Amphilochius, and put him in mind to salute his son also: Amphilochius answered, he had paid respect to him, and that was enough. The emperor displeased with that answer said, a slight put upon his son was an indignity to himself. Whereupon Amphilochius replied; You see, Sir, that you cannot endure a slight to be put upon your son, and are angry with those who are guilty of it: persuade yourself, then, that the God of the whole world is offended with those who blaspheme his only begotten Son, and hates them as ungrateful to their Saviour and benefactor. The emperor perceiving the bishop's design, soon after this forbade the assemblies of heretics. Intending, it is likely, a law of [m] Theodosius still extant, dated July 25, of the year 383, prohibiting all heretics, particularly

[a] See the opinions of Baronius and Basnage, in the preceding chapter, note [g] and [h]. And see Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 503, 504.

[b] Amphil. ad Seleuc. p. 126. ed. Combef. Paris. 1644. et ap. Greg. Naz. T. ii. p. 194, 195.

[c] Εισιν γαρ, εισιν εσθ' ὁτε ψευδωνυμοι
Βιβλοι· τινες μεν εμμεσοι, και γειτονες,
Ὡς ανδις ειποι, των αληθειας λογων.
P. 130. Gr. 194.

[d] Τεων χαριν σοι των θεοπνευστων ερω
Βιβλων εκαστην.——Ib.

[e] ——αριθμει τον Ιωαννην χρονω
Τεταρτον· αλλα πρωτον ὑψει δοκιμαζων.—p. 132.

[f] Δεχθ δε βιβλον Λουκα, και την δευτεραν,
Την των καθολικων πραξεων αποστολων —Ib.

[g] Τινες δε φασι την προς Ἑβραιους νοθον·
Ουκ ευ λεγοντες, γνησια γαρ ἡ χαρις.—ib.

[h] Την δ' Αποκαλυψιν την Ιωαννε παλιν
Τινες μεν εγκρινουσι, και πλειους δε γε
Νοθον λεγουσιν. Ὁυτος αψευδεστατος
Κανων ων ειη των θεοπνευστων γραφων.—p. 134.

[i] L. v. c. 16. p. 218.

[k] Soz. l. vii. c. 6.

[l] Nic. l. xii. c. 9.

[m] Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 5. L. xi.

Eunomians, Arians, and Macedonians, to hold any assemblies of worship in public places, or private houses.

This affair has been taken notice of by several [a] moderns; and seems to be rightly placed in the year 383, it happening after that Arcadius had been declared Augustus, and joined with his father in the empire; which was done in the beginning of that year.

Amphilochius shewed his dislike of heretics several ways. He wrote a book against the Massalians, mentioned by [b] Theodoret; and another work, intitled [c] Of Pseudepigraphal books composed by heretics; both which are lost: if they had been extant, I suppose they would have given me more satisfaction than the law of Theodosius, which affords not any argument. Indeed, I do not think that Amphilochius is to be commended for procuring that law; I rather think that he therein acted contrary to the doctrine taught by our Saviour, which inculcates mutual equity and forbearance, and to many apostolical precepts, requiring bishops, and all Christians in general, "to be gentle, shewing all meakness unto all men: to be gentle unto all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." The catholics had suffered many hardships in the late reign of Valens: afterwards in the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius they came into power. If they had more truth on their side than the Arians I wish they had also excelled in moderation and equity; which are shining virtues, highly becoming weak and fallible creatures one toward another, perfectly consistent with a zeal for truth, and better suited to promote its interests, than force and violence.

CHAP. C.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA IN CAPPADOCIA.

I. *His time and history.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.* III. *Select passages.*

I. GREGORY, younger brother of Basil, was ordained bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia in the [d] latter part of the year 370, or in [e] 371, or [f] the beginning of 372. Being a zealous homoüsian, he [g] felt the heavy hands of the Arian administration under Valens: and some time after his ordination was obliged to live in exile, in an unsettled condition, till upon the death of Valens, he and others were restored to their sees by an edict of Gratian in 378. He [h] is in Jerom's Catalogue; I place the chapter, which is short, below. He was alive [i] in 394; the year of his death is not certainly known. I formerly [k] made large extracts out of our Gregory's oration upon the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, to which the reader is referred: I now proceed to take his testimony to the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament.

II. 1. He speaks [l] of the five divisions of the book of Psalms.

2. He takes notice of [m] the ancient versions of the Old Testament, of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, beside that of the Seventy: in [n] one place he consults the Hebrew.

3. 'A [o] greater than Solomon made use of him as an instrument, and by him speaks to us

[a] See Cave's Lives of the Primitive Fathers, Vol. ii. in Gregory Naz. sect. vii. p. 327, 328. H. L. T. i. p. 251. Basnag. Ann. 383. n. vii. Tillem. Les Ariens. art. 139. Mem. Tom. vi.

[b] Hær. Fab. l. iv. cap. xi.

[c] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. ii. p. 253. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 505.

[d] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 244.

[e] Vid. Benedictin. Vit. S. Basil. c. xix.

[f] Vid. Pagi Ann. 369. n. xvii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 144. Tillem. Gr. Nyss. art. iii.

[g] Vid. Cav. ib. p. 244. in Tillem. Mem. T. ix. S. Greg. de Nysse. art. iv.

[h] Gregorius, Nyssenus episcopus, frater Basilii Cæsariensis, ante paucos annos mihi et Gregorio Nazianzeno contra Eunomium legit libros, qui et multa alia scripsisse et scribere dicitur. De V. I. cap. 128.

[i] Vid. Pagi Ann. 394. n. vi.

[k] Vol. i. p. 592—595.

[l] In Psalm. Tr. 1. cap. ix. T. i. p. 287. D.

[m] In Hexaëm T. i. p. 7. B. p. 13. B. C.

[n] In Cant. hom. 9. T. i. p. 610. C.

[o] Οὗτος ὀργάνῳ τῷ Σολομῶνι τελῶ χρησάμενος δι' ἐκείνου ἡμῖν διαλέξεται, πρόλερον ἐν Παροιμίαις, εἶτα ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστῇ, καὶ μέλα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ τε Ασμάτος τῶν Ασμάτων φιλοσοφία. κ. λ. In Cant. hom. 1. T. i. p. 475. D.

'first in the Proverbs, then in the Ecclesiastes, and after that in the philosophy of the Canticles 'now before us.' So speaks Gregory in the first of his fifteen homilies upon the book of Canticles: who has also a preface to that book, and eight homilies upon the book of Ecclesiastes; and he here plainly shews us, what were generally esteemed by understanding Christians the genuine writings of Solomon.

4. I need not take any notice of quotations of the gospels. He gives [a] the title of the great John to the evangelist, quoting the beginning of his first epistle, soon after he had quoted the beginning of his gospel.

5. The book of the Acts is very often quoted by him, and ascribed to [b] Luke. Moreover he says, that [c] Luke was as much a physician of souls, as of the body: from whence we can conclude, that he took the evangelist to be the same who is mentioned Col. iv. 14.

6. Gregory [d] quotes the epistle to the Ephesians with that title.

7. He often expressly quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, and as [e] Paul's.

8. Gregory seldom quotes the book of the Revelation: yea, I think he sometimes declines to quote it, when there are fair occasions for so doing: however, he [f] has expressly quoted it in one of his orations; and though he there calls it apocryphal, perhaps he needs not be supposed to intend to detract from it, for he calls it the evangelist John's.

9. There is a passage [g] in Gregory's book against Apollinarius, published by Laurence Zacagni, where it may be questioned, whether Gregory refers to Rev. i. 8, or [h] John viii. 25, according to a very uncommon reading indeed, but which seems to be that followed by the author of the Gothic version. For clearing this I put below [i] a part of the note of the learned Latin translator upon the place.

10. Titles and divisions, and marks of respect for the scriptures, are such as these: the [k] sacred writers of the gospels; the [l] divine gospels; apostles [m] and prophets; one [n] and the same God speaks in the prophets, and in the New Testament; Paul [o] the herald or preacher of grace, the chief conductor of the church's marriage, and the mouth of Christ. I refer to [p] another place very honourable to that apostle. He says, it [q] is one of the Lord's commands, that we should study the scriptures. See John v. 39. He reckons it to the advantage of Ephrem the Syrian, that [r] from early age he had been instructed in the sacred scriptures. I omit many other like things, not needful to be transcribed. He proves [s] what he advances by texts of scripture. Again, 'Where [t] did Apollinarius learn, that the Spirit became incarnate? What scrip-'ture says this? We have not learned any such thing from the gospels: but that the Word 'became flesh, as the great apostle says.'

III. I shall now take some select passages, partly relating to the scriptures, partly to other matters.

[a] Ὅπερ δη και ὁ μεῖας Ιωαννης πεποιηκεν. In Cant. hom. 13. T. i. p. 664. C.

[b] Ἡ φησιν εν αρχῃ τῳ βιβλιῳ των Πραξεων ὁ Λουκας. κ. λ. In Christ. Resurr. Or. 2. T. iii. p. 415. C.

[c] Ὁ τοινυν Λουκας, ὁ ωλεον των ψυχων η των σωμαλων ιαλρος, εβραψε το εν χερσι διηγημα. De Pœnit. in Luc. vii. 36. &c. T. ii. p. 165. D.

[d] Σαφεςερον δε τοις Εφεσιοις. Orat. in 1 Cor. xv. 28. T. ii. p. 15. C. Vid. et Catechet. Or. cap. 32. T. iii. p. 94. A. In Chr. Res. Or. i. T. 3. p. 396. C. et alibi.

[e] Διο και Παυλος Εβραιοις επιςελλων ελεῖεν. In Chr. Res. Or. ii. T. iii. p. 408. B. et passim.

[f] Ηκουσα τῳ ἐυαγγελιςῳ Ιωαννῃ εν αποκρυφοις προς τους τοιουτους δι' αινιγμαῖος λεγοντος——Ωφελον γαρ ησθα, φησι, ψυχρος, ηζεςος. In suam ordinat. T. ii. p. 44. A.

[g] —— καθως φησι πῳ της γραφης ὁ λογος· ὅτι εἰμι ἡ αρχη. Adv. Apoll. cap. 37. p. 219. Zacagn. Monum. Vet.

[h] 'Ideo dixerunt ei: Tu quis es? Et dixit eis Jesus: Prin-'cipium, ceu quoque dico vobis.' Sacr. Evang. Vers. Goth. cum Interpret. Lat. Eric. Benzel. Oxon. 1750.

[i] 'Principium.'] Legit ergo, quamvis nullo qui nunc superest codice MSS. consentiente, ἡ αρχη, ὅτι και λεγω ὑμιν. Nam religiosus interpres, si casum quartum invenisset, utique scripsisset.——Benzel in loc.

[k] Οἱ των ευαγγελιςων ἱεροι συγγραφεις. In Chr. Res. Or. ii. T. iii. p 400. D.

[l] Encom. Ephr. Syr. T. iii. p. 595. B.

[m] Ἡ των αποςολικων τε και προφητικων διδασμαλων. De Occurs. Dom. T. iii. p. 446. D.

Δια τελο ηλθον αἱ των προφητων και αποςολων σαλπιγγες. In Natal. Chr. T. iii. p. 340. A.

[n] Δεικνυσι——ἑνα και τον αυτον θεον τε και νομοθετην εν τε προφηταις και τῃ καινῃ διαθηκῃ λελαληκεναι. De Oc. Dom. T. iii. p. 460. B.

[o] Ὁ κηρυξ της χαριτος, ὁ νυμφοςολος της εκκλησιας, το τῳ Χριςῳ σομα. Vit. S. Ephr. T. iii. p. 596. C.

[p] In 1 Cor. xv. 28. T. ii. p. 6. B.

[q] Και τελο των δεσποτικων παραγγελμαλων εςι, το δειν ερευναν τας γραφας. In Eccles. hom. i. T. i. p. 374. C.

[r] Ὁ τραφεις μεν εκ πρωτης ηλικιας, και αυξηθεις εν τῃ των θειων μελετῃ γραφων, πιστισθεις δε τοις της χαριτος αεννασις οχετοις. κ. λ. De Vit. S. Ephr. T. iii. p. 598. C.

[s] Και μυριας εςι περι τελε της αγιας γραφης παραθεσθαι φωνας. In Hexaëm. T. i. 14. D. Conf. ib. p. 28. D.

[t] Τις γραφη ταυτα λεγει;——Ουχ ἁπλως παρα των ευαγγελιων ηκουσαμεν. Ουχ ἁπλως παρα της μεγαλης τῳ αποςολῳ φωνης εδιδαχθημεν· αλλ' ὅτι μεν ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο. κ. λ. Adv. Apoll. cap. 12. ubi sup. p. 148.

1. There[a] are five orations of Gregory upon the Lord's prayers, but no notice taken of any doxology at the end.

2. Gregory says, that[b] in the most exact copies, St. Mark's gospel concluded with those words ch. xvi. 8; "For they were afraid." But in some copies it was added, "Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene;" and what follows: In which he says, there seemed to be some things different from the accounts given of our Lord's resurrection by the other evangelists. He therefore reconciles them, and compares together all the four evangelists, Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. Which shews, there were no other authentic histories of Christ, except these four; and that there were no other, for which the church had any regard.

Mill says, that[c] Gregory Nyssen is the first, who has taken any notice of this various reading at the conclusion of St. Mark's gospel.

3. He says, there[d] are three Maries mentioned as standing at the foot of the cross of Jesus, Mary our Lord's mother, Mary wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. John xix. 25. For Mary mother of James, or mother of James and Joses, as mentioned by the other evangelists, he cannot but think to be the same with our Lord's mother; James and Joses he supposes to be the children of Joseph, whom he had by a former marriage. He moreover says, that[e] James called "the less" in Mark xv. 40, was not an apostle, being different from James the son of Alpheus, who was one of the twelve apostles.

4. 'That[f] we might be satisfied Christ had a real body, and was not a man in appearance, 'the scriptures have recorded without reserve every thing peculiar to our nature, his eating, and 'drinking, and sleeping, weariness, refreshment by food, growing in bodily stature, and in 'wisdom. But he had no sickness, nor decays, as he had no sin.'

5. He[g] speaks of the advantage which redounds to us from Thomas's slowness to believe; we have thereby fuller assurance, he says, that Christ rose with the same body that had died.

6. Gregory observes some things in St. John's gospel, as proofs of the reality of our Lord's resurrection, and that the body was not stolen out of the sepulchre. 'Says John, "Then took 'they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes," ch. xix. 40. Which linen clothes were 'not taken away, but "were seen lying" by John and Peter, ch. xx. 5, 6. But how should 'thieves have had time to pull off the linen bandages [or wrappers], which being spicy would 'cling to the body, and could not be pulled off but in some time, by persons who had leisure? 'Moreover, says[i] he, how should thieves have leisure and assurance, to put "the napkin that 'was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself," 'ver. 7. Here are no signs of the horror or hurry of thieves.' Perhaps such observations as these may satisfy some people, that the ancient Christians had a small share of good sense.

7. There is a letter of Gregory to a friend concerning those who go to Jerusalem, or other places near it. 'Some[k] there are,' he says, 'who think it a branch of piety to go to Jerusalem, 'to see the places which the Lord had honoured with his presence, when in the body. But[l] 'here, first, it may be well to look to the rule: and if the Lord has not commanded it, nor 'among the beatitudes pronounced them blessed that go to Jerusalem, it may be let alone. He 'mentions divers inconveniencies of this journey, and the temptations to which people are ex-'posed therein. Besides, Christ is not now at Jerusalem: nor is there any reason to think the 'fulness of the Spirit so confined to Jerusalem, but that it may reach us at home. Moreover,' he says, 'that Jerusalem was then a very wicked place; and that there were better helps for piety 'in Cappadocia.' They who please may compare Gregory with[m] Jerom, who seems little better affected to these pilgrimages than our author.

[a] T. i. p. 712—761.

[b] Εν μεν τοις ακριβεσ-τεροις αντιγραφοις το καλα Μαρκον ευαγ-γελιον, μεχρι τε εφοβουντο γαρ, εχει το τελος. Εν δε τισι προ-κειται και ταυτα. κ. λ. In Chr. Res. Or. ii. T. iii. p. 411. B.

[c] E codicibus istius ævi memorat primus jam (quod sciam) Gregorius Nyssenus nonnullos, in quibus Evangelium Marci finitum erat ad capitis xvi. ver. 8. verba ista, εφοβουντο γαρ. Prolegom. n. 812.

[d] Vid. ibid. p. 412. C. D. 413. A.

[e] Ib. p. 413. B. C.

[f] Ep. ad Eustath. &c. T. iii. p. 658. C. D.

[g] Και δια της εκεινε πολυπραγμονος απιστιας και επαφης, ημεις εις την πιστιν εβεβαιωθημεν, εν ῳ σωματι πεπονθεν, εν αυτῳ και εγηγερθαι πιστευσαντες τον Εμμανουηλ. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 204. C.

[h] Ib. p. 405.

[i] Πα γαρ σχολην ειχον οι κλεπται και τοσαυτην αδειαν, ως και το της κεφαλης καλυμμα καλα ταξιν ειλειν και τιθεναι χωρις; Ibid. 405. C. D.

[k] T. iii p. 651—658.

[l] ——καλως αν εχοι προς τον κανονα βλεπειν. p. 652. A.

[m] Ad Paulin. ep. 49. al. 13. T. iv. p. 564.

8. He [a] entirely disclaims the expectation of a voluptuous Millennium, the renewal of Jewish sacrifices, and a terrestrial Jerusalem adorned with precious stones.

9. There [b] are in Gregory several passages, asserting free-will in strong terms; to which I refer.

CHAP. CI.

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history, and character, his commentaries upon the scriptures, and other works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures farther shewn.* III. *Select passages.*

I. 1. DIDYMUS, master [c] of the catechetical school at Alexandria, flourished [d] about the year 370. He [e] lost his sight by a distemper, when very young, in the fourth or fifth year of his age, before he had learned to read, or whilst he was learning letters. He attained nevertheless to great learning; beside grammar and rhetoric, he understood logic, music, geometry, astronomy, the most abstruse problems of the mathematicians, and all the opinions of the philosophers; as we are assured by divers ancient ecclesiastical writers, who cannot forbear to call him a wonderful man. They also say, that [f] he had great acquaintance with the divine oracles of the Old and New Testament, so as to write many commentaries upon them. As Sozomen says: 'Many [g] excited 'by his great fame, came from far to Alexandria, some to hear him, others only to see him. 'And it was no small grief to the Arians, that he maintained the Nicene doctrine.' He adds, 'that he persuaded men not so much by the force of his reasons, as by the agreeable manner of 'proposing them: for he would make every one to be judge of the point in question.' Some account of the character of Didymus was given [h] formerly, when the amiable mildness of his temper, here intimated by Sozomen, was collected from the moderation conspicuous in his writings against the Manichees.

2. In the [i] preface to his own Commentaries upon Hosea, Jerom styles Didymus the most learned man of his time. Palladius [k] says, he surpassed all the ancients in knowledge.

3. Jerom often expresses [l] great affection and esteem for Didymus. And though, when the controversy about Origen's orthodoxy was on foot, he takes notice of his acceding to the peculiar opinions of that eminent ancient, he always [m] allows him to have maintained the catholic doctrine

[a] Ad Eust. et Ambr. T. iii. p. 658. C. D.

[b] De Hominis Opificio. cap. iv. T. 1. p. 526. E. De Vita Mosis. p. 200. C. D. 203. A. B. De Anima. T. ii. p. 107. B. Catechet. Or. cap. 31. T. iii. p. 91. et cap. 39. p. 105.

[c] ——προισταμενος εν Αλεξανδρεια τε ιερε διδασκαλειε των ιερων μαθημαλων. Soz. l. iii. c. 15. in.

[d] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 253.

[e] Didymus Alexandrinus multa de nostro dogmate per notarios commentatur; qui, post quintum navitatis annum luminibus orbatus, elementorum quoque ignarus fuit. Hieron. Chr. ad A. 372. p. 187. Et vid. infr. not. [a]

Is namque in parvâ ætate, cum adhuc etiam prima literarum ignoraret elementa, luminibus orbatus. Ruf. H. E. l. ii. c. 7.

Οὗλος κομιδη νεος ων, και τα πρωλα των γραμμαλων σοιχεια μαθων. Socr. l. iv. c. 25.

——τυφλος εξενελο εν τη πρωλη πειρα της μαθησεως των σοιχειων. Soz. l. iii. c. 15.

——ὡς αυλος μοι διηγησαλο, τελρασλης τας οψεις αποβαλων, μηλε γραμμαλων μεμαθηκως. Pallad. Hist. Laus. cap. 3. Ap. Bib. PP. Morell. T. xiii. p. 904.

[f] Ου μην αλλα και τα θεια λολια πολλαιας και καινης διαθηκης ἑλως ακριβως εγνωκει, ὡς ε πολλα μεν εκδεδωκαι βιβλια. Socr. l. iv. c. 25. p. 241.

[g] Ην δε ε το τυχον θαυμα· και πολλοι καλα το κλεος τε ανδρος εις Αλεξανδρειαν παρεγινονλο, οἱ μεν αυλε ακεσομενοι, οἱ δε ισορησονλες μονον. κ. λ. Soz. l. iii. c. 15. p. 523. C.

[h] P. 147.

[i] ——quum essem Alexandriæ, vidi Didymum, et eum frequenter audivi, virum sui temporis eruditissimum. Rogavique eum, ut, quod Origenes non fecerat, ipse compleret, et scriberet in Osee Commentarios. Qui tres libros, me petente, dictavit, quinque quoque alios in Zachariam. Pr. in Osee. T. iii. p. 1238.

[k] ——ὡς πανλας ὑπερβεβηκεναι τες αρχαιες εν γνωσει. Hist. Laus. cap. iii. ubi supra.

[l] Prætermitto Didymum videntem meum. Pr. in ep. ad Gal. T. iv. P. i. p. 222.

Et Didymus, cujus amicitiis nuper usi sumus. Prol. in Is. T. iii. p. 6.

Jam canis spargebatur caput, et magistrum potius quam discipulum decebat. Perrexi tamen Alexandriam; audivi Didymum. In multis ei gratias ago. Quod nescivi, didici: quod sciebam, illo docente, non perdidi. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 342.

[m] In Didymo vero et memoriam prædicamus, et super Trinitate fidei puritatem: sed in cæteris, quæ Origeni male

concerning the Trinity; and acknowledges his prodigious memory, great learning, and fine manner of writing.

4. Jerom, who has placed Didymus in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, there says, that [a] he wrote commentaries upon the whole book of Psalms, and upon the gospels of Matthew and John; a treatise of the Holy Spirit, translated into Latin by Jerom; also commentaries upon Isaiah, Hosea, Zechariah, Job; against the Arians, in three books; and many other works. When Jerom wrote his book of Illustrious Men, in 392, Didymus was living, being then in the 84th year of his age. He died a short time afterwards.

5. The [b] commentaries upon Hosea and Zechariah were written at Jerom's request. Many of Jerom's passages, where he speaks distinctly of Didymus's commentaries upon the scripture, are transcribed at length at the bottom of the pages of the chapter of Apollinarius; where they may be read by those who are curious.

6. Beside the commentaries mentioned by Jerom, Didymus wrote also enarrations, or short notes upon the seven catholic epistles, of which we saw a good proof some while [c] ago.

7. They who are desirous to know more of his commentaries upon the scriptures, may consult [d] Fabricius and [e] Tillemont.

8. We still have a book of Didymus [f] against the Manichees, in the original Greek, of which some notice was taken in the history of that [g] sect; the [h] treatise of the Holy Spirit, in Jerom's version; and [i] the Enarrations upon the seven catholic epistles in Latin. And in the Greek Chains are fragments of some of his commentaries. The late excellent Mr. J. C. Wolff, of Hamburg, published [k] a large collection of notes and observations of Didymus upon the Acts of the apostles, taken from a manuscript Greek Chain at the University of Oxford.

II. In these three works still remaining, Against the Manichees, Of the Holy Spirit, and the Enarrations upon the catholic epistles, many of the books of the New Testament are frequently quoted.

1. The [l] epistle to the Ephesians is quoted with that title.

2. Didymus received the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's. It is quoted in all the three works just mentioned; in [m] the tract concerning the Holy Spirit, against [n] the Manichees, and the [o] Enarrations.

3. He supposeth, the [p] first epistle of Peter to be written to Jews scattered abroad in several countries.

4. At the end of his Enarration upon the second epistle of Peter he either says, that [q] it is spurious, or that it has been corrupted and interpolated, and therefore is not in the canon. Nevertheless, I think, it must generally have been in authority with the Christians among whom Didymus lived, that is, at Alexandria; otherwise he would not have written notes upon it, together with the other catholic epistles. However, this passage, if rightly represented in the

credidit, nos ab eo retrahimus. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 463. f. T. iv. Conf. adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 355. M.

Quid respondebis pro Didymo, qui certe in Trinitate Catholicus est? Cujus etiam nos de Spiritu Sancto librum in Latinam linguam vertimus.——Cæterum in aliis dogmatibus et Eusebius et Didymus apertissime in Origenis scita concedunt; et, quod omnes ecclesiæ reprobant, catholice et pie dictum esse defendunt. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 407. 409.

Quis prudentior, doctior, eloquentior Eusebio et Didymo, assertoribus Origenis, inveniri potest? Ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 347. in.

[a] Didymus Alexandrinus, captus a parvâ ætate oculis, et ob id elementorum ignarus, tantum miraculum sui omnibus præbuit, ut Dialecticam quoque et Geometriam, quæ vel maxime visu indiget, usque ad perfectum didicerit. Hic plura nobiliaque opera conscripsit: Commentarios in Evangelium Matthæi et Johannis: et de dogmatibus, et contra Arianos libros duos: et de Spiritu Sancto librum unum, quem ego in Latinum verti: in Isaïam tomos decem et octo: in Osee, ad me scribens, Commentariorum libros tres: et in Zachariam, meo rogatu, libros quinque: et Commentarios in Job: multaque alia, quæ digerere proprii indicis est. Vivit usque hodie, et octogesimum tertium ætatis excessit annum. De V. I. cap. 109.

[b] See note [i]. [c] See Vol. i. p. 404.

[d] Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 353—357. [e] Mem. Ec. T. x.

[f] Apud Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. P. ii. p. 21. &c. et ap. Canis. Lection. ex edit. Basnag. p. 204. &c.

[g] See p. 147.

[h] Ap. S. Hieron. Opp. T. iv. P. i. p. 494. &c.

[i] Ap. Bib. PP. Lugdun. T. iv. p. 319, &c.

[k] Vid. Wolff. Anecdot. Græc. T. iv. p. 1—52. Hamb. 1724.

[l] Beatus quoque Apostolus ad Ephesios scribens ait. De Sp. S. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 497. in.

[m] Paulus in epistolâ, quam ad Hebræos scribit. De Sp. S. p. 495. Vid. et p. 502. et passim.

[n] Ὡς γραφει Παυλος τοις πιστοις· Τιμιος ὁ γαμος, κ. λ. Contr. Manich. ap. Combefis. p. 26. in.

[o] Vid. Enarr. in 1 Joan. cap. iv. ap. B. PP. T. iv. p. 333. B.

[p] Positus Petrus circumcisionis Apostolus, omniumque Judæorum habens studium, scribit eis qui in totius orbis dispersione morabantur, tamquam advenis civitatum extranearum. In 1 ep. Pet. c. i. in. p. 321. E. Vid. et Enarr. in ep. Jacob. p. 320. A.

[q] Non est igitur ignorandum, præsentem epistolam esse falsatam. Quæ licet publicetur, non tamen in canone est. Enarr. in 2 Pet. iii. ap. B. PP. T. iv. p. 326. G.

Latin version, may be allowed to be an intimation, that there were some, who had doubts about its genuineness and authority.

5. I suppose, that the book of the Revelation was received by Didymus; it [a] is quoted in the Enarrations.

6. He manifests his respect for the scriptures, calling them the [b] divine scriptures, and continually proving what he asserts from [c] the books of the Old and New Testament, and [d] the writings of the apostles and prophets, in both which speaks the same Spirit.

III. Shall I now add a few select passages, before I conclude this chapter?

1. Eph. ii. 3. "And were by nature children of wrath, as well as others." Didymus says, the [e] meaning of "by nature" is really, truly, indeed; for all sinners are obnoxious to wrath. "We were" once truly, really, "children of wrath, as well as others;" that is, as they who are still in sin.

2. He [f] rejected the common notion of the Millennium, embraced by many at that time.

3. Didymus asserts the personality of the Holy Spirit: and yet he supposeth, that [g] thereby is meant in many texts of scripture a gift, or a fulness of divine gifts.

CHAP. CII.

EPHREM THE SYRIAN.

I. *His time and character.* II. *The editions of his works.* III. *A farther account of his works, for shewing what books of the Old and New Testament were received by him.* IV. *General titles and divisions.* V. *Marks of respect for the scripture.* VI. *Select passages.*

I. Ephrem, or Ephraim, called the Syrian, was born at Nisibis, or near it, in Mesopotamia. But he spent the larger and latter part of his time at Edessa. He lived for a while a monastic kind of life; afterwards he was made deacon, which was the highest ecclesiastical order to which he attained.

According to Cave, Ephrem flourished about the year 370, and died in 378. I place him likewise at 370, though I think, he must have been an author much sooner. Dr. Asseman supposeth, that [h] he was a disciple of James bishop of Nisibis, and that he accompanied him to the council of Nice in 325. The time of his birth is not known with certainty; though Asseman says, upon the authority of Syrian writers, that [i] he was born under the reign of Constantine; and he thinks, he died before [k] the end of the year 378. Which is agreeable to Jerom's account,

[a] ——cujus fit memoria in Apocalypsi per Jezabel. Enarr. in ep. Jud. p. 336. D.

[b] Αἱ θειαι γραφαι. Contr. Manich. p. 22. m.

Plena sunt volumina divinarum scripturarum his sermonibus. De Sp. S. p. 495. in.

[c] Veteris quoque Testamenti homo David.—Necnon etiam in Novo Testamento. Ibid.

[d] Possumus quidem testimonia de divinis literis exhibere, quia idem Spiritus et Apostolis et Prophetis fuit. Ibid. et passim.

[e] Ὅτι ημεν φυσει τεκνα οργης, ὡς και οἱ λοιποι ανθρωποι· οἱ εισετι δευρο εν τῳ ἁμαρτανειν οντες. Προσκειμενον δε το φυσει ȣ το κατα φυσιν σημαινει, αλλα το αληθειᾳ——δηλων, ὁτι αληθειᾳ ὑπευθυνοι οργη ὑπαρχȣσιν οἱ ἁμαρτανοντες. Contr. Manich. p. 23. A. Ed. Combef.

[f] Si ergo in cœlis fidelibus hæc servatur hæreditas, frivola quædam et tepida proferunt aliqui putantes, eam se percipere in terrenâ Jerusalem. &c. Enarr. in 1 ep. Pet. cap. i. ver. 4. p. 321. G. H.

[g] Nam eumdem Evangelii locum Matthæus Lucasque describens, alter ex his ait: 'Quanto magis Pater cœlestis dabit bona petentibus se?' [Matt. vii. 11.] Alter vero: 'Quanto magis Pater vester cœlestis dabit Spiritum Sanctum petentibus se?' [Luc. xi. 13.] Ex quibus apparet, Spiritum Sanctum plenitudinem esse donorum Dei. De Sp. S. p. 496. in.

Dicimus autem virtutis et disciplinæ quosdam esse plenos: ut illud: 'Repletus est Spiritu Sancto.' Ex. xxxi. 3. non aliud significantes, quam plenos esse consummatæ atque perfectæ virtutis. Ib. p. 498. m.

Quia nunc proposuimus ostendere, superintelligi semper in Spiritu Sancto dona virtutum: ita ut qui eum habet, donationibus Dei plenus habeatur. Unde et in Isaïâ.—'Ponam Spiritum meum super semen tuum, et benedictiones meas super filios tuos.' Ib. p. 500. infr. in.

[h] Jacobus, cognomento Magnus, natus Nisibi——ad episcopatum Nisibis evectus fuit, ubi sanctum Ephræm auditorem habuit. Anno Alexandri 636, Christi 325, una cum Ephræmo in Bithyniam profectus, Concilio Nicæno interfuit, doctrinæ orthodoxæ vindex acerrimus. Jos. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 17. in.

[i] Ib. p. 24.

[k] Ib. p. 54. not. 1.

who says, that Ephrem died in the time of the emperor Valens. Fabricius thinks, he died in 375. Basnage, not before 380.

For a more particular account of Ephrem, I refer to the learned moderns already named,[a] Cave, [b] Basnage, [c] Fabricius, [d] Asseman, and likewise to [e] Tillemont. As Jerom has an article for him, I put it [f] in the margin. He mentions a book of Ephrem, translated into Greek, which is not now known to be extant.

Ephrem was a man of great fame, and much esteemed among the Greeks, as well as Syrians. Sozomen [g] has a particular account of him, and gives him high commendations. Theodoret speaks of him [h] more than once: he says, he [i] was an excellent man, and a fine writer; though he was not acquainted with the Greek learning. In Photius [k] is an account of several of Ephrem's works, which he had read in Greek. There is an Encomium, or Life of Ephrem, written by [l] Gregory Nyssen, if it be his; for it is [m] doubted of: however, if it is not Gregory's, it was, probably, written by some other not long after his time. That author calls [n] Ephrem the doctor of the whole world: and it is common with the Syrian writers, to [o] call him the doctor or master of the world, and their prophet.

II. There have been for some time two editions of Ephrem's works; one by Gerard Vossius, in Latin, in three volumes, at Rome, finished in 1597, and since published elsewhere; another in Greek, at Oxford in 1709. Of both these editions accounts may be seen in the fore-mentioned writers, particularly [p] J. A. Fabricius, and [q] Dr. Joseph Asseman, who after having thrown a great deal of new light upon the history and works of Ephrem, in his Bibliotheca Orientalis,[r] has at length, together with other assistants, published at Rome a much more complete edition of his works, in six tomes or volumes; three of which are Syriac and Latin, and the other three Greek and Latin. This edition was begun to be published in 1732, and finished in 1747.

I believe, I shall scarce quote at all the edition of Vossius, which is a translation of a translation. Nor can one quote the Greek with full assurance, which consists of translations, made we know not when, nor by whom.

Cave says, there [s] is reason to suspect the genuineness of many works in the collection of Vossius. Tillemont [t] speaks to the like purpose. A work, called the [u] Confession is very doubtful: Tillemont defends it; but he is sensible that it [x] was not known to Gregory Nyssen, or whoever was the author of the above mentioned Encomium. And speaking of a story therein related, he has these expressions: 'These,' says [y] he, 'are indeed extraordinary circumstances; but we see 'no good reason to doubt of their truth, the Confession having in it too many marks of sincerity, 'and also of grandeur, to allow us to imagine it to be one of the pretended pious romances, too 'common among the Greeks.' Dr. Asseman likewise has taken notice of a difficulty, relating [z] to this Confession, which I cannot say he has answered.

The famous piece called Ephrem's Testament, as published in Greek at Oxford, and in Latin by Vossius, is interpolated, as Asseman expressly [aa] says. There are also very considerable

[a] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 235. &c.
[b] Basnag. Ann. 375. n. vi. 380. n. x.
[c] Bib. Gr. L. v. c. 2. T. v. p. 319. &c.
[d] Bib. Orient. cap. vi. p. 24. &c.
[e] Mem. Ecc. T. viii.
[f] Ephræm, Edessenæ ecclesiæ Diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut, post lectionem Scripturarum, publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur. Legi ejus de Spiritu Sancto Græcum volumen, quod quidam de Syriacâ linguâ verterat, et acumen sublimis ingenii etiam translatione agnovi. Decessit sub Valente Principe. De V. I. cap. 115.
[g] Soz. H. E. l. iii. c. 16.
[h] Theod. H. E. l. ii. c. 30. l. iv. c. 29.
[i] L. ii. c. 30. p. 118. D. [k] Cod. 196. p. 512. &c.
[l] Greg. Nyss. T. iii. p. 597. &c.
[m] See Tillemont. S. Ephræm. Art. i. note 1.
[n] Ὁ ἡμέτερος, μαλλον δε της οικουμενης διδασκαλος Εφραιμ. Gr. N. ib. p. 601.
[o] Ephræm Syrus tantum apud suos sanctimoniæ et doctrinæ famam adeptus est, ut orbis Doctor, et Propheta Syrorum ab ipsis passim appelletur. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 24. Ephræm magnus, qui appellatus est Syrorum Propheta. Ebedjes. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 61.
[p] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 321—331.
[q] Vid. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 60. et p. 159—163. et Prolegom. ad Ephr. opp. T. i. Gr. et Lat.
[r] Tom. i. cap. vi. p. 24. &c.
[s] Quin et non immerito forsan censeri potest plurima in editione Vossianâ opuscula Ephræmum auctorem non habere; quot vero, aut quænam ea sint, ob rationes supra allatas haud ita facile est judicare. Cav. ib. p. 238.
[t] Il est difficile de douter, qu' il n' y ait dans cette édition plusieurs pièces, que ne sont pas du grand S. Ephrem. Ibid. art. 28, sub fin.
[u] Ελεγχος αυτε και εξομολογησις. Εν πολλοις ὑμιν, αδελφοι, δοκων χρησιμευειν. κ. λ. Oxon. Πε. seu p. 82. et T. i. Gr. et Lat. p. 119. &c. Romæ.
[x] S. Ephrem. note (4). [y] S. Ephrem. art. v.
[z] Vid. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 152.
[aa] Prodiit autem Latine per Vossium, et Græce in nuperâ editione Oxoniensi. Utraque tamen versio mendis scatet, quæ ex nostro Syriaco textu corrigi possunt. Assemān. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

differences between the [a] Greek and Syriac copies, published in the late edition at Rome. And the same learned Dr. Asseman supposes, that there are interpolations in the [b] Greek, and another large interpolation in [c] the Syriac copy of the same work, even as now published in the new edition at Rome. And may I not be allowed to say, that the whole Testament has an air of fiction? For it is not likely, that a man who was just expiring, should be able to make so long a discourse in the presence of a great number of people.

And there [d] are divers things in Syriac ascribed to Ephrem, which are not his. However, undoubtedly, there are also many works remaining, which may be relied upon as genuine.

III. Having given this account of the editions of Ephrem, and made some general remarks upon his works, I proceed in a farther account of them, chiefly with a view of observing his testimony to the scriptures.

1. The Latin of Vossius, and the Greek at Oxford, have no commentaries upon the scriptures. Those editions contain only homilies, exhortations and meditations, and such like things, written in a popular and pathetic manner; but the late edition at Rome, beside those things, affords many of Ephrem's commentaries upon the Old Testament. The first volume, Syriac and Latin, contains Ephrem's commentaries upon the five books of Moses, and upon Joshua, the Judges, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of the Kings: and in the second volume of the Syriac works, with a Latin translation, are commentaries upon Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Zechariah, and Malachi.

2. Ebedjesu, in his catalogue, enumerates [e] Ephrem's commentaries upon most, or all the books of the Old Testament, particularly upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve prophets. He says nothing of any commentaries of Ephrem upon any book of the Old Testament after those; which makes me think, that Ephrem's canon of the Old Testament was the same with that of the Jews. Moreover, in his Syriac works still remaining, he has several times expressly called [f] Malachi the last of the prophets. And Asseman owns, that [g] in his commentary upon the book of Daniel, Ephrem takes no notice of the Song of the three Children, or of the stories of Susanna, or Bell and the Dragon. I may add here, that though Ephrem commented upon the book of Jeremiah's Lamentations, there appears not any commentary of his upon Baruch.

3. Dr. Asseman says, that [h] in his Testament, Ephrem quotes the second book of the Maccabees, as canonical scripture. But that does not appear clear to me: he might quote the books of Maccabees, and of Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, as many other of the ancient Christians did, without esteeming them canonical. We saw just now, that Ephrem esteemed Malachi the last of the prophets; therefore he admitted no later writings into the canon of the Old Testament. A division of scripture, frequent in Ephrem, and to be taken notice of by and by, confirms what is here said.

4. Before I proceed, I should observe, that Ephrem received the book of Canticles; it is quoted [i] in his Syriac commentaries. He also plainly refers to [k] the book of Ruth.

[a] Vid. Testamentum Græce, p. 230. &c. Syriace, p. 395. &c. Apud Ephr. Opp. T. ii. Gr. et Lat.

[b] Præterea multa Græcus Interpres de suo adjecit, quæ in textu desiderantur, ut historiam hominis ab immundo spiritu correpti, quem Ephræm morti proximus curâsse dicitur. pag. 293. a lin. 2. usque ad lin. 13. [vid. p. 236. B. C. D. T. ii. Gr. Romæ.] Et historiam Abgari Edessæ Regis, qui urbem illam extruxisse perperam narratur pag. 297. a lin. 42. usque ad lin. 50. [vid. p. 235. F. 236. A. T. ii. Gr.] Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[c] Contra, quædam Syriacè habentur, quæ in Græcâ versione non extant, ut digressio de Möyse et magis. &c. Asseman. ib. p. 141, 142. Conf. Testam. Syriace, apud T. ii. Gr. et Lat. p. 405—408.

[d] Primus [sermo] 'de Virginis Annuntiatione inscribitur. In quo, Sancti Ephræmi præter nomen et metrum omnia desideres, judicium, ingenium, eruditionem, stilum. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 139. fin.

[e] Apud Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 61, 62. Vid. et T. i. p. 58.

[f] Judæorum sacrificia Prophetæ declarant immunda fuisse. Quæ ergo Esaïas hoc loco hominum canumve cadaveribus æquiparat, Malachias, Prophetarum ultimus, animalium retrimenta vocat, non offerenda Deo, sed offerentium in ora cum opprobratione rejicienda [Malach. ii. 3.] Comment. in Es. lxvi. 3. T. ii. Syr. p. 94. C. D.

Malachias, omnium Prophetarum postremus, populo commendat legem, et legis coronidem Joannem, quem Eliam cognominat. Comm. in Malach. iv. 4. Ib. p. 315. C.

[g] Quæ D. Hieronymus ex Theodotione transtulit Danielis capita, nimirum Canticum trium puerorum, cap. 3. a ver. 24. ad ver. 91. Historiam Susannæ cap. 13. Bel idioli, et Draconis, atque in lacum leonis missi cap. 14. ea S. Ephræm, Hebræorum textum sequutus, in hisce commentariis tacitus præteriit. Hæc enim in Vulgatâ Syrorum Versione haud extabant: licet postea ex Græcis exemplaribus in Syriacum a recentioribus interpretibus conversa fuerint, &c. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 71.

[h] Vid. ib. p. 144.

[i] — quorum meminit etiam sapientissimus Salomon in Canticis Canticorum: 'Ecce,' inquit, 'lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt: [Cant. iii. 7.] In Exod. cap. xxxvii. T. i. Syr. p. 229. F.

Christus enim est Rex Regum et verus David, id est, dilectus et amabilis—quem laudat Ecclesia, gloriosa sponsa, in suis Canticis, dicens: 'Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus. [Cant. v. 10.] In 1 Sam. xvi. 13. T. i. Syr. p. 365. E.

5. Ebedjesu does not mention any commentaries of Ephrem upon the books of the New Testament. Gregory Nyssen indeed says, that[a] Ephrem not only meditated upon the scriptures, but also particularly explained every part of the Old and New Testament from Genesis to the last book of grace. But that may be in part an oratorical flight, from which some abatements should be made. It is, I think, observable, that Ebedjesu says nothing of any commentaries of Ephrem upon the New Testament. His silence must be reckoned an argument, that there were none upon the New Testament, or that they were not so well known, as those upon the Old. However, we are assured by Dr. Asseman, in part quoted[b] formerly, that[c] Dionysius Barsalibæus and Gregory Barhebræus, in their commentaries upon the gospels quote the commentaries of Ephrem upon the same gospels. And it may be very proper for my readers to recollect here what was[d] formerly said of Ephrem's writing commentaries upon Tatian's Harmony of the four gospels; but still I see no particular mention of commentaries of Ephrem upon any other books of the New Testament. And when Dr. Asseman published the first volume of his Oriental Library at Rome, in 1719, he[e] had not discovered any copies of the above-named commentaries upon the gospels; though he speaks of some fragments[f] of commentaries upon the gospels. Nor are there in the late edition of Ephrem's works at Rome, any commentaries upon any books of the New Testament.

6. Whether Ephrem wrote commentaries upon the scriptures of the New Testament, or not, he certainly received all those books, which had been all along generally received by Christians as sacred scripture. This appears from his works published formerly in Latin and Greek, and from the Syriac works lately published at Rome: in all which are quoted the four gospels and the Acts very frequently, and St. Paul's epistles, and the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first of St. John.

7. To be a little more particular, so far as is needful. He expressly speaks in his Syriac works of[g] the four holy evangelists, and[h] the doctrine of the gospel, the word of life, written by the four evangelists, and[i] of the sacred volume of the gospels. In the same Syriac works is quoted[k] the epistle to the Hebrews, as the apostle Paul's.

8. Unquestionably, he also received the first epistle[l] of St. Peter, and[m] the first epistle of St. John. Quotations of them are to be found in the Syriac works, of which I have given proofs below in the margin.

Vid. et in Mich. Pr. T. ii. Syr. p. 272. B. et Paræn. 14. T. iii. Syr. p. 436. F.

[k] In Natal. Domini. Serm. 7. T. ii. Syr. p. 421, 422.

[a] Πασαν γαρ παλαιαν τε και καινην εκμελεΐησας γραφην—ὁλην ακριβως προς λεξιν ἡρμηνευσεν απο τε της κοσμογονειας, και μεχρι της τελευΐαιας της χαριΐος βιβλ. κ. λ. De Vit. Ephr. T. iii. p. 601. D.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 506.

[c] Dionysius Barsalibæus, e Jacobitarum sectâ, Amidæ in Mesopotamiâ episcopus, in suis Commentariis in Evangelia Codice Syriaco Vaticano xli.—sæpe laudat Ephræmi Commentaria in Textum Evangeliorum, de quibus in Præfatione ad Marcum sic loquitur. 'Tatianus, Justini Philosophi et Martyris 'discipulus, ex quatuor Evangeliis unum digessit, quod Dia-'tessaron nuncupavit. Hunc librum Sanctus Ephræm commen-'tariis illustravit.' Et infra: 'Sanctus quoque Ephræm, ordi-'nem Diatessari sequutus, Evangelium explanavit.' Idem testatur Barhebræus, vulgo Abulpharagius, episcopus Tagritensis, in libro, quem 'Horreum Mysteriorum' inscripsit, quo totam sacram scripturam brevissimis notis dilucidat. Ubi, præfatione in Matthæum sic de Ephræmo scribit:—— Commentaria Ephræmi in Matthæum et Lucam laudat Corderius in Catenâ Patrum. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 57, 58.

[d] See Vol. i. 354. and p. 506—508.

[e] Expositio Ephræmi in Testamentum Novum, cujus meminerunt Barsalibæus et Barhebræus locis supra laudatis, nondum ad manus nostras pervenit. Ib. p. 63.

[f] Fragmenta [Græce] in Evangelium. Cod. Vat. 663. 773. et 1190. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 157.

[g] Quatuor isti leprosi, tametsi fœdam per se præferunt speciem, si tamen eâ parte spectentur, quâ fausta nunciârunt, sanctos quatuor Evangelistas nobis pulchre repræsentant, cogitantibus, per istos innotuisse universo orbi Christi Salvatoris nostri gratiam, ac per Christum mundo assertam libertatem. In 2 libr. Reg. cap. vii. 3. T. i. Syr. p. 537. D.E.

[h] Coronam itaque ex auro argentoque fabrefactam a principibus donatam, evangelii doctrinam vitæ pharmacum esse intellige a quatuor Evangelistis scripto traditam, et voce promulgatam. In Zach. cap. vi. T. ii. Syr. p. 295. C.

[i] Et cum impudicâ illâ feminâ, cujus vitæ emendatio in sacro Evangeliorum codice tantopere commendatur, tuorum scelerum veniam iteratis singultibus flagita. Paræn. 67. T. iii. Syr. 538. A.

[k] Vid. Comment. in libr. Judic. T. i. Syr. p. 322. B. et p. 328. B. In 1 libr. Regnor. p. 460. B. Paræn. iv. T. iii. Syr. p. 395. D. et alibi.

[l] Speculatores ergo et exploratores populi Dei fuere Prophetæ: 'Scrutantes in quod vel quale tempus significaret in eis Spiritus Christi prænuntians eas, quæ in Christo sunt, passiones, et posteriores glorias.' [1 Pet. i. 11.] Comment. in 1 Sam. i. 1. T. Syr. i. p. 331. A.

Inde ad nos digressus vocavit nos 'de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum.' [1 Pet. ii. 9.] In selecta scriptur. loc T. ii. Syr. p. 330. A. Vid. eund. loc. iterum citat. Paræn. 68. T. iii. Syr. p. 539. A.

'Qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus.' [1 Pet. ii. 22.] In Zachar. T. ii. Syr. p. 298. D.

[m] —— Jesu Christi pariter imaginem delineavit, qui totius mundi peccata tulit et abstulit, cum 'factus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris, nec pro peccatis nostris tantum, sed etiam pro totius mundi.' [1 Jo. ii. 2.] In Zachar. T. ii. Syr. p. 286. A. B.

9. Whether Ephrem received also those catholic epistles, which were sometimes doubted of, is not so certain. Mill in his Prolegomena says, that [a] Ephrem received the epistle of St. James, the second of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. Jude, and the second epistle of St. John, they being quoted by him. He does not say where; but he must mean Ephrem's Greek works: I will therefore first consider the Syriac, and then the Greek works of this writer.

10. Ephrem has an exhortation, "Let [b] your speech be yea yea, nay nay; and in the margin is marked a reference to Ja. v. 12. but he might as well intend Matt. v. 37.

11. Ephrem says, "the [c] day of the Lord is a thief," and may come upon us unawares: where has been thought to be a reference to 2 Pet. iii. 19. "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night:" but he might as well have an eye to Matt. xxiv. 43, 44. or Luke xii. 39, 40. or 1 Thess. v. 2. "For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." See also ver. 4.

12. There has been supposed to be a reference [d] to 2 Pet. iii. 7. but I do not think it certain.

So far from the Syriac works. I now proceed to the Greek.

13. In every volume of the Greek works, that is, in the first, second, and third, in each of them are many express quotations of the epistle of St. James.

14. The second epistle of St. Peter is also quoted in every one of the Greek volumes. I shall mark [e] two or three quotations, which are very express; one of which contains the second chapter of that epistle from ver. 9, to the end.

15. The second epistle of John is quoted in this manner: 'This [f] is not my saying, but the word of John the divine, who says, "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, has not God,"' ver. 9.

16. The third epistle of St. John is quoted in this manner: 'The [g] scripture says, "I have 'no greater joy, than to hear, that my children walk in truth."'

17. I would just observe here, that in these Greek works, where St. John's first epistle is quoted, he [h] is often called the Divine or Theologue.

18. In these works the epistle of St. Jude is quoted several times. In one place [i] the whole epistle of Jude is transcribed; again, he is [k] called another disciple of Christ, after having before quoted largely the second epistle of Peter.

19. Such then is the notice taken of these catholic epistles in the Greek works; but how far they are to be relied upon as genuine and uncorrupted, may be hard to say. I rather think, it cannot be depended upon, that Ephrem is here truly represented. Had not Ephrem many occasions to quote the second epistle of Peter, and the epistle of Jude, in his writings against heretics, and in his practical works, preserved in Syriac? Can there be any good reason assigned, why they should have been there totally omitted, if they had been reputed parts of sacred scripture by himself, and by those for whom he wrote? For my own part, I must own, that I prefer the Syriac works much before the Greek, which at best are translations only, in which too the translator may have inserted some of his own sentiments.

20. Dr. Asseman says, that [l] Ephrem received the book of the Revelation, and seems to give

[a] Exemplum Ecclesiarum Palæstinæ secuta est Ecclesia Syriaca, ut apparet ex Ephræm Edesseni Diaconi scriptis, ubi epistola hæc aliquoties citata est, tamquam Jacobi Apostoli, et quidem Fratris Domini. Proleg. n. 204. Vid. et n. 209, 210. 213. 222, 223.

[b] Os enim, divinarum laudum instrumentum, jurare non decet. 'Sit Sermo vester, Est est, Non non.' De Diversis Serm. 14. T. iii. Syr. p. 643. D.

[c] 'Dies' namque 'Domini fur est,' inopinum opprimet. In Select. Scripturæ loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 342. A.

[d] Et posthac pœnam ignis feret [diabolus] ipsi reservatam in novissimâ die. In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 136. E.

[e] Βοᾳ δε και ὁ μακαριος Πετρος ὁ κορυφαιος των αποστολων. —— Ἡ ἡμερα κυριε ὡς κλεπτης εν νυκτι ἐιως ερχεται. κ. λ. [2 Pet. iii. 10.] Interr. et Resp. T. ii. Gr. p. 387. B.

Λεγει δε και ὁ μακαριος αποστολος Πετρος· Οιδε κυριος ευσεβεις εκ πειρασμω ῥυεσθαι· κ. λ. [2 Pet. ii. 9—22.] Adv. Impuditiam. T. iii. Gr. p. 60, 61.

[f] Ουκ εμος γαρ ὁ λογος, αλλα τω Θεολογω Ιωαννη ἐιως λεγουσ· Πας ὁ παραβαινων. κ. λ. De Amore Pauperum. T. iii. Gr. p. 52. F.

[g] Λεγει γαρ ἡ γραφη· Μειζονα τουτω εκ εχω χαραν, ἱνα ακουω τα εμα τεκνα περιπατουντα εν αληθεια. Ad Imitat. Proverb. T. i. Gr. p. 76. F.

[h] Ακουε τι λεγει ὁ Θεολογος Ιωαννης. De Compunctione Animæ. T. i. Gr. p. 31. B. Vid. et in Secund. Domini Advent. T. ii. Gr. p. 209. E. et De Caritate. T. iii. Gr. p. 13. F. et passim.

[i] Vid. Paræn. 41. T. ii. Gr. p. 153. C. et Paræn. 43. p. 161. E.

[k] Διελεγχει δε αυτους και ἑτερος μαθητης λεγων. Ιουδας Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, αδελφος δε Ιακωβου τοις εν Θεω πατρι ηγαπημενοις. κ. λ. Adv. Impudicit. T. iii. Gr. p. 61, 62.

[l] In hoc sermone citat S. Doctor Apocalypsim Joannis, tamquam canonicam Scripturæ partem. 'In Apocalypsi vidit 'Joannes ingentem et admirabilem librum a Deo scriptum, 'septem signaculis obsignatum.' Quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judi-

good proof of it. The discourse quoted by him in manuscript, when he wrote his Bibliotheca Orientalis, has been since published with Ephrem's Syriac works, where it may be [a] seen.

21. Indeed the Revelation is quoted or referred to several times in the Syriac works, lately published at Rome, if their genuineness and integrity may be relied upon.

22. The words of Rev. iii. 3, are [b] quoted; there seems to be a reference to [c] xix. 9, and to [d] chap. xxi.

23. I would add farther: The commentaries are a sort of chain; that is, beside Ephrem's comments at large, here and there are also inserted notes or explications of others. In one of those notes, of James bishop of Edessa, who [e] flourished in the latter part of the seventh century, there is [f] a long quotation out of the book of the Revelation. However, in another place Dr. Asseman assures us, that [g] James of Edessa did not write any commentary upon that book.

24. Upon the whole, we can say with certainty, that Ephrem received those books of the New Testament, which were always received by catholic Christians: what was his judgment concerning those five catholic epistles, which were sometimes doubted of, and concerning the Revelation, I leave every reader to consider, and determine for himself; for I have endeavoured to give all the light I am able.

IV. The general divisions of the books of scripture, and marks of respect for them, are such as these; I mean in the Syriac works, the Latin version of which I shall transcribe below: not having by any means an equal regard for the Greek works, as I have intimated several times; and therefore I take little notice of them.

1. He speaks [h] of the oracles of the prophets and apostles, by which Jews and Gentiles are all brought together in one body.

2. He says, that [i] Christ is the precious and corner-stone between the two Testaments, the prophets and the apostles.

3. He speaks again [k] of the predictions of the prophets, and the preaching of the apostles, concurring together, and completely harmonious; which gives us full assurance of the nativity, miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

4. Arguing against Marcion, and others, he says: 'This [l] is not mentioned by Moses in his 'Pentateuch, nor is it taught by the prophets, nor delivered to us by the apostles.'

5. Happy [m] is he, who teaches the principles of true religion delivered by the apostles and prophets.

6. Such are the general divisions of the books of scripture, both of the Old and the New Testament, which are to be found in this writer; many more like passages may be seen in him: I refer to a [n] few only.

V. Ephrem shews his respect for the sacred scriptures by such expressions as these.

cium contra Ebedjesu, qui in Catalogo manuscripto inter libros canonicos Apocalypsim non nominat. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[a] Vidit in Apocalypsi suâ Johannes librum magnum et admirabilem, a Deo scriptum, et septem sigillis munitum. Qui scriptum legeret, nullus erat.—[Apoc. v. 1, 2, 3.] In selecta Scripturæ loc. seu Sermon. Exeget. T. ii. Syr. p. C.

[b] Et rursus: 'Si ergo non vigilaveris, veniam ad te tamquam fur; et nescies, quâ horâ veniam ad te.' Paræn. 61. T. iii. Syr. p. 529. A.

[c] Summus rerum dominator——vocavit nos ad agni nuptias. Paræn. 68. T. iii. Syr. p. 538. D.

[d] Ipsa est mysticum illud 'cœlum novum,' in quo Rex regum tamquam in sede suâ inhabitavit. De Diversis. Serm. 3. T. iii. Syr. p. 607. C.

[e] Vid. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. cap. xl. p. 468.

[f] In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 192.

[g] Apocalypsim Johannis nec Sobensis recensuit, nec Barhebræus aut Jacobus Edessenus exposuere. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8. not. 2.

[h] Futurum enim erat, ut a multis gentibus, in unum Spiritum convenientibus, Prophetarum et Apostolorum oracula spiritualium tympanorum concentu celebrarentur, et Judæi atque Gentiles in unius populi corpus coalescerent. In libr. Judic. cap. xxi. 19. 21. T. i. Syr. p. 330.

[i] Tropologice, lapis positus inter duos terminos Christum significabat, lapidem pretiosum et angularem, inter duo testamenta, Prophetas scilicet et Apostolos, locatum. Christum autem venturum prædixerunt Prophetæ præeuntes, eumdemque sequentes Apostoli jam venisse nuntiaverunt. In 1 Sam. vii. 12. Ib. p. 347.

[k] Allegoriæ congruunt humeruli, seu columellæ mare sustinentes, quæ Prophetarum vaticinia et Apostolorum prædicationem significant: quæ duo simul conjuncta, mutuoque sibi convenientia, fidem de Divini Verbi incarnatione, miraculis, passione, atque resurrectione, sustinent, et mirifice confirmant. Congruenter ergo boves duodecim æneum hoc mare portantes, juxta ecclesiasticum, id est, allegoricum sensum, Apostolos interpretare et Prophetas, Christi nomen per universum orbem specie quâdam triumphi circumferentes. In 1 libr. Regn. cap. vii. T. i. Syr. p. 460.

[l] Illud Nimirum nec Möyses in suo Pentateucho meminit, nec indicârunt Prophetæ, nec Apostoli tradiderunt. Adv. Hæret. Serm. 14. T. ii. Syr. p. 468. D.

[m] ——atque veræ religionis dogmata ab Apostolis et Prophetis tradita promulgavit: Adv. Scrutat. Serm. 3. T. iii. p. 4. D. Vid. et Serm. 6. ibid. p. 12. F.

[n] In Num. cap. xxxi. ver. 6. et 22. T. i. Syr. p. 267. In Deut. xxi. 15. p. 278. In 1 Regn. cap. vii. ver. 21. p. 459. Adv. Hær. Serm. 22. T. ii. Syr. p. 489. A Serm. 23. p. 489. E. F.

1. In a funeral oration for a bishop, a part of his commendation is this: Like [a] Moses he taught and governed the people committed to his charge. The volume of the divine scriptures he held out to them as a pillar of fire to guide them: and what follows.

2. I esteem [b] no man more happy than him, who diligently reads the scriptures delivered to us by the Spirit of God, and thinks how he may order his conversation by the precepts of them.

3. The [c] divine scriptures, he says, are the keys of knowledge.

4. The [d] truth written in the sacred volume of the gospel is a perfect rule. Nothing can be taken from it, nor added to it, without great guilt.

5. So says [e] Paul, in whom Christ speaks.

6. All [f] who hear or read the divine scriptures with attention and care will attain to the true sense of them.

VI. I shall now add some select passages, beginning with some interpretations of texts of scripture.

1. In his comment upon Gen. vi. 2, "by [g] the sons of God," he understands the descendants of Seth, and by the "daughters of men," women of the posterity of Cain. And he elsewhere argues, largely, that [h] angels never were in love with women, and could not have children by them. And says, that women never are pregnant, or bear children, if they are kept from men: and that the fairest and best dressed women would no more tempt an angel, than so many putrefied corpses.

2. Upon Ex. ii. 11, 12, he says, that [i] the Egyptian, whom Moses slew, was one of Pharaoh's taskmasters, and the most cruel of them all; and that Moses had before often reproved him, but he would not be persuaded to mildness.

3. Upon Deut. xviii. 15—20, he says, that [k] God performed the promise there made by sending Joshua, and other princes and prophets. But the promise was completely fulfilled in Jesus Christ, who, like Moses, was a lawgiver, and delivered laws tending to bring men to eminent virtue and holiness.

4. I do not discern any thing very remarkable in his notes [l] upon Job xix. 23—26, for which reason I do not transcribe them. He does not take any notice [m] of what is at the end of the book of Job in the Seventy: "that it was written, Job should be raised up again with those, whom the Lord should raise."

5. Ezek. i. 1. "The heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."] The [n] meaning, he

[a] Vir mitissimus, et in hac parte Möysi comparandus, populum sibi commissum docuit et rexit. Divinarum Scripturarum codicem ei pro columnâ ignis proposuit. &c. Funebr. Can. i. T. iii. Syr. p. 225. F. Vid. et Can. xi. p. 241. F.

[b] Ego vero neminem eo feliciorem dicam, quam qui Scripturis Divino Spiritu nobis traditis aures eodem Spiritu plenas præbeat, et codicem percurrendo prudenter cogitet, quomodo præceptum sibi ob oculos propositum observare cum laude possit. Paræn. xviii. T. iii. Syr. p. 447. C. Vid. et A. B.

[c] Divinæ literæ scientiæ claves sunt. De Paradiso. Serm. 6. T. iii. Syr p. 576. E. F.

[d] Quemadmodum Alphabeti corpus suis constat integrum membris, nec est ubi quodquod demas aut adjicias; sic veritas literis consignata, et sacro Evangelii Codice comprehensa, perfecta mensura est, cui quidpiam addere aut detrahere nefas et crimen est. Adv. Hær. Serm. 22. T. ii. Syr. p. 485. A.

[e] Paulus, in quo Christus loquebatur, cum dolore et lacrymis dicebat. In select. Scripturæ loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 334. D.

[f] Divinas Scripturas quicumque legunt, vel excepta auribus illorum oracula oculis mentis diligenter considerant, sensum etiam assequuntur. Ibid. p. 344. B

[g] Filios Dei etiam filios Seth appellavit, qui utpote filii justi Seth, populus Dei dicti sunt. Filiæ autem hominum pulchræ, quæ populi Dei oculos rapuerunt, Caïni soboles erant, quæ per cultum ornatumque sui sexûs Sethianæ juventuti laqueum fecerant. In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 48. C. D.

[h] Cæterum si porro pergant, contendantque angelos liberorum procreationi operam aliquando dedisse; cogitent, nec hodie fore difficile desertoribus angelis opprimere feminam, et filios generare. Hic dæmones. Hic mulieres. Explorent, num liberos gignant. Adsunt testes ejusmodi deliramenta refellentes cœlibes bene multæ, quæ a viris perpetuo segregatæ matres nunquam esse potuerunt. Una et singularis exstitit Maria, quæ citra viri operam mater fuit, et virgo permansit, eo quod Deo difficile nil excogitari potest. Et siquidem angeli patres esse potuerunt, virginem mansisse Reparatoris nostri genetricem, inepte miraremur. Gratissimum quidem Satanæ fuisset, virgines dæmonum operâ concipere et parere, quo haberet quas Mariæ opponeret virgines.—Ornavere se virgines Madianitæ, populoque Israëlitarum se conspiciendas præbuere. Illorum oculos rapuere, eripuere mentem. Attamen illa pulchritudinum miracula angelos non magis quam putrescentia cadavera movere potuerunt. Adv. Hær. Serm. 19. T. ii. Syr. p. 478. A.—F.

[i] Incidit in hoc tempus Ægyptii cædes. Præfectus hic erat, quem Möyses occidit, hominem nempe omnium Pharaonis procerum crudelissimum, qui a Möyse sæpe sæpius admonitus, sapere nunquam didicerat. In Exod. T. i. Syr. p. 198. F.

[k] Cæterum, etsi Deus, quod hic pollicetur, suo tempore præstitisse visus fuit, quando Möysi Josuam, et huic deinceps alios Duces Regesque substituit; attamen vere et merito dicendum est, in Christo tandem integre et absolute eam promissionem impletam fuisse. Nam etsi post hæc tempora plures Prophetæ prodierint, nullus tamen Möysi similis fuit, qui testamentum et leges conderet. Quod certe Christus præstitit, novum instituens testamentum, et leges condens, hominem ad perfectum cumulatamque virtutem perducentes. In Deut. T. i. Syr. p. 277. E. F.

[l] Vid. T. ii. Syr. p. 8. [m] Vid. ibid. p. 19.

[n] Id est, patefactæ sunt Prophetæ menti cœli fores, oculisque spiritûs spectare licuit arcana sublimia et occultissima. In Ez. T. ii. Syr. p. 165. C.

says, is, that to the prophet's mind the gates of heaven were opened, and with the eyes of his spirit he saw sudden and hidden mysteries.

6. Ephrem [a] has an interpretation of Zech. iii. 1—4, which I have not found in Grotius, or any other modern commentator: it deserves therefore to be particularly taken notice of. "Satan standing at the right hand of the angel of the Lord to resist him," represents the neighbours of the Jewish people, who were adversaries to them. "The brand plucked out of the fire, is the Jewish people burned in the fire of the Babylonish captivity, and now snatched out of the burning. And Joshua the son of Josedech the high-priest, "clothed in filthy garments," represents the abject and deplorable condition of the Jewish people in the Babylonish captivity. The order for "clothing him with change of raiment" denotes the purpose of God to alter the condition of the Jewish people for the better, and to bless and prosper them, and to restore his worship among them.

7. Upon Zech. vi. 12, "Behold [b] the man whose name is the East" [or the "Branch."] This man is Zerubbabel, to whom the Spirit by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah gave glory like the splendor of the rising sun.—Ver. 13. "Even he shall build the temple of the Lord:" the spoils of Magog affording sufficient for the expences of the work. "And he shall bear the glory," that is, receive glory from the conquest of Magog. "And shall sit, and rule upon his throne," with firm and durable power, from which none shall be able to remove him, or cast him down. "And Joshua shall be a priest upon his throne, and the counsel of peace shall be between them both." Which denotes the harmony and agreement, which by the fear of the Lord shall be established between Joshua the son of Josedech and Zerubbabel the prince and governor of the people. But the things here said under divers symbols of Zerubbabel are understood in the way of allegory of Christ, the true East, and splendor of the Father.

1. Ephrem's comment upon Zech. xii. 10—14, I shall transcribe [c] at the bottom of the page in the Latin version, without translating it into English.

9. I would likewise [d] place below, in the like manner, Ephrem's comment upon Zech. xiii. 1, and also two passages more explaining in his way the [e] former and the [f] latter part of Zech. xiv. 9.

[a] Satanas adversarios Judæorum representat, illorum ditionem circum insidentes, ipsisque infestos.——'Hic est torris erutus de igne:' i. e. lignum adustum annos post septuaginta Babylonico ab igne extractum: 'titionem,' vid. ipsum Sacerdotem, et universum Israëlitarum populum vocat, captivitatis ærumnis nuper ereptum.——'Auferte sordidas vestes ab eo, et induite illum vestibus optimis.' Vestimenta Sacerdoti detracta contractas Babylone sordes designant, et præteritam ignominiam, quum velut exauctoratus Minister, sacris insignibus privatus atque ab aris remoto ibidem exularet. In Zach. T. ii. Syr. p. 285. A. B. C.

[b] 'Ecce vir, et nomen ejus Oriens.'] Zorobbabel est, cui Spiritus vaticiniis et auctoritate Aggæi et Zachariæ gloriam, et quasi Orientis solis splendorem, contulit.——'Et ipse exstruet templum Domini,' sumtus vid. et expensas sufficientibus populi Gog spoliis. 'Ipse accipiet gloriam,' a victâ dissipatâque gente Magog. 'Et sedebit, et dominabitur super solio suo,' firmâ et stabili dominatione, quâ nemo illum dejiciat. 'Et Jesus erit Sacerdos super solio suo, et consilium bonum erit inter illos duos.' Significat concordiam et pacem timore Domini firmatam inter Jesum filium Josedech et Zorobbabelem populi principem et ducem. Cæterum quæ hic de Zorobbabele per varia symbola prædicantur, per allegoriam prædicta accipiuntur de Christo, cum ipse sit verus Oriens, et ortus ex Patre splendor. In Zach. cap. vi. T. ii. Syr. p. 294, 295.

[c] 'Plangent eum planctu, quasi super unigenitum.' Juxta historiam, in hunc sensum dicta accipiuntur. 'Aspicient ad me, in eum, quem crucifixerunt. Aspicient ad me:' id est, clamabunt ad me quicumque Judam Macchabæum amaverunt, dolentque modo confossum et interfectum a Gentibus: hunc, quasi filium unicum, affectu plane materno 'lugebunt, ac frangentur dolore propter eum,' ut frangi solet mater propter primogenitum et unicum. 'In illâ die magnus erit planctus in Jerusalem, sicut planctus Baramon in valle Mageddo:' i. e. talis erit luctus, utique magnus, qualis fuit die, quo Josias Rex in valle Mageddo ab Ægyptiis confossus occubuit. Constat siquidem ex historiâ reipsâ Judæ Macchabæi mortem Judæos ingenti luctu prosecutos fuisse. Is namque Jerosolymæ invasores, populoque Judæorum semper infestos, magnis cladibus attriverat. Quare ob acerbum ejus interitum Jerosolymæ præcipue cives in maximis luctibus fuerunt.——'Lugebit terra per singulas familias:' id est, omnes mœrebunt familiæ, singulæ per turmas suas. 'Familia David seorsum, et mulieres ejus seorsum.' &c. i. e. separatim ab uxoribus conjuges, et omnes quæcumque feminæ a viris. Hæc quidem, ut dixi, secundum historiam, acta sunt in funere Judæi Macchabæi. Nihilominus, ex arcanâ et verâ significatione verborum, de Domini morte intelligenda sunt. In Zach. T. ii. Syr. p. 306.

[d] 'Et aperietur fons salutis domui David, et habitatoribus Jerusalem.'] Habet hic in superficie locus hunc significatum. Populo Judæorum, ne porro tristitiâ suffocetur, ratus nullam afflicto superesse spem, Jonathas, Judæ Macchabæi frater, salutis pandet viam, quove a fonte eadem petenda sit, monstrabit. Ex interpretatione vero spirituali, et quidem verissimâ, discimus fontem salutis esse effluvium pii sanguinis et aquæ sanctissimæ, quæ de latere Domini in cruce manârunt 'ad aspersionem, et ad emundationem.' Ibid. p. 306 et 307.

[e] 'Et erit Dominus Rex super universam terram.'] Clarum est, hunc locum ad felicissima Macchabæorum tempora pertinere, quando, depulsâ idololatriâ, quam Antiochus induxerat, unius Dei cultum Judæa universa amplexa est. Nihilominus, quæ hic adumbrata vides, per Christi adventum absoluta et perfecta sunt. Ibid. p. 310. C.

[f] 'In die illâ erit Dominus unus, et erit nomen ejus unum.'] Hoc, quod dixi ad Macchabæorum tempus et Judæorum ditionem pertinere, in toto terrarum orbe perfectum est, quando, promulgato evangelio, mundus universus in eum credidit, et agnovit ipsum esse Deum. Ibid. E.

10. Ephrem supposeth, that [a] our Lord wrought no miracles before his baptism, when he was thirty years of age.

11. He intimates, that [b] Christ's ministry lasted two years, he [c] living on this earth two and thirty years.

12. He has some remarks [d] upon our Saviour's three miracles of raising the dead, Jairus's daughter, the widow of Nain's son, and Lazarus.[1]

13. He supposeth, that [e] the apostles had, or chose to themselves several provinces: Peter, he says, preached at Rome, John at Ephesus, Matthew in Palestine, and Thomas in the Indies. But this account is imperfect, as every one may perceive. Here is no mention of St. Paul's travels, so well known from the Acts, and his own epistles.

14. In several places he speaks of the [f] success of the gospel. The [g] Jewish prophets, he says, for a long time were of little service; but when joined by the apostles, the empire of sin was soon destroyed, and the world was enlightened with divine knowledge.

15. Ephrem often asserts in strong terms the [h] powers of free-will in men.

16. He says, miracles [i] were then wrought by the reliques of martyrs, or at their sepulchres.

CHAP. CIII.

EBEDJESU.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Remarks upon it.*

I. HAVING given an account of Ephrem of Edessa, it will not be amiss to take in another learned Syrian writer, though he be much later in time. I mean [k] Ebedjesu, of the sect of the Nestorians, who was bishop of Nisibis, called by the Syrians Soba, in the latter part of the 13th century, and died in the year 1318. As [l] he had been before bishop of Sigara from the year 1285, I place him as flourishing about that time.

[a] Nam usque ad suum in Jordane baptismum Christus nullum patravit miraculum. In Ezech. cap. i. T. ii. Syr. p. 165. D.

[b] Horæ itaque duæ postremæ designant duos annos, quibus Christus seipsum miraculis et signis manifestavit, et nostræ salutis opus moriendo absolvit. In 2 Reg. xx. 10. T. ii. Syr. p. 562. C. [c] Vid. Ibid. A.

[d] In selecta Scripturæ loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 389.

[e] ——quia similiter Apostoli provincias sortiti sunt. Simon Romam docuit, Johannes Ephesum, Matthæus Palæstinam, et Indorum regiones Thomas. In 1 libr. Reg. cap. iv. 1. T. i. Syr. p. 453.

[f] Botrus a suo pendens palmite, et vecte gestatus, Christum plane representat ab utroque Prophetarum et Apostolorum cœtu per orbem universum magnifice circumvectum. In Num. xiii. T. i. Syr. p. 259.

[g] Allegoria. Gedeonis buccinæ evangelii tubam præsignificabant. Evangelii namque personante tubâ, et coruscante sacramentorum Christi lampade, peccati imperium eversum est. Rursus hydriæ, inclusas lampadas continentes, Judæorum synagogas significabant, intra quas scripta Prophetarum oracula oppressa et abscondita diu jacuerunt. Postquam vero Judæi virtute crucis Christi fracti contritique fuere, continuo propheticarum lampadum fulgor emicuit, et Apostolorum luce adjutus totum terrarum orbem implevit. In cap. vii. Judic. ver. 21. T. i. Syr. p. 318, 319.

[h] Sita est in tuâ potestate salus, tibique est libera optio eligendi vitam, vel interitum. Vide, ut rebus tuis tempestive provideas, antequam elabatur tempus pœnitentiæ, et misericordiæ fores claudantur. Paræn. 4. T. iii. Syr. p. 411. F.

Jugum tuum meâ ego voluntate suscepi. Non tu me reluctantem illud subire coëgisti. Egomet sponte meâ ad excolendum agrum tuum me obligavi. Sed, heu! semen a te acceptum in spem uberrimæ messis datum seminare neglexi. &c. Paræn. 5. T. iii. Syr. p. 415. A. B. Vid. Paræn. 13. p. 431. Paræn. 22. p. 455. D. E. De Diversis Serm. p. 672, 673. Vid. et De Libero humanæ voluntatis arbitrio Sermones quatuor. Ibid. p. 359—366.

[i] Jam vero intuere vitam in Martyrum reliquiis conditam. Quis enim neget, illis manere vitam, quando videt ipsorum etiam titulos vivere? Res compertissima est, de quâ nullus dubitet. In sel. Scriptur. loc. T. ii. Syr. p. 349, 350.

[k] Ebedjesu, hoc est servus Jesu.—Fuit autem Ebedjesu, Catalogi hujus auctor, cognomento Bar-Bricha, id est, Filius Benedicti, gente Chaldæus, sectâ Nestorianus, dignitate Episcopus: floruitque sub Jaballaha, Chaldæorum Nestorianorum Patriarchâ, a quo Metropolita Sobæ et Armeniæ ordinatus est. Obiit sub initium mensis Novembris anni Græcorum 1630, Christi 1318. Assem. B. Or. T. iii. p. 3. in notis 2.

[l] Primum fuerat episcopus Sigaræ et Arabiæ, circa annum Christi 1285, ut adnotatur in elegantissimo Syriaco Evangeliorum codice, qui exstat in Bibliothecâ Collegii Urbani de Propagandâ Fide. Deinde ad archiepiscopatum Sobæ et Armeniæ evectus est, ut supra dixi. Soba autem Syris eadem est ac Nisibis. Id. ib. not. 3.

II. Dr. Asseman first published an accurate edition of his [a] Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writings at Rome, in 1725. Ebedjesu in his introduction proposeth to give [b] a catalogue of all the divine books, and all other ecclesiastical writings: he first enumerates the books of the Old Testament, and then the New; this latter part I shall transcribe.

'Having [c] mentioned the writers of the Old Testament, I proceed to those of the New. The 'first of which is Matthew, who published his gospel in Palestine, written in Hebrew; the next 'is Mark, who preached in Latin, in the famous city of Rome; then Luke, who taught and wrote 'at Alexandria, in the Greek language; and John, who wrote his gospel at Ephesus, in the 'Greek tongue. And the Acts of the apostles, which Luke inscribed to Theophilus. Three 'epistles likewise, which in every book [or copy] and language are ascribed to apostles, namely, 'to James, Peter, and John, and are called catholic. And fourteen epistles of the great apostle 'Paul: the epistle to the Romans, written at Corinth, and sent from thence; the first epistle to 'the Corinthians, written at Ephesus, and sent from thence by the hands of Timothy; the second 'to the Corinthians, written at Philippi in great Macedonia, and sent by the hands of Titus. The 'epistle to the Galatians Paul wrote at Rome, and sent it by the hands of Titus, a chosen and 'approved vessel: the epistle to the Ephesians was written at Rome, and sent from Paul him-'self by the hands of Tychicus; the epistle to the Philippians was written at Rome, and sent by 'Epaphroditus, a beloved brother; the epistle likewise to the Colossians was written at Rome, and 'sent by Tychicus, a disciple of the truth; the first epistle to the Thessalonians was written in the 'city of Athens, and sent by the hands of Timothy; the second to the Thessalonians was written 'at Laodicea in Pisidia [Phrygia,] and sent with Timothy; the first epistle to Timothy was written 'at Laodicea, a city of Pisidia [Phrygia,] and sent by Luke; the second epistle to Timothy was 'written at Rome, and sent by the same Luke, the physician and evangelist; the epistle to Titus 'was written at Nicopolis, and sent and carried by Epaphroditus; the epistle to Philemon was 'written at Rome, and sent by Onesimus, servant of the same Philemon; the epistle to the 'Hebrews was written in Italy, and sent by Timothy, son according to the spirit.'

III. Upon this catalogue we may make a few remarks.

1. The order of the books of the New Testament should be observed. The gospels, the Acts of the apostles, three catholic epistles, and St. Paul's fourteen epistles: which too are mentioned in the order, which now obtains among us; the epistle to the Romans first, and that to the Hebrews last. And by Dr. Asseman we are assured, that [d] here Ebedjesu followed the order which is in general use among the Syrians: in which order also the books are placed in the ancient manuscript copies of the New Testament. Gregory Barhebræus observed also the same order in his commentaries. But James of Edessa, in a book written by him, first mentions the Acts of the apostles, then the catholic epistles of James, Peter, and John; after that Paul's epistles, and lastly the four gospels.

2. What [e] Ebedjesu says of the places and languages, in which the several gospels of Matthew,

[a] Carmen Ebedjesu, continens Catalogum Librorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum. Ib. p. 3.

[b] Scribere aggredior Carmen admirabile:
In quo Libros Divinos,
Et omnes compositiones Ecclesiasticas
Omnium priorum et posteriorum
Proponam lectoribus. Ibid. p. 4.

[c] Nunc, absoluto Veteri,
Aggrediamur jam Novum Testamentum:
Cujus caput est Matthæus, qui Hebraïce
In Palæstinâ scripsit.

Post hunc Marcus, qui Romane
Locutus est in celeberrimâ Româ:
Et Lucas, qui Alexandriæ
Græce dixit, scripsitque.

Et Joannes, qui Ephesi
Græco sermone exaravit Evangelium.
Actus quoque Apostolorum,
Quos Lucas Theophilo inscripsit.

Tres etiam epistolæ, quæ inscribuntur
Apostolis in omni codice et linguâ,
Jacobo scilicet, et Petro, et Joanni,
Et Catholicæ nuncupantur.

Apostoli autem Pauli magni
Epistolæ quatuordecim.
Epistola ad Romanos,
Quæ ex Corintho scripta est, &c. &c.

Ebedjesu Catalog. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8—12.

[d] In recensendis Novi Testamenti libris vulgatum apud Syros ordinem sequitur Sobensis, quo Evangeliis subjunguntur Actus Apostolorum, deinde epistolæ Catholicæ Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis, mox epistolæ Pauli. Hunc ordinem et codices antiqui manuscripti repræsentant: quo etiam Barhebræus Novum Testamentum commentariis illustravit, in suo Horreo Mysteriorum, ut notavi, Tom. ii. Bib. Or. p. 282. Jacobus vero Edessenus in libro, cui titulus Onomasticon, cit. tom. ii. p. 499. primo loco Actus Apostolorum ponit, deinde epistolas Catholicas Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis: postea epistolas Pauli, postremo quatuor Evangelia. Assem. B. Or. T. iii. p. 8. not. 2.

[e] Hæc est communis Syrorum sententia de sermone, quo primum Evangelia conscripta dicuntur: Matthæi scilicet Hebraïce in Palæstinâ: Marci Romane, hoc est, Latine, Romæ; Lucæ Græce Alexandriæ, et Joannis item Græce Ephesi. In eamdem sententiam adnotatum legitur ad calcem omnium,

Mark, Luke, and John were written, we are assured by Asseman, is agreeable to the common opinion of the Syrians in general.

3. It is not needful to examine the accounts here given of the places where[a] St. Paul's epistles were written, or the persons by whom they were sent: but it is worth notice, that the epistle to the Ephesians is here intitled, as with us.

4. Ebedjesu mentions only three catholic epistles, omitting the second of Peter, and second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude: which, as we are also assured by Asseman, is agreeable[b] to the common sentiments of the Syrians. And he refers to a work of James of Edessa, the title of which[c] I shall put in the margin, confirming the account, that there are but three catholic epistles in the ancient Syriac version.

5. The book of the Revelation likewise is omitted; nor is it, as Asseman[d] says, in the ancient Syriac version; nor did Barhebræus, or James of Edessa, write commentaries upon it; but Ephrem, he says, quotes it as a canonical book of scripture; and from Ephrem's quotation of that book, he argues, may[e] be learned and concluded, what was the sentiment of the most ancient Syrians about it.

6. I place below[f] another note of that learned writer, where he says, that the Revelation is wanting in the ancient Syriac version, which they call Simple; and that none of the Syrians have any reading out of this book in their public lessons; and that Gregory Barhebræus seems to doubt of its genuineness, and to approve of the sentiment of Dionysius of Alexandria. However, he says, that the Egyptian Christians in general receive the book of the Revelation as canonical, without hesitation.

7. I would now make another remark upon this part of Ebedjesu's Catalogue. Whatever was the general opinion of the Syrians, concerning the four catholic epistles, which have been doubted of by some, and concerning the book of the Revelation: I think, that Ebedjesu should not have passed them by in total silence: he could not be unacquainted with them. In the following part of his Catalogue, among the works of Hippolytus, he particularly mentions his vindication of John the apostle's Revelation. The passage of Ebedjesu was formerly quoted by us[g] in the chapter of Hippolytus. I would now add from the works of Ephrem since published, that James bishop

quotquot vidi, Syriaco sermone exaratorum tum recentium tum antiquorum Evangeliorum. Nec dissentiunt Barsalibæus et Barhebræus in Præfatione ad Evangelia. Quod autem Hebraïca lingua, quâ Matthæus scripsisse dicitur, non sit illa, quæ reverâ Hebræorum propria est, sed Chaldaïca, seu Syriaca, quæ Judæis post captivitatem Babylonicam, Christi Apostolorumque temporibus, vernacula erat, docet idem Barsalibæus præfatione in Matthæum. Assem. ib. p. 8. not.

[a] Ubinam scriptæ, et per quos missæ, [Pauli epistolæ quatuordecim,] ad calcem manuscriptorum codicum diligenter adnotatum est, tam in Versione Syriacâ, quam in Græcis exemplaribus, unde quæ hic a Sobensi affirmantur, descripta sunt. Asseman. Ib. p. 10. notis.

[b] Ex communi Syrorum sententiâ tres tantum Canonicas epistolas recenset, quarum scilicet de auctoritate Syri nunquam dubitârunt, quæque ab initio inter canonicos libros in Syriacâ versione simplici collocatæ sunt. Sane (ut verbis utar Fabricii Tom. iii. Bibliothecæ Græcæ p. 145.) 'in antiquis codicibus, 'et primis editionibus Versionis Syriacæ Novi Testamenti 'Epistola secunda et tertia Joannis, et posterior Petri, et Judæ 'illa etiamnum desideratur.' Dionysius Barsalibæus, apud Pocockium Præf. ad epistolas Judæ, 2 Petri, 2 et 3 Joannis, monet, 'epistolas hasce non fuisse versas in linguam Syram, 'cum libris, qui diebus antiquis redditi sunt, ideoque non in-'veniri, nisi in versione Thomæ episcopi Heracleensis.' Hinc apud Jacobum Edessenum in Onomastico tres tantum Catholicæ, non secus atque hic in Catalogo Sobensis, enumerantur; nimirum Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis, ut recensui. T. ii. Bib. Or. p. 499. Asseman. ib. p. 9, 10.

[c] Jacobi episcopi Edesseni Vocum Difficiliorum, quæ in Syriacâ Veteris ac Novi Testamenti Versione occurrunt, recensio et punctatio: nimirum Genesis, Exodi,——Actuum Apostolorum, Epistolæ Jacobi, Petri, Joannis, Epistolarum xiv. Pauli, Evangelii Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Joannis. Ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. ii. p. 499.

[d] Apocalypsim Joannis nec Sobensis recensuit, nec Barhebræus aut Jacobus Edessenus exposuere, duabus de causis: vel quia ab ipsis inter libros canonicos minime admissa fuit: vel, quod verosimilius censeo, quia ea in Syriacâ Simplici, quam vocant, Scripturæ Versione haud exstabat. Cæterum Apocalypsim tamquam canonicum librum a S. Ephræmo agnitam fuisse liquet ex ejus carmine in illud Psalmi—de quo dixi Tom. i. p. 141. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8.

[e] Quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium contra Hebedjesu, qui in Catalogo manuscripto inter libros canonicos Apocalypsim non nominat. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[f] De Apocalypsi Joannis dubitatum olim fuit, an inter canonicos libros esset; maxime apud Orientales ecclesias, teste Junilio Africano. Dubitasse videtur et Barhebræus in suo Nomocanone cap 7. sect. 9, ubi hanc Dionysii Alexandrini sententiam refert: 'Apocalypsis, quæ nomine Joannis 'Apostoli prænotatur, non ejus est, sed vel Cerinthi, qui 'cibum et potum similiter super terram post resurrectionem 'docet; vel Joannis cujuspiam alterius. Duo enim sunt 'Ephesi monumenta, quæ hoc nomine noscuntur.' Certe Syri, tum Jacobitæ tum Nestoriani, lectionem nullam ex Apocalypsi in ecclesiâ recitant: et tam in manuscriptis Syriacis, T. N. codicibus, quam in eo Exemplari, quod, Mose Mardeno Ignatii Jacobitarum Patriarchæ Oratore procurante, a Joanne Alberto Widmanstadio Viennæ Anno Christi 1555, typis editum fuit, Apocalypsis desideratur. —— Cæterum Ægyptii eam constanter admittunt, ut ex canone Alulbarcati liquet: eamdemque doctis Commentariis illustravit Benassalius, quorum exemplar Arabicum exstat in Bibliothecâ Collegii Maronitarum de Urbe. Id. T. iii. p. 15, 16.

[g] Vol. i. p. 502. note.[nn]

of Edessa, in a passage referred to some while ago,[a] mentions[b] that book of Hippolytus, which he calls a commentary upon the Revelation, or an explication of it: which seems to shew, that this work of Hippolytus was well known to learned Syrians; consequently, the book of the Revelation could not be unknown, nor very obscure among them. Though those epistles, and this book, were not in the ancient Syriac version; yet, very probably, they were in the Syriac language, in some other translation. Supposing this to be the case, I think, Ebedjesu was obliged to mention them: if they were not equally respected with the other books of the New Testament, he might have said so. He might have made two sorts of divisions or sacred books: some universally received, and respected as divine and canonical, and others, which were not of that high authority, and about which some had doubts.

8. However, we here plainly see what are the books of scripture, which are generally received by the Syrian Christians. And we are much obliged to Dr. Joseph Asseman for giving us the Catalogue of Ebedjesu, as he found it in the manuscript: which another editor of that Catalogue did not do, but of his own head added the epistle of[c] Jude and the[d] Revelation. He also struck out the word three, saying, instead of three epistles, the epistles, that is, of James, Peter, John, and Jude, which are called catholic: for which he has been justly censured by[e] that honest man, and excellent writer, the late Isaac Beausobre.

9. They who are desirous to inform themselves concerning the Syriac version or versions of the New Testament, may consult, beside[f] others,[g] Fabricius,[h] Asseman, and[i] Wetstein.

CHAP. CIV.

PACIAN, BISHOP OF BARCELONA.

1. PACIAN, bishop of Barcelona, is in Jerom's Catalogue. I place the chapter[k] below. He flourished about the year 370, and died an old man before 390.

2. Pacian had a son named Flavius Dexter, to[l] whom Jerom inscribed his Catalogue, at

[a] See here p. 484.[f]

[b] Hanc porro mulierem, [Vid. Apoc. xvii. 3—6.] id est, gentem rerum dominam, vectam bestiâ, id est, orbis imperium obtinentem, invadet coluber Antichristus, seducet, et perdet. Jam illud imperium ad eos pertinere, qui Latini dicuntur, Spiritus in sanctis viris inhabitans declaravit, et docuit per Hippolytum Episcopum et Martyrem in eo libro, quo Joannis Theologi Apocalypsim interpretatur. Jacob. Edessen. in Jacobi de Antichristo in Benedictione Dan Vaticinium. Ap. S. Ephræm. Comm. in Gen. T. Syr. i. p. 192.

[c] Tres Epistolas.] Jacobi scilicet, Petri, et Joannis. Ita habet Sobensis in manuscripto nostro codice. At Echellensis in Catalogo impresso p. 8, et 9, hunc locum sic edidit: 'Epistolæ 'consignatæ ab Apostolis omni charactere et linguâ; nempe 'Jacobo, Petro, Joanne et Judâ; et ideo catholicæ vocantur.' Ubi nomen Judæ, ut mihi videtur, de suo adjiciens, vocem illam, 'tres epistolæ,' in hanc, 'Epistolæ,' mutavit, contra metri Syriaci rationem, et contra ipsius Sobensis mentem, qui ex communi Syrorum sententiâ tres tantum canonicas epistolas recenset, quarum scilicet de auctoritate Syri numquam dubitârunt, quæque ab initio inter canonicos libros in Syriacâ Versione Simplici collocatæ sunt. [Vid. reliqua supr. p. 441. not.[i]] Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 9. notis.

[d] Echellensis p. 15, post epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos hæc verba de Joannis Apocalypsi addit, quæ in textu Sobensis desiderantur: 'Revelatio Joannis Græce scripta est in insulâ 'Patmi.' Præter argumenta, quæ supra adduxi, vel ipsa metri heptasyllabi ratio, quæ hic nulla est, hanc appendiculam e genuino Sobensis Catalogo excludit. Id. ib. p. 10. in notis.

[e] Aussi Ebedjesu n' a-t-il mis dans son Catalogue ni les quartre autres Epîtres, ni l'Apocalypse. Mais Abraham Echellensis, qui avoit publié ce Catalogue avant M. Asseman, n' a pas fait difficulté d' y ajoûter l' Epître de S. Jude, et de mettre, après l' article des Epîtres de S. Paul; 'la Revelation 'de S. Jean a été écrite en Grec dans l' isle de Patmos.' C'est un echantillon remarquable de la mauvaise foi de ce Maronite, &c. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 295.

[f] Edw. Pocock's Preface to his Commentary upon the Prophesy of Micah, and elsewhere. Br. Walton. Prolegom. ap. Bibl. Polyglott. n. xiii. De Linguâ Syriacâ et Scripturæ Versionibus Syriacis. Fr. Spanh. T. i. p. 650. Fr. Ad. Lamp. Prolegom. ad Joan. l. i. c. 4. ver. 7. Jer. Jones on the Canon of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 105—144.

[g] Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 201, 202. T. v. p. 320, 321.

[h] Asseman. Bib. Or. T. ii. c. xiii. De Tho. Heracl. p. 90—94. Vid. ib. cap. x. p. 82, 83. et p. 23. et p. 307. b. et alibi.

[i] J. J. Wetsten. Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. edit. accurat. cap. ix. et Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. p. 109, 112.

[k] Pacianus, in Pyrenæi jugis Barcelonæ episcopus, castitate et eloquentiâ, et tam vitâ quam sermone clarus, scripsit varia opuscula, de quibus et Cervus, et contra Novatianos. Sub Theodosio Principe, jam ultimâ senectute mortuus est. De V. I. cap. 106.

[l] Hortaris, Dexter, ut, Tranquillum sequens, Ecclesiasticos,

whose request it was composed. Dexter was in several high offices of the empire, and for a time præfect of the prætorium. He had also a place in [a] Jerom's Catalogue, as an ecclesiastical writer: though the work mentioned by Jerom is not universally allowed to be now extant.

3. Jerom says, that Pacian wrote several small tracts, particularly against the Novatians. And we still have [b] his three letters to Sympronian, a Novatian, and an Exhortation to Repentance, and a Discourse of Baptism: but the genuineness of this last is not very manifest. Pacian was quoted by us [c] formerly in the history of the Novatians: for a more particular account of him and his writings I refer to [d] others.

4. I observe only, as suited to my present design, that Pacian has several times quoted the book of Canticles, and the commonly received books of the New Testament, particularly the Acts of the apostles, and also the book of the Revelation. But I do not see any quotation of the epistle to the Hebrews, nor any plain reference to it, though it be sometimes put in the margin by the editor.

CHAP. CV.

OPTATUS OF MILEVI.

1. Says Jerom: 'Optatus [e] of Africa, bishop of Milevi, in the time of the emperors Valentinian 'and Valens, wrote a work in six books in defence of the catholics against the Donatists.'

2. The city Milevi was situated in Numidia. Jerom says, that Optatus wrote under the emperors Valentinian and Valens, that is, between 364 and 375; from which, and from some other considerations, Tillemont concludes, that his work was published about the year 370: which is little different from Cave, who placeth this writer at 368. For a particular account of Optatus, and his work, I refer to several [f] moderns.

3. Divers testimonies to him in ancient writers may be seen prefixed to his works, and are taken notice of by Tillemont at the beginning of his article concerning him. I add to that already taken from Jerom, one from Augustine, where [g] he reckons Optatus with Cyprian, and others, who had come over from Gentilism to Christianity, and had brought with them the riches of the Egyptians, that is, learning and eloquence, to the no small advantage of the Christian interests.

4. Beside many other books of the Old Testament, Optatus has quoted [h] the Canticles several times; he once [i] quotes the book of Wisdom, as Solomon's: he has also quoted [k] Tobit, and [l] Ecclesiasticus.

5. In the New Testament, beside the gospels, he has quoted the [m] book of the Acts, and several of St. Paul's epistles, and [n] the first and [o] second epistle of St. John.

Scriptores in ordinem digeram, et quod ille in enumerandis Gentilium literarum viris fecit illustribus, ego in nostris faciam. Prol. in libr. de V. I.

Unde etiam ante annos ferme decem, quum Dexter amicus meus, qui Præfecturam administravit Prætorii, me rogâsset, ut auctorum nostræ religionis ei indicem texerem, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 419. m.

[a] Dexter, Paciani (de quo supra dixi) filius, clarus apud sæculum, et Christi fidei deditus, fertur ad me omnimodam historiam texuisse, quam necdum legi. De V. I. cap. 132.

[b] Ap. B. PP. T. iv. p. 305—319.

[c] P. 50.

[d] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I cap. 106. et Bib. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 428. Du Pin. Bib. T. ii. p. 101. Tillem. Mem. T. viii. p. 537, et seq.

[e] Optatus Afer episcopus Milevitanus, ex parte Catholicâ, scripsit, Valentiniano et Valente Principibus, adversus Donatianæ partis calumniam libros sex; in quibus asserit, crimne Donatianum in nos falso retorqueri. D. V. I. cap. 110.

[f] Cav. H. Lit. T. i. p. 234. S. Basnag. Ann. 368. n. ix. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 109—122. et Pref. ad Optat. Fleury's Ec. Hist. B. 16. ch. xl. Tillemont Les Donatistes. Art. 58. Mem. T. vi. Fabr. Bib. Ec. ad Hieron. De V. I. cap. 110. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 425.

[g] Nonne adspicimus, quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor suavissimus, et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius? quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius? Ut de vivis taceam. Quanto innumerabiles Græci? De Doctr. Christian. l. ii. cap. 40. n. 61. T. iii.

[h] Optat. l. i. cap. 10. bis. l. ii. cap. 8. l. iii. cap. 3. l. iv. cap. 6.

[i] Cum scriptum sit in Salomone; 'Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione vivorum.' Sap. i. 13. l. ii. c. 25.

[k] —— qui, in lectione Patriarchæ Tobiæ, legitur in Tygride flumine prehensus. l. iii. c. 2.

[l] L. iii. c. 3. bis.

[m] L. v. cap. 5.

[n] L. i. c. 15. l. ii. c. 19. l. vii. c. 2.

[o] Ignorantes, de quibus Apostolus hoc dixerit? 'Cum his nec cibum capere: Ave illi ne dixeritis.' [1 Cor. v. 11. et 2 Joh. 10.] L. iv. cap. 5.

6. Jerom computed the works of Optatus to consist of six books; whereas we now have seven. Concerning this difficulty may be seen the authors, to whom I have already referred.

7. There is a passage, which has been supposed a part of the seventh book; which some[a] have alleged, as a proof, that Optatus received the epistle to the Hebrews. But supposing the passage to be genuine, it is of no importance: it appearing plainly, that[b] Optatus quotes not an apostle, but a prophet, and intends not Heb. viii. 8—11, but Jer. xxxi. 31—33; as has been fully shewn by my highly esteemed friend, the late Mr. Joseph Hallet, in his Introduction[c] to the epistle to the Hebrews, in English; or his Dissertation concerning the author and language of that epistle, as translated into Latin, and inserted by the learned J. C. Wolfius in the fourth tome of his Curæ[d] upon the New Testament. So that there is no proof, that Optatus received the epistle to the Hebrews. However, as this work is not very long, and Optatus does not abound with quotations of texts of scripture; we cannot say certainly, what books were received by him, and what not. We need make no doubt, but he received all such as were generally received by other Christians in Africa, in his time.

8. I need not produce here any proofs of his respect for the sacred scriptures of the Old and New Testament, about which there can be no question. And besides, some passages of his to this purpose were alleged formerly, in the chapters[e] concerning the burning the scriptures in the time of Dioclesian's persecution, and[f] the history of the Donatists.

9. Remarks upon Optatus's performance may be seen in[g] James Basnage's History of the Church.

10. Le Clerc in his preface to Küster's edition of Mill's New Testament, has observed several of this author's quotations of texts, which Mill had taken no notice of in his collations of ancient writers. I shall put down here only one of them.

11. Luke ix. 50. "And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us." So in our copies: but Optatus[h] reads, "For he who is not against you, is for you." Which is also found in divers other authors, and in divers manuscripts and versions, as observed by Le Clerc, and also by Mill, Bengelius, and Mr. Wetstein upon the place. Moreover this reading is approved by[i] Mill and[k] Bengelius.

12. I shall add another text, not mentioned by Le Clerc, because he aimed at those quotations of Optatus, which had been omitted by Mill.

Rom. xii. 13. "Distributing to the necessity of saints." Optatus instead[l] of "necessity," or necessities, has "memories." Du Pin in his notes upon that place of his author says, that[m] Optatus followed a reading which was common in his time, but thinks, "necessities" to be the true reading. On the contrary, Mill thinks "memories" to be right. He gives a good sense of the text, according to that reading: 'That[n] we are here directed to remember with compassion 'poor and afflicted Christians at a distance, and to relieve them.' He also alleges many authorities for that reading: but in my opinion, the passage of Clement of Rome, upon[o] which he relies very much, is far from being clear to his purpose. Bengelius[p] thinks it of no value. Concerning this reading may be consulted the just mentioned learned writer, and Wolfius.

[a] *Baron. Ann. 60. n. L. Fr. Spanhem. de Auctor. Ep. ad. Hebr. l. ii. cap. 7. n. viii. T. ii. p. 201.*

[b] —— *legem indicavit Deus per Prophetam dicens: 'Quoniam hoc est testamentum meum, quod disponam domui Israel et domui Judæ. Et post dies illos dicit Dominus, dans leges meas in corde eorum, et in mentibus eorum scribam eas.' Promisit hoc jamdudum, et proxime reddidit temporibus Christianis. Optat. l. vii. p. 108. edit. Du Pin.*

[c] P. 18. 19. [d] T. iv. 820, 821.

[e] See before, p. 293, 294. [f] Ib. p. 300.

[g] Hist. de d' Eglise, p. 185, 186.

[h] Sic Christus ait: Nolite prohibere. 'Qui enim non est contra vos, pro vobis est.' L. v. c. 7.

[i] Prolegom. n. 996. [k] In loc.

[l] Contra Apostolum facientes, qui ait; 'Memoriis sanctorum communicantes.' L. ii. c. 4.

[m] Attamen de necessitatibus et indigentiis sanctorum, hoc est, Christianorum, intelligendum esse Apostolum, longe verisimilius est. Sed excusandus Optatus, qui communem suo tempore lectionem secutus est. Du Pin in loc. p. 33.

[n] Ut nempe per μνειας intelligantur necessitates sanctorum absentium. Mill. in loc. Conf. Prolegom. n. 142.

[o] Vid. Proleg. n. 142.

[p] Nil huc facit Clementis Romani. Bengel. ad Rom. xii. 13.

CHAP. CVI.

AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

I. *His time and history.* II. and III. *Scriptures of the Old and New Testament received by him.* IV. *Respect for them.* V. *General titles and divisions.* VI. *Select passages.*

I. AMBROSE, born, as some think, about 333, or rather, as others, about 340, and made bishop of Milan in 374, died in 397. For a more particular account of him, and his writings, with their character, I refer to [a] others.

2. Ambrose was living when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers in 392; for [b] which reason he declined giving a distinct account of his works: nevertheless, upon divers occasions he has made mention of [c] several of them, and takes notice of [d] his frequently borrowing from Origen, without naming him.

3. Beside Basil, partly contemporary with him, and some other Greek writers, Tillemont says, he [e] must also have read the works of ancient heretics; for [f] he quotes the 38th tome of Apelles, disciple of Marcion.

4. The eminence of this bishop of Milan, and the share he had in the public transactions of his time, have secured him a place [g] in the Greek ecclesiastical historians: not to insist on Paulinus, Rufinus, Augustine, and others among the Latins.

II. 1. Ambrose quotes much the generally received books of the Old Testament, particularly the [h] book of Ruth, and the [i] Canticles: which last he quotes very often and explains largely.

2. He ascribes [k] to Solomon three books only, the Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles.

3. He likewise quotes often the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, as [l] Baruch, Tobit, the Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, the [m] fourth book of Esdras, and sometimes with marks of great respect.

4. He speaks of the book of Tobit, as [n] a prophetical book; and in like manner of [o] the book

[a] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. and Lives of the Fathers, in English. Vol. II. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. Tillem. Mem. T. x. Vit. S. Ambros. a Benedictin. adornat. Pagi Ann. 369. xiii. 374. iii. et alibi. S. Basnag. Ann. 374. n. x. et alibi. Ja. Basnag. Hist. de l' Eglise l xix. ch. 4. n. ix. p. 1171. Beausobre Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 366. not. i

[b] Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus, usque in præsentem diem scribit. De quo, quia superest, meum judicium subtraham, ne, in alterutram partem, aut adulatio in me reprehendatur, aut veritas. De V. I. c. 124.

[c] Ad Eustoch. ep. 18. al. 22. T. 4. P. ii. p. 37. Ad Damas. Pap. ep. 14. al. 17. p. 20. et ep. 30. al. 50. p. 237, 238. 240. f. Vid. et ad Algas. Qu. vi. T. iv. P. ii. p. 198. in. al. ep. 151.

[d] Nuper sanctus Ambrosius sic Hexaëmeron illius compilavit, ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basiliique sequeretur. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 346.

Habuit Ambrosium, cujus pene omnes libri hujus sermonibus pleni sunt. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 351. fin.

Nemo tibi objicit, quare Origenem interpretatus es: alioqui Hilarius et Ambrosius hoc crimine tenebuntur: sed, quia interpretatus hæretica, præfationis tuæ laude firmâsti. Ibid. l. ii. p. 505. in.

[e] St. Ambroise, art. 10. T. x.

[f] Plerique enim, quorum auctor Apelles, sicut habes in tri-gesimo et octavo tomo ejus, has quæstiones proponunt. De Parad. cap. vi. T. i. p. 155. F.

[g] Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 30. Soz. l. vii. c. 25. Thrt. l. iv. c. 7. l. 5. c. 18.

[h] In Luc. l. iii. T. i. p 1326. ter quaterve. Et passim.

[i] Unde et Salomon oraculum divinum secutus scripsit in Canticis Canticorum. In Ps. 118. T. i. p. 986. C. Et passim.

[k] Unde et Salomonis tres libri ex plurimis videntur electi: Ecclesiastes de naturalibus, Cantica Canticorum de mysticis, Proverbia de moralibus. In Ps. 36. Pr. T. i. p. 777.

Quid etiam tres libri Salomonis, unus de Proverbiis, alius Ecclesiastes, tertius de Canticis Canticorum, nisi trinæ hujus ostendunt nobis sapientiæ sanctum Salomonem fuisse solertem? In Lucam. Pr. T. i. p. 1262. A.

[l] In Ps. 43. T. i. p. 901. In Ps. 118. p. 1194. E.

[m] Si hinc faciunt quæstionem, quod creatum Spiritum dixit, quia creatur Spiritus Esdras docuit, dicens in quarto libro: 'Et in die secundo iterum creâsti spiritum firmamenti.' [4 Esdr. vi. 41.] De Sp. S. l. ii. c. vi. T. ii. p. 643. C. D.

[n] Lecto prophetico libro, qui inscribitur Tobias, &c. De Tobia cap. i. T. i. p. 591. B.

[o] Prophetæ dicunt: in lumine tuo videbimus lumen. [Ps. xxxv. 10. al. xxxvi. 9.] Prophetæ dicunt: 'Splendor est enim lucis æternæ, et speculum sine maculâ Dei magistatis,

of Wisdom, and [a] Ecclesiasticus. The last-mentioned book he has quoted as [b] part of the divine oracles. He quotes it also as [c] of authority, or by way of proof.

5. Once at least, if not oftener, he has quoted [d] the book of Ecclesiasticus as Solomon's; though, as before shewn, he ascribed no more than three books to Solomon. Moreover, in other places [e] he ascribes the book of Ecclesiasticus to Sirach. Why [f] he there calls it Solomon's, is not certain; whether because it was so called by many, or that he supposed Sirach's collection to consist very much of thoughts and observations of king Solomon.

6. He has likewise quoted [g] the book of Wisdom as Solomon's, without thinking it to be really his; but, probably, in compliance with a common way of speaking, as it was called Solomon's Wisdom by [h] many, the vulgar sort of people especially.

7. However, from particulars just taken notice of, it appears, that Ambrose has quoted the apocryphal books of the Old Testament with tokens of great respect.

III. 1. I formerly [i] transcribed and translated Origen's observations upon St. Luke's preface, or introduction to his gospel, both the Greek and the Latin. And I then said, that Ambrose had the like observations in his explication of the beginning of St. Luke's gospel. I do not intend to translate him, but I shall transcribe below [k] the passage very much at large, that they who are curious may with the greater ease compare all together.

2. St. Ambrose's style is somewhat more prolix and verbose; but I suppose, none can doubt, that he here copied Origen, though he does not mention him: a proceeding, that can very seldom be warrantable in authors; and in this instance it appears not a little strange.

3. However, it is fit we should observe, that Ambrose rejects the gospel according to the Twelve, the gospels according to Basilides, according to Thomas, and according to Matthias. And says, that the church had one gospel in four books, spread all over the world, and written by Matthew, Mark, John and Luke, with the assistance of the Spirit of God.

4. He elsewhere likewise says, that [l] there is one gospel, and four books.

5. In the prologue to his Exposition of St. Luke's gospel, he mentions [m] the symbols of the evangelists, as supposed to be represented by the four living creatures in Rev. iv. 7.

6. In the same prologue, like many others, Ambrose [n] admires the transcendent sublimity of

et imago bonitatis illius.' [Sap. vii. 26.] De Fide, l. i. c. 7. T. ii. p. 453. C.

[a] Prophetia dicit: 'Et tu cum consilio omnia fac.' [Eccles. xxxii. 19.] In Ps. xxxvi. T. i. p. 808. C.

[b] Proprietatis autem generationem esse, oracula divina declarant. Dicit enim Sapientia Dei: 'Ex ore Altissimi prodivi.' [Eccles. xxiv. 3.] De Fide, l. iv. c. 8. T. ii. p. 537. A.

[c] ——testimoniis Scripturarum docemur. Siquidem lectum est. [Eccles. ii. 5.] In Ps. cxviii. T. i. p. 1224. E.

[d] Pulchre autem istud exposuit nobis Salomon, dicens: 'Narratio justi semper justitia. Stultus autem sicut luna mutatur.' [Eccles. 27. 11.] In Ps. xxxvi. p. 807. E.

[e] Considera illum, de quo ait in Ecclesiastico Sirach. De interpell. Job. l. i. c. iii. T. i. p. 627. E.

Nam et alibi dixit Sirach Sapientiâ. In Ps. cxviii. p. 1135.

[f] Vid. ib. a Benedictinis annotata. p. 807.

[g] Quid sit scientia, doceat te Salomon, qui ait de Domino nostro: 'Ipse enim mihi dedit eorum quæ sunt cognitionem veram.' [Sap. vii. 17.] In Ps cxviii. p. 1082. D.

[h] Alii vero duo [libri] quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter eloquii nonnullam similitudem, ut Salomonis dicantur, obtinuit consuetudo. Non autem esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. vii. c. 20.

[i] Vol. i. p. 552, 553.

[k] Nam sicut multi in illo populo divino infusi spiritu prophetârunt: alii vero prophetare se pollicebantur, et professionem destituebant mendacio: (erant enim pseudo-prophetæ potius quam Prophetæ, sicut Ananias, filius Azor,) erat autem populi gratia discernere spiritus, ut cognosceret quos referre deberet in numerum Prophetarum: quos autem quasi bonus nummularius improbâret, in quibus materia magis corrupta sorderet, quam veri splendor luminis resultaret: sic et nunc in Novo Testamento multi Evangelia scribere conati sunt, quæ boni nummularii non probârunt. Unum autem tantummodo in quatuor libros digestum ex omnibus arbitrati sunt eligendum. Et aliud quidem fertur Evangelium, quod duodecim scripsisse dicuntur. Ausus est etiam Basilides Evangelium scribere, quod dicitur secundum Basilidem. Fertur etiam aliud Evangelium, quod scribitur secundum Thomam. Novi aliud scriptum secundum Matthiam. Legimus aliqua, ne legantur. Legimus, ne ignoremus. Legimus, non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus: et ut sciamus, qualia sint, in quibus magnifici isti cor exaltant suum. Sed Ecclesia, cum quatuor Evangelii libros habeat, per universum mundum Evangelistis redundat. Hæreses, cum multa habeant, unum non habent.—'Quoniam multi,' inquit, 'conati sunt.' Conati utique illi sunt, qui implere nequiverunt. Ergo multos cœpisse, nec implevisse, etiam sanctus Lucas testimonio locupletiore testatur, dicens, 'plurimos esse conatos'——Non conatus est Matthæus, non conatus est Marcus, non conatus est Johannes, non conatus est Lucas: sed divino spiritu ubertatem dictorum rerumque omnium ministrante, sine ullo molimine complêrunt. Expos. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1265, 1266.

[l] Sed etiam Evangelium unum est, et quatuor libros esse, negare non possumus. In Ps. xl. T. i. p. 883. B.

[m] Unde etiam ii qui quatuor animalium formas, quæ in Apocalypsi revelantur, quatuor Evangelii libros intelligendos arbitrati sunt, hunc librum volunt vituli specie figurari.——Et congruit vitulo hic Evangelii liber, qui a sacerdotibus inchoavit.—Plerique tamen putant, ipsum Dominum nostrum in quatuor Evangelii libris quatuor formis animalium figurari, quod idem homo, idem leo, idem vitulus, idem aquila comprobatur. Prolog. in Expos. Luc. n. 7, 8. p. 1264.

[n] Est enim vere sapientia naturalis in libro Evangelistæ [an Evangelii?] secundum Joannem. Nemo enim, audeo dicere, tantâ sublimitate sapientiæ majestatem Dei vidit, et nobis proprio sermone reseravit. Transcendit nubes, transcendit virtutes cœlorum, transcendit angelos, et Verbum apud Deum vidit. Quis autem moralius secundum hominem singula persecutus, quam sanctus Matthæus, qui edidit nobis præcepta

the beginning of St. John's gospel: and on that account seems to give him the preference above the other three evangelists; though he ascribes also great wisdom to each one of them. In another place he says, that [a] the beginning of St. John's gospel confuted all heresies, particularly Arianism, Sabellianism, and Manichæism.

7. It is said, that [b] Ambrose is the first Latin who wrote a commentary upon St. Luke's gospel: and it is supposed to have been written in the year 386. R. Simon [c] has made remarks upon it.

8. The book of the Acts of the apostles is very often quoted by St. Ambrose, and not seldom [d] by that title at length: and it [e] is ascribed by him to St. Luke.

9. He supposes [f] St. Luke to be "the brother," intended by St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18, "whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches."

10. This Italian bishop received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul: concerning which I need not add any thing farther in particular, than that [g] he has quoted the epistle to the Ephesians expressly with that inscription; and [h] that he often quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's, without hesitation.

11. He frequently quotes the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; and sometimes as [i] if they were the only epistles of those apostles. Nevertheless, he has also quoted [k] the second epistle of Peter.

12. In the Benedictine edition of St. Ambrose's works is put a reference to the 7th verse of John's second epistle: but the [l] quotation, I think, better suits the words of 1 John iv. 3.

13. Mill for proving that Ambrose received the epistle of St. James, quotes [m] a book, not [n] generally allowed to be his. There is supposed to be a reference [o] to James i. 14, in an acknowledged work.

14. He expressly quotes the epistle of [p] Jude.

15. I suppose it cannot be doubted, that he received all the catholic epistles.

16. Ambrose very often quotes the book of the Revelation, and ascribes it [q] to John the apostle and evangelist.

17. Upon the whole, we see, that this celebrated bishop of Milan, in the latter part of the fourth century, received all the books of the New Testament, which we receive, without any other. For there appears not in his works any particular regard to the writings of Barnabas, or Clement, or Ignatius, or to the Recognitions, or Constitutions. From whence we may reasonably

vivendi? Quid rationabilius illo admirabili copulato, quam quod sanctus Marcus in principio statim locandum putavit? &c. Ibid. p. 1262, 1263.

[a] Omnes autem hæreses hoc capitulo brevi piscator noster exclusit. De Fide. l. i. c. 8. p. 454. T. ii.

[b] —quod apud Latinos ipsius tantum, et non alterius in Lucam commentarius fertur. Rufin. Invectiv. in Hieron. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 432.

[c] Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T. ch. 14. p. 206—209.

[d] Ut legimus in Actibus Apostolorum. In Ps. xl. n. 37. T. i. p. 882.

[e] Et adversum Apostolos in Actibus eorum, quod seniores Israël convenerunt, Petrus sanctus, et Lucas Evangelista testantur. [Cap. iv. 1. & seqq.] In Ps. cxviii. n. 14. p. 1135.

[f] Denique etiam a sancto apostolo Paulo testimonium meruit diligentiæ. Sic enim laudat Lucam: 'Cujus laus,' inquit, 'est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias.' Expos. Ev. Luc. l. i. n. 11. p. 1269. E.

[g] Sicut et Apostolus, scribens ad Ephesios, ait. De Sp. S. l. i. c. 6. T. ii. p. 616. C. D.

[h] Ad Hebræos scribens, Apostolus dicit. De Sp. S. l. iii. c. 8. p. 674. F.

Apostoli illud exemplum est: non est meum. [Hebr. i. 3.] De Fide l. i. c. 13. T. ii. p. 460. A.

[i] Unde præclare Petrus de Domino Jesu in epistolâ suâ posuit. [1 Pet. ii. 23.] In Ps. xxxvii. n. 45. T. i. p. 835.

——quia caritas est Deus, ut dixit Joannes in epistolâ. In Ps. xxxviii. n. 10. p. 846.

Alibi quoque Joannes in epistolâ suâ dicit. De Fide. l. i. c. 8. T. ii. p. 454. E.

Accipe tamen quid etiam scripserit Evangelista Joannes in epistolâ suâ, dicens: [1 Jo. v. 20.] De Fide. l. i. c. 17. p. 467. A. B.

[k] Et Petrus vult nos, ut legimus, divinæ consortes fieri naturæ. [2 Pet. i. 4.] De Fide. l. i. c. 19. T. ii. p. 469. C. Vide eund. loc. iterum citat. De Fide l. v. c. 14. p. 583. A. et de Sp. S. l. i. c. 6. p. 616. F.

Etiam Petrus sanctus adseruit, dicens: 'Quapropter satagite, fratres, certam vestram vocationem et electionem facere.' &c. [2 Pet. i. 10, 11.] De Fide. l. iii. c. 12. p. 514. A.

[l] Omnis, qui negat Jesum Christum in carne venisse, de Deo non est. Expos. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1337. B.

[m] Unde—Ambrosius Mediolani——Tract. de Mansionibus filiorum Israël, mansione 18 epistolam Jacobi, tamquam Apostoli, citavit. Mill. Prolegom. n. 206.

[n] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum. T. ii. in Append. p. 1, 2.

[o] Vinculis enim peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur, sicut ipse legisti. In Ps. cxviii. T. i. p. 1071. B. Vid. Jac. i. 14.

[p] —cui dictum est ab angelo Michaële in epistolâ Judæ: 'Imperet tibi Dominus.' [ver. 9.] Exp. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1393. D.

[q] Et ideo fortassis Joanni Evangelistæ cœlum apertum et albus equus est demonstratus. [Ap. xix. 12—16.] In Ps. xl. p. 878. A.

Quomodo igitur ascendamus ad cœlum, docet Evangelista, qui dicit.——[Apoc. xxi. 10.] De Virginitat. cap. 14. T. ii. p. 234. D.

conclude, that these just-mentioned writings were not esteemed of authority by himself, or other Christians at that time.

IV. His respect for the sacred scriptures is manifest. Ambrose was called to the episcopate from a secular course of life. For which reason he begs of God, to [a] give him application, and necessary care to understand the scriptures. He [b] proves what he advances by texts of scripture, and does not otherwise expect to be regarded. And [c] he supposeth it to have been the practice of Christians in ancient times, to form their belief by the holy scriptures. Ambrose [d] was a great admirer of the Psalms, upon divers of which he wrote commentaries, particularly upon the 119th Psalm, which are generally well esteemed.

V. Divisions of scripture found in him are such as these: prophets [e] and apostles, Old and New Testament: the [f] prophetical and evangelical scriptures: the [g] law and the prophets, agreeing with the gospel: the [h] gospel, the apostle, and the prophets.

VI. There are some other things in Ambrose, which may be reckoned worthy of notice.

1. He quotes [i] Mark xvi. 15. Therefore he had in his copies the latter part of that chapter.

2. Ambrose [k] had in his copies the passage concerning the adulterous woman, which we now have in the 8th chapter of St. John's gospel.

3. He quotes 2 Tim. i. 14, after this manner: "That [l] good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us."

4. He [m] seems not to have had the heavenly witnesses, in his copies of the fifth chapter of St. John's first epistle.

5. He [n] speaks of various readings in the Latin copies of the New Testament: some of which likewise, he says, had been corrupted; and he appeals to the original Greek.

[a] Sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa scripturas divinas opto adsequi. De Offic. Minist. l. i. c. 1. T. i. p. 3.

[b] Sed nolo argumento credas, sancte Imperator, et nostræ disputationi. Scripturas interrogemus. Interrogemus Apostolos, interrogemus Prophetas, interrogemus Christum. De Fide. l. i. c. 6. T. ii. p. 451. C.

Satis, ut arbitror, libro superiore, sancte Imperator,—Scripturarum lectionibus approbavimus. De Fide. l. ii. Prolog. p. 471. B.

[c] Sic nempe nostri secundum Scripturas dixerunt patres. De Fide. l. i. c. 18. p. 467. C.

[d] Etenim licet omnis Scriptura divina Dei gratiam spiret, præcipue tamen dulcis Psalmorum liber. In Ps. i. Præf. n. iv. T. i. p. 738.

[e] Clamat Propheta sempiternum, clamat et Apostolus sempiternum. Plenum est Vetus Testamentum testimoniis Filii sempiterni, plenum est Novum. De Fide. l. i. c. 8. T. ii. p. 454. C.

[f] In quo nobis Propheticæ Scripturæ et Evangelicæ suffragantur. Expos. Luc. l. i. p. 1277. F.

[g] Lex ex Prophetæ cum Evangelio congruentes. De Fide. l. i. c. 13. p. 460. D.

[h] Cum igitur in Evangelio, in Apostolo, in Prophetis generationem Christi legerimus. De Fide. l. i. c. 14. p. 462. D.

[i] Audivimus enim legi, dicente Domino: 'Ite in orbem universum, et prædicate evangelium universæ creaturæ.' De Fide. l. i. c. 14. p. 461. D.

[k] Vid. ep. 25. et 26. T. ii. p. 892—894.

[l] Bonum depositum custodi per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis. Exp. Ev. Luc. l. i. T. i. p. 1270. A.

[m] Et ideo hi tres testes unum sunt, sicut Joannes dicit: 'Aqua, sanguis, et Spiritus.' Unum in mysterio, non in naturâ. Aqua igitur est testis sepulturæ, Sanguis testis est mortis, Spiritus testis est vitæ. De Sp. S. l. i. T. ii. c. 6. p. 616. &c.

Alibi quoque Evangelista: 'Per aquam,' inquit, 'et Spiritum venit Christus Jesus, non solum in aquâ, sed per aquam et sanguinem. Et Spiritus testimonium dicit, quoniam Spiritus est veritas: quia tres sunt testes, Spiritus, aqua, sanguis. Et hi tres unum sunt.' De Sp. S. l. iii. c. x. al. xi. p. 678. D.

[n] Quod si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, Græcos inspiciat codices, et advertat, quia ibi scriptum est: Οἱ Πνεύματι Θεῷ λατρεύοντες. Quod interpretatur Latinus: 'Qui Spiritui Dei servimus.' De Sp. S. l. ii. c. x. p. 642. D. Conf. Mill. et Wolff. ad Philip. iii. 3.

CHAP. CVII.

THE PRISCILLIANISTS.

Jerom's chapter of Priscillian. II. III. *Two chapters more of Jerom concerning Latronian and Tiberian, followers of Priscillian.* IV. *A chapter of Isidore of Seville concerning Idacius, one of Priscillian's accusers.* V. *The time of the rise of Priscillianism.* VI. *The history of Priscillian, and of his prosecution and execution at Treves, together with divers of his friends and followers, extracted from Sulpicius Severus.* VII. *An apology for Priscillian and his friends, in divers remarks upon that extract.* VIII. *The sentiments of the Priscillianists concerning the scriptures, and upon other points.* IX. *Charges of falsehood and lewdness brought against them by Jerom and Augustine considered.* X. *The like in pope Leo.* XI. *An article of Philaster in their favour.* XII. *The conclusion.*

1. Says Jerom, 'Priscillian [a] bishop of Abila, who by means of the faction of Hydatius and 'Ithacius was put to death at Treves, by order of the usurper Maximus, wrote many small 'pieces, some of which have reached us. To this day he is accused by some, as having been of 'the Gnostic heresy, holding the same principles with Basilides and Marcion, mentioned by 'Irenæus. Others defend him, saying, that he did not hold the opinions imputed to him.'

Jerom here says, that Priscillian had written many small pieces: and he seems to say that he had seen some of them. I do not recollect any thing of them to be now extant, except some passages of an epistle of his cited by Orosius in his Commonitorium, or Memoir, sent to Augustine; and they appear not a little obscure.

II. I must proceed to transcribe the two following chapters of Jerom's Catalogue, as nearly connected with the former, and because they will be of use to us hereafter.

'Latronian of [b] Spain, a learned man, and for his poetical writings fit to be compared with 'the ancients, was also put to death at Treves, together with Priscillian, Felicissimus, Julian, and 'Euchrocia, leaders of the same faction. The monuments of his wit are still extant, written in 'divers kinds of metre.'

Jerom therefore must have seen likewise some of the works of Latronian, as well as of Priscillian, though none of them have come down to us.

III. 'Tiberian [c] of Bætica, accused of the same heresy with Priscillian, wrote an apology 'for himself in a pompous and laboured style. Afterwards, when his friends had been put to 'death, weary of his exile, he changed his mind, and, to use the words of scripture, "the dog is 'returned to his own vomit again," he persuaded his daughter, though a virgin devoted to Christ, 'to enter into the state of marriage.'

The last sentence in that chapter is not clear; I find it differently translated. Du Pin: [d] 'After the death of his friends, overcome by the tiresomeness of a long exile, he married a young 'woman consecrated to Christ.' Tillemont: 'At [e] length, he was weary of his exile, and quitted 'the party which he had embraced: but falling into a new fault, (to shew that he was no longer

[a] Priscillianus Abilæ episcopus, qui factione Hydatii et Ithacii Treviris a Maximo tyranno cæsus est, edidit multa opuscula, de quibus ad nos aliqua pervenerunt. Hic usque hodie a nonnullis Gnosticæ, id est Basilidis et Marcionis, de quibus Irenæus scripsit, hæreseos accusatur, defendentibus aliis, non eum ita sensisse, ut arguitur. De V. I. cap. 121.

[b] Latronianus, provinciæ Hispaniæ, valde eruditus, et in metrico opere veteribus componendus, cæsus est et ipse Treviris, cum Priscilliano, Felicissimo, Juliano, Euchrocià, ejusdem factionis auctoribus. Exstant ejus ingenii opera diversis metris edita. Ib. cap. 122.

[c] Tiberianus Bæticus scripsit pro suspicione, quâ cum Priscilliano accusabatur hæreseos, Apologeticum tumenti compositoque sermone. Postea, post suorum cædem, tædio victus exilii mutavit propositum, et juxta sanctam Scripturam, canis reversus ad vomitum suum, filiam, devotam Christo virginem, matrimonio copulavit. Ib. cap. 123.

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 241.

[e] Il se lassa enfin de son exil, et quitta le parti qu'il avoit embrassé. Mais tombant dans une nouvelle faute, (pour montrer qu'il n'étoit plus Priscillianiste) il maria sa fille, qui avoit consacré sa virginité à J. C. Les Priscillianistes. Art. ix. fin. T. viii.

'a Priscillianist) he married his daughter, who had consecrated her virginity to Christ.' Some would have it, that he married his own daughter; but [a] surely without reason.

IV. As Jerom in the chapter just transcribed speaks of an apology written by Tiberian, it may not be amiss to add here a chapter of Isidore of Seville, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, concerning Idacius, one of Priscillian's accusers. He is different from Ithacius the chronologer, who [b] flourished about the year 445, though S. Basnage [c] speaks of the chronologer as one of the accusers of Priscillian. However, in another place [d] he speaks of him agreeably to the presentiments of other learned moderns.

Says Isidore: 'Idacius [e] a Spanish bishop, wrote a book, which was a sort of an apology; in 'which he shewed the doctrines of Priscillian, and his magical arts, and shameful lewdness. 'And he says, that one Mark of Memphis, a great magician, and disciple of Manes, was Pris-'cillian's master. This Idacius, together with the bishop Ursacius, on account of the death of 'Priscillian, whose accusers they had been, was deprived of the communion of the church, and 'sent into banishment, where he died in the time of Theodosius the elder and Valentinian.'

So writes Isidore of Seville, if he may be relied upon. It is a pity, that Jerom did not give an account of this work, if Ithacius or Idacius was the author of it. Cave [f] supposes Idacius, bishop of Emerita, to be meant by Isidore. Tillemont thinks, [g] that Ithacius, whom Sulpicius calls bishop of Sossuba, was the author of this book: which to me also seems also more probable; however this is a thing of small moment.

V. As Priscillian was the author of a sect in the fourth century, which made a great noise in the world, and subsisted a good while, I have judged it not improper to give a distinct account of him and his followers.

We are not exactly informed of the time of the rise of this sect. Tillemont [h] placeth it in 379: and it must be owned, that [i] Prosper, in his Chronicle, speaks of it under the year 379, when Ausonius and Olybrius were consuls. Nevertheless, he needs not to be understood to say precisely, that in that year, but only at that time, or about that time, appeared the heresy of Priscillianism. And I think we may form a different computation: a council was called at Saragossa upon occasion of it in 380, as will be seen presently; which may induce us to think, it first appeared four or five years sooner, perhaps, in 375 or 376: for nothing gets to a head, and becomes formidable at once. However I have dated it no higher than 378.

VI. Says Sulpicius Severus, whom I now intend to transcribe very largely, 'Mark, [k] a magi-'cian of Memphis in Egypt, coming into Spain, perverted Agape, a woman of quality, and 'Elpidius the rhetorician: they instructed Priscillian.'

Whether this be quite right, I dare not take upon me to determine; for Sulpicius, who mentions these particulars, had just before said, that [l] the origin of the sect was doubtful and obscure. And he himself more than once calls [m] Priscillian the author of it. However it must be owned,

[a] Matrimonio copulavit.] Id est, coëgit, ut nuberet. Sic enim explicat Sophronius, ne quis accipiat illum suam ipsius duxisse filiam. Erasmi Scholion, ap. Fabric. Bib. Ec. Vid. ibid. Mariani et aliorum annotationes.

[b] Idatius, seu Hydatius, gente Hispanus, patriâ Gallæcus, domo Lemicensis,—Episcopus, claruit anno 445.——Obiit anno 468, vel sequente, admodum grandævus. Scripsit Chronicon ab anno 379, ad ann. 428,——idque postea ad annum 467 produxit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 438. Et Conf. Pagi ad ann. 469. n. v. vi. et A. 431. n. lxi. Du Pin. T. 3. P. ii. p. 232.

[c] Magni quidem in eâ re momenti est Idacii auctoritas, qui de miseri Priscilliani accusatoribus existimatur. Ad annum vero Theodosii ix. scribit in Chronico.—S. Basn. ann. 386. n. xi. Vid. eund. ad ann. 387. n. vi.

[d] Vid. ann. 468. n. v.

[e] Idacius, Hispaniarum episcopus, cognomento, et eloquio Clarus, scripsit quemdam librum sub Apologetici specie: in quo detestanda Priscilliani dogmata, et maleficiorum ejus artes, libidinumque ejus probra, demonstrat: ostendens, Marcum quemdam Memphiticum, magiæ scientissimum, discipulum Manis fuisse, et Priscillianī magistrum. Hic autem cum Ursacio episcopo, ob necem ejusdem Priscilliani, cujus accusatores exstiterant, Ecclesiæ communione privatus, exilio condemnatur, ibique diem ultimum obiit, Theodosio majore et Valentiniano regnantibus. Isid. De Script. Ec. cap. 2.

[f] Idacius Clarus, diversus ab Ithacio episcopo Sossubensi, urbis cujusdam, forsan Emeritæ, episcopus, claruit anno 385. H. L. T. i. p. 280.

[g] Les Priscillianistes. art. 13. et note iv. T. viii.

[h] Ibid. art. 3.

[i] Eâ tempestate Priscillianus episcopus de Gallicià ex Manichæorum et Gnosticorum dogmate hæresim sui nominis condidit. Prosp. ap. Scal. Thes. p. 188.

[k] Primus eam intra Hispanias Marcus intulit, Ægypto profectus, Memphi ortus. Hujus auditores fuere Agape quædam non ignobilis mulier et rhetor Elpidius. Ab his Priscillianus est institutus. S. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 46. al. 61. sub in.

[l] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnosticorum hæresis intra Hispanias deprehensa.—Origo istius mali oriens ab Ægyptiis. Sed quibus ibi initiis coaluerit, haud facile est disserere. Ib.

[m] Priscillianum——principem malorum omnium. Id. c. 47. al. 63.

Cæterum——non repressa est hæresis, quæ illo auctore proruperat, c. 51. al. 66.

that Isidore above-cited, relates as from Ithacius, that Mark, a magician of Memphis, was Priscillian's master. And Jerom in one of his letters says, that [a] Agape taught Elpidius, and he Priscillian.

'When [b] this sect was considerably increased,' as the historian proceeds, 'and many men 'and women, some of them of high rank, had embraced its tenets, and several bishops, particu-'larly Instantius and Salvianus, had declared in favour of it; Hyginus, bishop of Corduba, in 'whose neighbourhood especially it prevailed, gave information of it to Idacius bishop of Eme-'rita: who immediately engaged in the affair, and acted with such heat and violence, as was 'more likely to exasperate than reclaim men. Indeed he may be compared to a man, who thrusts 'a lighted torch into combustible matter.'

'After there had been a great deal of contention, and many warm disputes, a synod was 'convened at Saragossa [in 380]; where also the bishops of Aquitain were present, but Pris-'cillian and his friends refused to appear.' Possibly, because they had already had experience of the unequal judgments of men; or because they were determined to follow their own convictions. 'Sentence therefore was passed upon them in their absence. In that sentence were 'included Instantius and Salvian, bishops, and Elpidius and Priscillian, laymen. It was added, 'that if any received the condemned persons to communion, he should be liable to the same 'sentence. And it was ordered, that Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba, should notify the decrees of 'the council to others, and particularly should take care, that Hyginus be excommunicated: 'who, though he had first informed against them, had since received the heretics to communion. 'Hitherto Priscillian was a layman; but now Instantius and Salvian, who were his steady friends, 'thought it best to make him bishop of Abila, who was the chief leader of the sect. After this 'Idacius and Ithacius, desirous to put an end to the affair, before it prevailed too much, impru-'dently applied to the secular powers. They therefore went to the emperor; and presenting 'requests unbecoming the episcopal character, they obtained a rescript from Gratian, that all 'heretics should not only be excluded from the churches, and from the cities where they dwelt, 'but from the whole extent of the Roman empire: which obliged many of these Gnostics to 'abscond, or flee from the usual places of their abode.'

[a] In Hispaniis Agape Elpidium, mulier virum, cæcum cæca, duxit in foveam, successoremque sui habuit Priscillianum. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 477.

[b] Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem adgressus est, multos nobilium, pluresque populares, auctoritate persuadendi, et arte blandiendi, allicuit in societatem. Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ, fluxâ fide, et ad omnia curioso ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant.——Jamque paullatim perfidiæ istius tabes pleraque Hispaniæ pervaserat. Quin et nonnulli episcoporum depravati. Inter quos Instantius et Salvianus Priscillianum non solum consensione, sed sub quâdam etiam conjuratione susceperant. Quo Adyginus [Hyginus] episcopus Cordubensis, ex vicino agens, comperto, ad Idatium Emeritæ civitatis sacerdotem refert. Is vero sine modo, et ultra quam oportuit, Instantium sociosque ejus lacessens, facem quamdam nascenti incendio subdidit; ut exasperaverit malos, potius quam compresserit. Ibid. cap. 46. al. c. 61. et 62.

Igitur post multa inter eos, et digna memoratu certamina, apud Cæsaraugustam synodus congregatur; cui tum etiam Aquîtani episcopi interfuere. Verum hæretici committere se judicio non ausi: in absentes tum lata sententia, damnatique Instantius et Salvianus Episcopi, Helpidius et Priscillianus laïci. Additum etiam, ut, si quis damnatos in communionem recepisset, sciret, in se eamdem sententiam promendam. Atque id Ithacio Sossubensi episcopo negotium datum, ut decretum Episcoporum in omnium notitiam deferret, maximeque Hyginum extra communionem faceret; qui, cum primus omnium insectari palam hæreticos cœpisset, postea turpiter depravatus in communionem eos recipisset. Interim Instantius et Salvianus, damnati judicio sacerdotum, Priscillianum etiam laïcum, sed principem malorum omnium, una secum Cæsaraugustanâ Synodo notatum, ad confirmandas vires suas Episcopum Labinensi oppido constituunt; rati nimirum, si hominem acrem et callidum sacerdotali auctoritate armâssent, tutiores fore sese. Tum vero Idacius atque Ithacius acrius instare, arbitrantes posse inter initia malum comprimi: sed parum sanis consiliis seculares judices adeunt, ut eorum decretis atque exsecutionibus hæretici urbibus pellerentur. Igitur post multa et fœda, Idacio supplicante, elicitur a Gratiano tum Imperatore rescriptum, quo universi hæretici excedere non ecclesiis tantum et urbibus, sed extra omnes terras propelli jubebantur. Quo comperto, Gnostici diffisi rebus suis, non ausi judicio certare, sponte cessere, qui episcopi videbantur. Cæteros metus dispersit. Ib. cap. 47. al. c. 62. et 63.

At tum Instantius, Salvianus, et Priscillianus, Romam profecti, ut apud Damasum, Urbis eâ tempestate Episcopum, objecta purgarent. Sed iter eis præter interiorem Aquitaniam fuit; ubi dum ab imperitis magnifice suscepti, sparsere perfidiæ semina. Maximeque Elusanam plebem, sane tum bonam et religioni studentem, pravis prædicationibus pervertere. A Burdigalâ per Delphinum repulsi, tamen in agro Euchrociæ aliquantisper morati, infecere nonnullos suis erroribus. Inde iter cœptum ingressi, turpi sane pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus, atque alienis etiam feminis, in quîs erat Euchrocia, ac filia ejus Procula: de quâ fuit in sermone hominum, Priscilliani stupro gravidam, partum sibi graminibus abegisse. Hi ubi Romam pervenere, Damaso se purgare cupientes, ne in conspectum quidem ejus admissi sunt. Regressi Mediolanum, æque adversantem sibi Ambrosium repererunt. Tum vertere consilia, ut, quia duobus episcopis, quorum eâ tempestate summa auctoritas erat, non illuserant, largiendo et ambiendo ab Imperatore cupita extorquerent. Ita corrupto Macedonio, tum Magistro Officiorum, rescriptum eliciunt, quo, calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, restitui ecclesiis jubebantur. Hoc freti Instantius et Priscillianus repetivere Hispanias. Nam Salvianus in Urbe obierat. Ac tum sine ullo certamine ecclesias, quibus præfuerant, recepere. Ib. cap. 48. al. c. 63. et 64.

'In this extremity Instantius, Salvian, and Priscillian, went to Rome, in order to clear themselves before Damasus, then bishop of that city, of the charges that had been brought against them. In their journey they made converts at several places. When they came to Bourdeaux, Delphinus the bishop would not suffer them to make any stay there: however, they were entertained at the country-seat of Euchrocia.'

Here the historian, whom I transcribe, makes reflections upon their manner of travelling; they having women in their company, particularly Euchrocia, wife or widow of Elpidius, and her daughter Procula. Concerning whom too it was said, that she had been with child by Priscillian, and had procured an abortion. Indeed such a way of travelling will be liable to some censures, though people behave with the utmost purity and sobriety. But, possibly, the violent proceedings of Ithacius might dispose some of Priscillian's friends to accompany him in his journey, as the only means of their safety: and they might be unwilling to be left behind at that season. Euchrocia, in particular, whose habitation was at Bourdeaux, or near it, might be under some apprehensions from Delphinus, bishop of Bourdeaux, and one of those bishops of Aquitain, who was present at the late council of Saragossa, and had joined in the sentence of condemnation there passed upon Priscillian and his adherents.

'When they came to Rome, desirous to clear themselves to Damasus, he would neither hear them nor see them. From thence therefore they went back to Milan; but neither would Ambrose hear their apology. Whereupon they altered their design of trying bishops, and applied to court; where they obtained a repeal of the fore-mentioned rescript of Gratian, with an order, that they should be restored to their churches.'

Sulpicius says, that this was owning to sums of money, wherewith they bribed the emperor's officers. Whether this be truly said, or not, there are no writings of Priscillian, or his friends, remaining, to give us any information. But this rescript seems to have continued in force in Spain throughout the reign of Gratian, and the reigns of Theodosius and Valentinian, to the time of Honorius: for we find, from the first council of Toledo, in 400, (of which more hereafter,) that the Priscillianist bishops of that country were then in possession of their sees.

'Now then Instantius and Priscillian returned to Spain, and took possession of their churches without difficulty; but Salvian had died at Rome.'

'Volventius [b] the proconsul, paying a due regard to Gratian's rescript, favoured them: and

[a] That edict of Gratian is by Baronius esteemed a great crime: for which God suffered him to be afterwards assassinated by Maximus. Immane profecto piaculum, quo suggestione Macedonii Gratianus, Princeps maxime pius, ejus, quod pie sancteque sanxerat, prævaricator est factus. Ex quo quidem facinore sibi necem comparavit. Nam ad immane scelus vindicandum, et hæreticos liberâ voluntate indulgentiâ Gratiani vagantes comprimendos, atque dignâ animadversione plectendos, suscitavit adversus eum Deus Maximum Tyrannum, qui Imperatori necem tulit, et in principes hæreticorum gladio animadvertit. Baron. Ann. 381. n. cx.

[b] Verum Trachio [Ithacio] ad resistendum non animus, sed facultas, defuit; quia hæretici, corrupto Volventio Proconsule, vires suas confirmaverant. Quinetiam Ithacius ab his quasi perturbator ecclesiarum reus postulatus, jussusque per atrocem exsecutionem deduci, trepidus profugit in Gallias.—Jam rumor incesserat, Clementem Maximum intra Britannias sumsisse imperium, ac brevi in Gallias erupturum. Ita tum Ithacius statuit, licet rebus dubiis, novi Imperatoris adventum exspectare; interim sibi nihil agitandum. Igitur ubi Maximus oppidum Trevirorum victor ingressus est, ingerit preces plenas in Priscillianum ac socios ejus invidiæ atque criminum. Quibus permotus Imperator, datis ad Præfectum Galliarum atque Vicarium Hispaniarum literis, omnes omnino, quos labes illa involverat, deduci ad Synodum Burdegalensem jubet. Ita deducti Instantius et Priscillianus: quorum Instantius prior jussus causam dicere, postquam se parum expurgabat, indignus esse episcopatu pronuntiatus est. Priscillianus vero, ne ab episcopis audiretur, ad Principem provocavit. Permissumque id nostrorum inconstantiâ.——Cap. 49. al. c. 64.

Ita omnes, quos causa involverat, ad Regem deducti. Secuti etiam accusatores, Idacius et Ithacius Episcopi; quorum studium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi plus quam oportuit certâssent.——Namque tum Martinus apud Treviros constitutus, non desinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accusatione desisteret; Maximum orare, ut sanguine infelicium abstineret; satis superque sufficere, ut Episcopali sententiâ hæretici judicati ecclesiis pellerentur; novum esse et inauditum nefas, ut causam Ecclesiæ judex seculi judicaret. Denique, quoad usque Martinus Treviris fuit, dilata cognitio est. Et mox discessurus, egregiâ auctoritate a Maximo elicuit sponsionem, nihil cruentum in reos constituendum. Sed postea Imperator per Magnum et Rufum Episcopos depravatus, et a mitioribus consiliis deflexus, causam Præfecto Evodio permisit, viro acri et severo. Qui Priscillianum gemino judicio auditum, convictumque maleficii, nec diffitentem obscœnis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egisse conventus, nudumque orare solitum, nocentem pronuntiavit, redegitque in custodiam, donec ad Principem referret. Gestis ad Palatium delatis, censuit Imperator, Priscillianum sociosque ejus capitis damnari oportere. Cap. L. al. c. 64. et 65.

Cæterum Ithacius videns, quam invidiosum sibi apud Episcopos foret, si accusato etiam postremis rerum capitalium judiciis adstitisset, (etenim iterari judicium necesse erat) subtrahit se cognitioni, frustra, callido jam scelere perfecto. At tum per Maximum accusator adponitur Patricius quidam, fisci patronus. Ita eo insistente, Pricillianus capitis damnatus est, unàque cum eo Felicissimus et Armenius, qui nuper a Catholicis clerici Priscillianum secuti, desciverant. Latronianus quoque et Euchrocia gladio peremti. Instantius, quem superius ab Episcopis damnatum diximus, in Sylinam insulam, quæ ultra Britanniam sita est, deportatus. Item deinde in reliquos sequentibus judiciis, damnatique Asarinus et Aurelius Diaconi gladio. Tiberianus, ademtis bonis, in Sylinam insu-

'Ithacius, who still had a mind to be troublesome, was checked, and was in danger of being 'taken up, as a disturber of the peace of the churches: he therefore went away into Gaul.' Soon after this Maximus, a Spaniard, who had assumed the purple in Britain, invaded Gaul, and also became master of Spain, and had Gratian assassinated in August or September, 383. 'When Maximus made his public entrance at Treves, Ithacius was there; and in a short time 'he presented to the usurping emperor a petition against Priscillian and his adherents, filled 'with invidious charges of many crimes. Whereupon the emperor appointed a council to be 'held at Bourdeaux, and sent orders to the præfect of Gaul, and the vicar of Spain, to take 'care that all persons concerned should appear there. Instantius was first heard, and his defence 'being judged invalid, he was deposed. Priscillian, declining the judgment of the bishops, 'appealed to the emperor.'

Priscillian might think he had good reason to decline the judgment of the synod of Bourdeaux; forasmuch as Delphinus, bishop of that city, had already declared against him at the council of Saragossa. This council of Bourdeaux was held in 384, or rather in 385.

'The affair was now brought before the emperor: and the bishops Idacius and Ithacius, the 'accusers, were very forward to appear.' Here Sulpicius says, 'he would not blame their zeal 'against heretics, if they had not been too intent upon victory:' intimating, I think, that there was somewhat blameable in their manner of proceeding. He here also give a very indifferent character of Ithacius, which I may take farther notice of hereafter. 'Martin bishop of Tours 'had occasion to come to Treves at this time: and he did not cease to reprove Ithacius, and to 'charge him to give over the prosecution: he also waited on the emperor, and intreated him 'not to touch the lives of these unhappy men. It was sufficient, he said, and more than sufficient, that heretics be expelled from the churches by the authority of bishops; but it was a 'new and unheard-of thing, that a secular judge should take cognizance of the affairs of the 'church. In a word, as long as Martin was at Treves, the hearing was deferred: and when he 'was going away, with a resolution that can never be too much commended, he demanded, and 'obtained a promise from the emperor, that nothing should be done to affect the lives of those 'persons. But afterwards, the emperor being misled by the bishops Magnus and Rufus, and 'diverted by them from the milder counsels first resolved upon, referred the hearing of the 'cause to the præfect Evodius, a man of a morose and severe disposition. There were two 'hearings of the cause before him: and Priscillian being convicted of practising magic, and not 'denying, that he had taught obscene doctrines, and held nocturnal assemblies with lewd women, 'and been wont to pray naked among them; Evodius pronounced them guilty, and put him 'into custody, till he could make his report to the emperor. When the proceedings at the trial 'were brought to the palace, the emperor pronounced sentence, that Priscillian and his adherents 'ought to be put to death.'

'But Ithacius perceiving how disagreeable it would be to the bishops, if he should assist at 'the last proceedings against men who were to receive sentence of death, (for the cause was to 'be reheard;) withdrew himself from the hearing: though to no purpose, after having com'pleated his wicked design. Thereupon Maximus appointed, that Patricius, an advocate of the 'treasury, should perform the part of accuser. Upon his motion judgment was given, and 'Priscillian was condemned to die; and with him Felicissimus and Armenius, two presbyters, who 'had lately left the Catholics to follow Priscillian: Latronian also and Euchrocia were put to 'death. Instantius, who, as before said, had been condemned by the bishops, was banished to 'one of the British isles, called Sylina, [Scilly.] The sentences passed upon the rest were as 'follows: Asarinus and Aurelius, deacons, were put to death; Tiberian was banished to the 'island Sylina, and his goods were confiscated; Tertullus, Potamius, and John, men of low 'rank, and thought worthy of mercy, because they had confessed their own fault, and informed 'against their associates before they were put to the question, were banished for a time only, 'and within the limits of Gaul.—Nevertheless, after that Priscillian had been executed, the

lam datûs. Tertullus, Potamius, et Joannes, tamquam viliores personæ, et digni misericordiâ, quia ante quæstionem se ac socios prodidissent, temporario exilio intra Gallias relegati.—Cæterum Priscilliano occiso non solum non repressa est hæresis, quæ illo auctore proruperat, sed confirmata, latius propagata est. Namque sectatores ejus, qui eum prius ut sanctum honoraverant, postea ut Martyrem colere cœperunt. Peremtorum corpora ad Hispanias relata, magnisque obsequiis celebrata eorum funera. Quin et jurare per Priscillianum summa religio putabatur. Ac inter nostros perpetuum discordiarum bellum exarserat: quod, jam per quindecim annos fœdis dissensionibus agitatum, nullo modo sopiri poterat. Cap. 51. al. c. 65. et 66.

'heresy which sprang from him, was not suppressed, but was rather the more confirmed, and 'farther spread. For his followers, who before honoured him as a holy man, afterwards began 'to respect him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had been executed were carried into 'Spain, and there interred with much solemnity: and to swear by him was reckoned a very 'sacred oath. And among our people, (that is, catholics in Gaul,) has been enkindled an 'irreconcileable war, which for these fifteen years past has been carried on with fierce contentions, 'impossible by any means to be composed.'

Thus I have carried on the history of Priscillian, and his followers, from their first appearance to the time of his death, and the death of several of his friends with him; and as we have the advantage of a contemporary historian, I have taken his account very much at large.

It is not easy to say exactly the time of these events. Tillemont[a] thinks, these executions were made at Treves in 385: Basnage[b] not till 387. And they both seem to argue plausibly. Other learned men[c] are for the year 386.

VII. May it not be proper for us now to make some remarks, and try, whether we can form a reasonable judgment concerning the innocence or the guilt of Priscillian and his followers? And I think, we may for the present take little notice of the charge of magic, few of us now a-days knowing what it means: and perhaps in old times, when the charge of magical practices was more common, many who talked about it, had no distinct notion of it. Moreover, the charge of magic has been so often found, upon examination, to be false and malicious, that of late little regard is had to it: we may therefore dismiss that part of the accusation as frivolous and insignificant, and confine our observations to other things, such as the obscene doctrines, and indecent actions, which Priscillian, in particular, was charged with. And it is likely, that many considerations may offer themselves tending to vindicate him, and shew the innocence of his followers.

1. And first of all, it is not unlikely, that the calling them by the name of Gnostics, and their being said to resemble the Manichees, was one ground of the charges brought against them. The Manichees were in disrepute: to the Gnostics in general almost every kind of impurity was ascribed. When once these men were called Manichees, many would impute to them all the supposed erroneous principles, and evil practices of that sect, and believe, that they were really guilty of them. Sulpicius entering upon the history of what related to them in his time, says, it[d] was a Gnostic heresy; and again in the course of his narration[e] he calls them Gnostics. It was commonly said, that the Priscillianist doctrine was brought into Spain by Mark of Memphis, said to be a disciple of Manes. Maximus, the emperor, in his letter to Syricius bishop of Rome, endeavouring to justify himself in putting them to death, calls them[f] Manichees. And if it be not improper to allege here later writers, Jerom says, they[g] were a branch of the Manichees, Gnostics and Basilidians. How their agreement, or supposed agreement with the Manichees, was improved against them, to their prejudice, is evident from Pope[h] Leo; whose manner of insinuating the worst things against them, upon that account, must, I think, appear offensive to all candid persons.

2. Another thing that deserves consideration, is the character of the persons, who were accused and suffered in the time of Maximus, and were the leaders of the sect.

(1.) Priscillian, as[i] Sulpicius says, was of a noble family, rich, ingenious, always in action, eloquent, learned, and a good disputant, having read a great deal. He had a happy genius, if it had not been preverted; for he had many good qualities both of body and mind: he slept

[a] Les Priscillianistes. art. ix. et note x.

[b] Ann 386. n. xi. et 387. n. vi.

[c] Vid. Cav. H. L. De Priscilliano.

[d] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnosticorum hæresis intra Hispanias deprehensa H. S. L. ii. c. 46. in.

[e] Quo comperto, Gnostici diffisi rebus suis, &c. cap. 47. fin.

[f] Cæterum quid adhuc proxime proditum sit Manichæos sceleris admittere, non argumentis, neque suspicionibus dubiis vel incertis, sed ipsorum confessione inter judicia—tua sanctitas—cognoscat. Ap. Baron. Ann. 387. n. lxvi.

[g] Priscillianus in Hispaniâ pars Manichæi—Qui quidem partem habent Gnosticæ hæreseos, de Basilidis impietate venientem. Ad Ctes. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 476.

[h] Sequentes dogmata Cerdonis atque Marcionis, et cognatis suis Manichæis per omnia consonantes. Leo ep. 15. c. 4.

Faciunt hoc Priscillianistæ, faciunt Manichæi, quorum cum istis tam fœderata sunt corda, ut solis nominibus discreti, sacrificiis autem suis inveniantur uniti. Ibid. c. 16. et passim.

[i] Ab his Priscillianus est institutus, familiâ nobilis, prædives opibus, acer, inquies, facundus, multâ lectione eruditus, disserendi ac disputandi promtissimus. Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium. Prorsus in eo animi et corporis bona cerneres. Vigilare multum, famem et sitim ferre poterat, habendi minime cupidus, utendi parcissimus.——Quippe humilitas speciem ore et habitu prætendens honorem sui et reverentiam cunctis injecerat. Ib. cap. 46.

little, and was very sparing in his diet, disinterested and moderate, spending little upon himself. Moreover, he had a modesty of countenance and behaviour, which gained him the esteem and repect of many.

It is not likely, that such a man should teach lewd doctrines, and pray naked among lewd women. Indeed, it is also said of him, that [a] he was proud and conceited of his learning; nevertheless, I do not perceive, how pride should lead a man into scandalous indecencies: it would rather secure him against all such things.

There is therefore no good reason to believe that account: if he confessed such things, it was upon the rack; for it is very probable, that he was tortured. Sulpicius is a very concise writer, and does not say it expressly of Priscillian; but there can be no doubt made, but the torture was used at this trial: for he says of Tertullus and two others, that they 'made confession before they were put upon the rack,' as we saw just now. Tillemont [b] also infers this from some things said by Pacatus. But forced confessions are often false. However, of this some farther notice may be taken hereafter.

(2). Another of the sufferers is Euchrocia, widow of Elpidius: she too was beheaded, or otherwise put to death with Priscillian, as we have seen in Sulpicius. Of her Pacatus says in his Panegyric: 'What [c] were the crimes, for which the widow of an illustrious poet was dragged to 'punishment with a hook? She had no other fault, but that of being too religious, and worship-'ping the Deity with more than common zeal.' Euchrocia's moral character therefore was unblemished: she had no other fault, but that she was a Priscillianist.

Ausonius celebrating Elpidius among the other professors of Bourdeaux, of whom he had been one, commends his eloquence, and says, 'he [d] was happy in dying before he reached old age, as 'he was not witness to the violent death of his wife, nor the fault of his daughter.' By which we perceive, that the story told of Procula by Sulpicius was common. Nevertheless it might not be true: it might be only common report, as the expressions of Sulpicius [e] seem to imply: for such stories, when once raised concerning some persons, can never be dropt or forgotten. And that it was not true, may be argued from the character of Euchrocia, and from her continued respect for Priscillian: to which may be added, that, if our historians say right, Elpidius likewise had been a favourer of Priscillian, and even his master. And it may be reckoned very improbable, that Elpidius should either instil into Priscillian lewd principles, or receive them from him.

(3.) Another put to death with Priscillian was Latronian, or Matronian; of whom Jerom writes, as before quoted, that he was a learned man, and for his poetical works worthy to be compared with the ancients. It is not likely, that Latronian should be an associate with any man in such things as were laid to the charge of Priscillian.

(4.) Beside these, several others suffered at this time: Felicissimus and Armenius, presbyters; Asarinus and Aurelius, deacons; these were put to death; Instantius and Tiberian were banished. Of all whom we know nothing amiss, but that they were followers or friends of Priscillian.

(5.) Among whom there were likewise many others of rank and quality, and several bishops, particularly Salvian, who died at Rome. And I think it is very observable, that Hyginus of Corduba, who first sent informations against them to Idacius bishop of Emerita, afterwards entertained a favourable opinion of them, and received them to communion. For which too he was soon after deposed and excommunicated by the council of Saragossa in 380, or 381. I can conceive no reason for this alteration of his conduct, but that he now embraced their principles, as right and true; or had found, that they were not so absurd and unreasonable, as once he sup-

[a] Sed idem vanissimus, et plus justo inflatior profanarum rerum scientiâ; quin et magicas artes ab adolescentiâ eum exercuisse creditum est. Cap. 46. p. 280.

[b] Il semble, selon Pacatus, que l'on ait employé les tourmens et la question pour examiner cette affaire, et que cela soit fait en présence mesme des Evêques accusateurs. Les Priscillianistes. Art. ix. T. viii.——cum gemitus et tormenta miserorum auribus ac luminibus hausissent. Pacat. Paneg. cap. 29.

[c] Sed nimirum graves suberant, invidiosæque causæ, ut unco ad pœnam clari vatis matrona raperetur. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta Divinitas. Pacat. Paneg. c. 29.

[d] Facunde, docte, linguâ et ingenio celer,

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Minus malorum munere expertus Dei,
Medio quod ævi raptus es:
Errore quod non deviantis filiæ,
Pœnâque læsus conjugis.
Auson. Profess. n. v.

[e] De quâ fuit in sermone hominum, Priscilliani stupro gravidam.

posed them to be; and therefore he disliked the heat and violence with which Idacius and others prosecuted those who held them: and the better to secure them from the hard treatment of others, he received them to communion.

(6.) Beside the numbers, and the rank and quality of the followers or friends of Priscillian, their good character in general is another thing very much in his favour. Tiberian's daughter had devoted herself to virginity, whilst he was a Priscillianist; and to shew that he had altered his mind, he induced her to enter into the state of marriage: which seems to shew, that these people were rather of an austere, than a loose course of life. Sulpicius in his account of Priscillian's journey through Aquitain to Rome, with the bishops Instantius and Salvian, says, they[a] perverted many of the people of Elusa, which were a good sort of people, and much devoted to religious exercises.

After[b] the executions before-mentioned, the emperor Maximus, at the instigation of the bishops whom he had about him, gave a commission to some tribunes with power of the sword to go into Spain, to make inquiry after these heretics, and to confiscate their goods, or put to death such as should be apprehended. This Martin earnestly opposed, dreading the consequences, and at length prevented it. 'Nor can there be any question made,' says Sulpicius, 'that if the commission had proceeded, it would have been fatal to multitudes of good men. For at that time 'little regard was had to men's real characters: if a man looked pale, or was modest in his garb, 'it was reckoned a mark of heresy, and sufficient to cast him, without making any particular 'inquiry concerning his faith.' In another place Sulpicius says, that[c] if the bishop Martin had not put a stop to that commission, it would have been the ruin of the churches in Spain.

(7.) The good opinion, which such men had of Priscillian to the last, wipes off all suspicion of lewd practices in him: for how was it possible, that they should honour him as an holy man when living, or respect him as a martyr when dead, who had been wont to pray naked among lewd women!

3. There are some circumstances to be observed, which appear to be in favour of Priscillian and his friends. After they had been condemned in the council of Saragossa, in 380, or 381, and after an edict had been obtained from Gratian, to the prejudice of all called heretics; Instantius and Salvian and Priscillian went into Italy, first to Damasus at Rome, and then to Ambrose at Milan, to apologize for themselves: which seems to imply, that they were not conscious of any very notorious misconduct, and that they hoped to be able to justify themselves before those eminent bishops. And though they did not obtain a hearing, they did not despond: but with a consciousness of their innocence, as it seems, applied to Gratian, and procured a repeal of the former edict against them, which had been given at the request of Idacius and Ithacius; and they obtained from the emperor a new edict, whereby they were restored to their churches. And whatever Sulpicius may say of the methods by which this new rescript was obtained, it remained in force throughout the reigns of Theodosius and Valentinian to the time of Honorius and Arcadius: for the Priscillianists were in possession of their churches when the council of Toledo met, in the year 400, as may appear hereafter.

What I would now argue from hence is, that when Priscillian and Instantius applied to Gratian for a repeal of the former rescript, and obtained a new rescript for restoring them and their friends to their churches, the odious and infamous doctrines and actions, afterwards alleged against Priscillian at his trial, were not generally known to the catholics, or not believed by them: for if they had, a rescript would not have been granted to restore them to their churches. I think likewise, that it may be argued, that the infamous charges against Priscillian and others were not universally credited, even after their execution; for if they had, some care would have been taken about the repeal of this new rescript, before the year 400.

Another thing, which may be reckoned a circumstance in their favour, is, that Tiberian of Bætica wrote an Apology for himself and his sect: but no apology can be made for the things laid to the charge of Priscillian, if true. It is likely, therefore, that the design of that work was

[a] —Sparsere perfidiæ semina: maximeque Elusanam plebem, sane tum bonam et religioni studentem, pravis prædicationibus pervertere. H. S. l. ii. cap. 48. sub in. al. cap. 63.

[b] Et jam pridie Imperator ex eorum sententiâ decreverat, Tribunos summâ potestate armatos ad Hispanias mittere, qui hæreticos inquirerent, deprehensis vitam et bona adimerent. Nec dubium erat, quin sanctorum etiam maximam turbam tempestas ista depopulatura esset, parvo discrimine inter hominum genera. Etenim tum solis oculis judicabatur, cum quis pallore potius, aut veste, quam fide hæreticus æstimaretur. Dial. 3. cap. xi.

[c] ——Dummodo ut ei Tribuni jam in excidium ecclesiarum ad Hispanias missi retraherentur. Dialog. 3. cap. xiii.

to shew his own, and his friends' innocence. Evil things were laid to their charge by some; and others admitted suspicions of them: he endeavoured to shew, that those suspicions were unreasonable.

4. In the next place let us observe, who were accusers, and what was the management of the prosecutions. Says Sulpicius, entering upon the account of this affair, when [a] it was brought before Maximus: 'I should not blame the zeal of the bishops Idacius and Ithacius against 'heretics, if they had not been too intent upon victory: and therefore in my opinion, both 'accusers and accused were to blame. As for Ithacius, he was a man of no honour, and had no 'regard to right or wrong. He was audacious, impudent, proud, extravagant in his expences, 'and indulged himself to a great degree in eating and drinking. At length he proceeded to 'such excess of folly, that he was ready to charge all good men as associates or disciples of 'Priscillian, who were studious in reading, and practised fasting. Yea, this wretch had the 'assurance to charge the bishop Martin with heresy, a man who might be compared with the 'apostles!'

5. This was the chief prosecutor: and as for the manner of the prosecution, there are many things said by Sulpicius in his account of this affair, which shew the earnestness, with which it was carried on, from the beginning to the end. When Hyginus bishop of Corduba had given Idacius of Emerita some information concerning these people, Sulpicius says, that Idacius pre-'sently acted with such heat and violence, as was more likely to exasperate than reclaim men: 'that he was like a man, who thrusts a lighted torch into combustible matter.' Sulpicius afterwards blames Idacius and Ithacius for going to the court of Gratian, and 'presenting there 'requests unbecoming the episcopal character,' whereby they obtained an edict against all heretics. He also says, that when Ithacius first applied to Maximus at Treves, he 'presented a 'petition against Priscillian [b] and his adherents, filled with invidious charges of many crimes.' In these last expressions especially, and in several expressions made use of in the characters of Idacius and Ithacius just transcribed; that 'they were too intent upon victory;' that 'Ithacius 'had no regard to right or wrong,' and that he was 'audacious and impudent:' I think it is intimated, that Ithacius (and perhaps Idacius likewise) told lies against Priscillian and his adherents. And it seems to me, that about this time were forged those charges of infamous doctrines and actions, which brought on their execution.

Beside all this, we have perceived, that the question was used in the trial of these persons before the præfect Evodius. But there is no relying upon confessions extorted in that way: the accused might be thereby compelled to speak against their own conviction, and be made to say all their accusers wanted them to say.

There is one thing mentioned by Sulpicius, which very much disparages the evidence, upon which these unhappy men were convicted. 'Tertullus, Potamion, and John, men of low 'condition, were judged worthy of mercy, because they had confessed their own crimes, and 'discovered their associates, before they were put to the question.' These, so far as we can perceive, were the only witnesses, beside the accusers; persons of low condition, who had been among the followers of Priscillian, and would say any thing to save themselves from the torture, or other punishment, which the circumstances of things made them apprehensive of.

6. We cannot forbear to observe, who were the judges: the supreme judge was the usurping emperor Maximus, [c] who was a man of a severe temper; and when he came into Gaul, was elated with the successes of a civil war. Again, it is said of him, that [d] he had many good pro-

[a] Ita omnes, quos causa involverat, ad Regem deducti. Secūti etiam accusatores Idacius et Ithacius Episcopi; quorum studium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi plus quam oportuit certâssent. Ac mea quidem sententia est, mihi tam reos quam accusatores displicere. Certe Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti, habuisse definio. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, sumtuosus, ventri et gulæ plurimum impertiens. Hic stultitiæ eo usque processerat, ut omnes etiam sanctos viros, quibus aut studium inerat lectionis, aut propositum erat certare jejuniis, tamquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos, in crimen arcesseret. Ausus etiam miser est eâ tempestate Martino episcopo, viro plane Apostolis conferendo, palam objectare hæresis infamiam. Cap. L. sub in.

[b] Ingerit preces plenas in Priscillianum ac socios ejus invidiæ atque criminum. Cap. 49. p. 287.

[c] —Imperatorem Maximum, ferocis ingenii virum, et bellorum civilium victoriâ elatum. Sulp. de Vit Martin. c. xx. p. 337.

[d] Maximus Imperator, alias sane bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum. S. Sev. Dialog. 3. c. xi. p. 495.

Verum primo die, atque altero, suspendit hominem [Martinum] callidus Imperator, sive ut rei pondus imponeret, sive quia nimis sibi implacabilis erat, seu quia, ut plerique tum arbitrabantur, avaritia repugnabat: siquidem in bona eorum inhiaverat. Fertur enim ille vir multis bonisque artibus præditus, adversus avaritiam parum consuluisse: nisi forte regni necessitate, quippe exhausto superioribus Principibus ei

perties, but was of a severe temper, and was covetous, and at this time in want of money; and therefore, as may be supposed, too willing to seize the estates of those who were deemed as heretics. For which reason there was danger of involving many good men, and of easily admitting evidence against those who were brought into suspicion: Sulpicius assures us, that such things were then said by many. And if the emperor was not of himself covetous, his circumstances at that time rendered him necessitous; which could not but have some influence upon his counsels with regard to divers matters.

Then Evodius, the præfect of the prætorium, before whom the cause of Priscillian and his friends was heard, was of a rigid and severe temper, as before-mentioned.

7. Finally, let us observe the judgments of men at that time concerning this affair. And I think it must have been already taken notice of in the process of this history, that all did not approve of these proceedings. However, it may be worth the while to be a little more particular; and then, possibly, we may perceive that there were many who disliked them, and condemned them.

(1.) Martin, bishop of Tours, generally allowed to be an understanding and holy man, very much disliked these proceedings. Whilst the cause was depending, 'he said, it was sufficient, and more than sufficient, that those men, if convicted of being heretics, should be condemned by 'bishops, and cast out of the churches.' He blamed Ithacius, and earnestly charged him to give over the prosecution before the emperor: and he interceded with Maximus, 'that the lives of 'those men might not be touched.'

The conduct of Ithacius, and some others, who had been active in this affair, being censured by some, there was a synod of bishops at Treves, in 387, as [a] Basnage supposes, in which their behaviour was examined. The sentence, as may be well supposed, was in his favour: he was acquitted. One bishop however there was, Theognostus by name, who had the generosity openly to declare against him, and refused to communicate with him and the other bishops his favourers.

At [b] this time Martin had occasion to come to Treves, to intercede with Maximus for the lives of some officers, now in his custody, who had acted with great zeal in the service of their master Gratian. He was very unwilling to communicate with Ithacius, and the bishops who sided with him. However, he complied at last, upon these two conditions, that the lives of the officers for whom he interceded should be spared, and that the tribunes, sent to Spain to try heretics there, should be recalled. And though his communion with them was but for a day only, as soon as he was got out of Treves, in his way home, he humbled himself for what he had done.

Some expressions of Sulpicius, relating to Martin's concern to prevent the tribunes going to Spain to try heretics, appear very remarkable. 'The [c] bishop Martin had several petitions,' he says, 'to ask of Maximus, when he was admitted into his presence. Beside others, he was to 'intercede for the Count Narses, and the president Leucadius, who had exerted themselves for

publicæ ærario, pene semper in expeditione atque procinctu bellorum civilium constitutus, facile excusabitur, quibuslibet occasionibus subsidia imperio paravisse. Ibid. p. 498.

[a] Ann. 387. n. vii.

[b] Interea episcopi, quorum communionem Martinus non inibat, trepidi ad Regem concurrunt, prædamnatos se conquerentes, actum esse de suo omnium statu, si Theognosti pertinaciam, qui eos solus palam latâ sententiâ condemnaverat, Martini armaret auctoritas.——Sed ille, licet Episcopis nimio favore esset obnoxius——aliâ longe viâ Sanctum vincere parat. Ac primo secreto accersitum blande appellat: hæreticos jure damnatos more judiciorum publicorum, potius quam insectationibus sacerdotum: non esse causam; quâ Ithacii, cæterorumque partis ejus communionem putaret esse damnandam: Theognostum odio potius, quam causâ fecisse discidium: eumdemque tamen solum esse, qui se a communione interim separârit: a reliquis nihil novatum. Quinetiam ante paucos dies habita synodus Ithacium pronuntiaverat culpâ non teneri. Quibus cum Martinus parum moveretur, Rex irâ accenditur, ac se de conspectu ejus abripuit. Et mox percussores his, pro quibus rogaverat, diriguntur. Dialog. 3. c. 12.

Quod ubi Martino compertum jam noctis tempore est, palatium inrupit. Spondet, si parceretur, se communicaturum; dummodo ut et Tribuni jam in excidium ecclesiarum in Hispanias missi retraherentur. Nec mora intercessit. Maximus indulget omnia. Postridie Felicis Episcopi ordinatio parabatur, sanctissimi sane viri, et plane digni qui meliore tempore sacerdos fieret. Hujus diei communionem Martinus iniit, satius æstimans ad horam cedere, quam his non consulere, quorum cervicibus gladius imminebat. Verum tamen summâ vi Episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem illam subscriptione firmaret, extorqueri non potuit. Postero die se inde proripiens, cum revertens in viâ mœstus ingemisceret, ad vel ad horam noxiæ communioni fuisse permixtum. Ib. c. xiii.

[c] Postridie palatium petit. Præter multas, quas evolvere longum est, has principales petitiones habebat: pro Narsete Comite, et Leucadio Præside, quorum ambo Gratiani partium erant, pertinacioribus studiis, quæ non est temporis explicare, iram victoris meriti. Illa præcipua cura, ne tribuni cum jure gladiorum ad Hispanias mitterentur. Pia enim erat solicitudo Martino, ut non solum Christianos, qui sub illâ erant occasione vexandi, sed ipsos etiam hæreticos liberaret. Dial. 3. c. xi.

'Gratian. But his principal care was, that tribunes might not be sent to Spain with power of 'the sword. For it was the kind concern of Martin, not only to save the catholics, who were in 'great danger to be harassed thereby, but the heretics also.' Which is a strong testimony to the iniquity of the proceedings of those times. It also shews, I think, that neither Martin, nor the historian Sulpicius, supposed the followers of Priscillian to be guilty of the things laid to their charge by Ithacius and his friends.

(2.) In 386 or 387 [a] Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was sent ambassador to Maximus by Valentinian the younger. When he was at Treves, he refused to communicate with the bishops there. In his letter to the emperor Valentinian he says: 'Maximus seeing [b] that I separated myself 'from the bishops of his communion, who also solicited the death of certain persons who erred 'from the faith, in great anger bid me depart immediately; which I was not unwilling to do. I 'was more concerned to see them sending into banishment the bishop Hyginus, an old man who 'had nothing left but the last breath. And when I desired his courtiers not to send away the 'old man without clothing, and other necessaries, I was sent away myself.' All that Ambrose says, therefore, of the Priscillianists is, that they 'erred from the faith.' And it is plain, he did not approve of putting them to death. And if this be Hyginus, bishop of Corduba, as is generally supposed, can it be imagined, that such a feeble old bishop should countenance the lewd conduct and principles, which were by some ascribed to Priscillian? No, for certain, he knew not of any such things taught and practised by Priscillian, or his followers; if he had, he would not have favoured them. And do we not here also evidently see the cruelty of the courtiers of Maximus, and of the bishops, by whom he was influenced?

(3.) Pacatus, a heathen, and therefore a disinterested man, of Gaul, and therefore well acquainted with these transactions, in his Panegyric pronounced at Rome in the presence of Theodosius the emperor, and the senate, in 389, about a year after the death of Maximus, among other instances of his mal-administrations, reckons this, of which he speaks in this manner: 'But [c] why do I stay to recount the deaths of so many men, when their cruelty was such as to 'spill the blood of women? For they practised the utmost rigour toward a sex that is usually 'spared even in war. And what were the causes of this barbarity? What were the crimes for 'which the widow of an illustrious poet was dragged to punishment with a hook? She had no 'other fault, but that of being too religious, and too exact in the worship of the Deity. And is 'it not fit, that these should be the greatest crimes, when bishops become accusers? for these 'were the informers in that affair, bishops by name, but indeed dragoons and executioners: who 'not content with having spoiled unhappy men of the estates of their ancestors, sought also their 'lives; and when they had made them poor, loaded them with crimes, that they might put them 'to death:' and what follows, which I transcribe below without translating. For here is enough to shew, that he did not think the charges brought against Priscillian and his followers to be true. Moreover, he afterwards calls them innocent men; and speaks of the covetousness of Maximus, as what disposed him to receive informations against men, that he might seize their estates. And what Pacatus says in the presence of Theodosius, and his court, may be supposed

[a] Tillemont (Les Priscillianistes, note x.) allows, that Ambrose was at Treves in 387: he says, that the execution of the Priscillianists was then over. But Basnage an. 387. n. vi. (who also says that Ambrose was with Maximus in 387) thinks it plain that the executions were still depending. Which affords a strong argument, that Priscillian was not put to death before 387. Undoubtedly Sulpicius knew the time very well; and, in the year 400, speaks of its being then fifteen years since that event: but fifteen may be used by him as a round number, and be equivalent to thirteen or fourteen.

[b] Postea, cum videret me abstinere ab episcopis, qui communicabant ei, vel qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebant; commotus eis jussit me sine morâ regredi. Ego vero libenter, etsi me plerique insidias evasurum non credebant, ingressus sum iter: hoc solo dolore percitus, quod Hyginum episcopum senem in exilium duci comperi, cui nihil jam nisi extremus superesset spiritus. Cum de eo convenirem comites ejus, ne sine veste, sine plumario, paterentur extrudi senem, extrusus ipsâ sum. Ambros. Epist. el. i. 24. T. ii. p. 891.

[c] De virorum mortibus loquor, cum descensum recorder ad sanguinem feminarum, et in sexum, cui bella parcunt, non parce sævitum? Sed nimirum graves suberant, invidiosæque causæ, ut unco ad pœnam clari vatis matrona raperetur. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobrabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta Divinitas. Quid hoc majus poterat intendere accusator sacerdos? Fuit enim fuit et hoc delatorum genus, qui nominibus antistites, reverâ autem satellites, atque adeo carnifices, non contenti miseros avitis evolvisse patrimoniis, calumniabantur in sanguinem, et vitas premebant reorum, jam pauperum. Quinetiam cum judiciis capitalibus astitissent, cum gemitus et tormenta miserorum auribus ac luminibus hausissent, cum lictorum arma, cum damnatorum fræna tractâssent, pollutas pœnali manus contactu ad sacra referebant, et cæremonias, quas incestaverant mentibus, etiam corporibus impiabant. Hos ille Phalaris in amicis habebat; hi in oculis ejus, atque etiam in osculis erant: nec injuriâ, a quibus tot simul votiva veniebant avaro divitum bona, cruento innocentium pœna, impio religionis injuria. Pacat. Paneg. Theod. cap. 29.

to be approved by them. Tillemont here observes, that [a] Pacatus was a heathen, and in what he says of Euchrocia, he only has an eye to the exterior profession which the Priscillianists made, of a very austere and retired course of life. Very right. This was their profession. Therefore their master had not taught them obscene doctrines, nor set them an example of extravagant indecency, by frequently praying naked with lewd women.

(4.) After the executions were over, Ithacius [b] was often blamed in conversation; and to excuse himself he would say, that he had acted according to the direction of others: which was not unlikely. And [c] it looks as if Sulpicius could have named some of them; but he judged it more prudent not to do so.

(5.) When Maximus had been put to death in 388, Ithacius and his party lost their principal support; and Ithacius was soon afterwards deposed. Prosper in his Chronicle, at the year next after that in which Maximus lost his life, says, 'that Ithacius [d] and Ursacius were deprived of 'the communion of the church, on account of the death of Priscillian, whose accusers they had been.' And Isidore of Seville, as before quoted,[e] says, that Idacius, together with Ursacius, was deprived of the communion of the church, and sent into banishment, where he died. But Sulpicius says, that [f] Ithacius was the only bishop that was deposed upon this account. He adds, 'Nardacius, though less guilty, of his own accord resigned his bishopric; which might be said to 'have been wisely, and modestly done, if he had not endeavoured to recover his lost station.' Who is this Nardacius, and who Ursacius, mentioned by Prosper and Isidore, is not certain. As Ursacius is never mentioned by Sulpicius, nor Nardacius any where else by him, some have thought, that hereby is meant Idacius. On the other hand, as many bishops had some concern in this affair and Idacius has not been mentioned lately by Sulpicius, Nardacius may be reckoned a different person. However that be, I suppose Sulpicius ought to be relied upon, that Ithacius only was now deposed.

(6.) Another thing, as I apprehend, manifesting the different judgments of men concerning this affair, is what Sulpicius says at the conclusion of his narration, of the perpetual feuds and contentions, which there had been among the catholics in Gaul for fifteen years past, from the time of those executions to the time of his finishing his history, in the year of our Lord 400. There were very few Priscillianists in Gaul; the divisions betwixt the bishops and other Christians in that country were owing, therefore, as seems probable, to different sentiments concerning this affair. Some vindicated the proceedings against Priscillian and his followers, others blamed them; and these disputes ran so high, that sometimes they could scarce communicate with one another. Ambrose, in the year 392, said [g] he had been oftentimes hindered from going into Gaul by the frequent divisions of the bishops there.

(7.) There are two councils, whose debates may probably afford some further light in this affair. The first is the council of Saragossa, mentioned by Sulpicius, and supposed to have been held in 380, or 381: in the decrees of this council several things are condemned; as [h] fasting on the Lord's day, and some other days usually reckoned festivals by the catholics; absenting

[a] C'est un Payen qui parle, et qui ne s' arrête qu' à la profession extérieure que faisoient les Priscillianistes d'une vie plus austère, et plus retirée. Les Priscill. Art. x. T. viii.

[b] Quod initio jure judiciorum et egregio publico defensum, postea Ithacius in jurgiis solitus, ad postremum convictus, in eos retorquebat, quorum id mandato et consiliis effecerat. H. S. l. ii. c. 51. p. 391.

[c] Maximus Imperator, alias sane bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum, post Priscilliani necem, Ithacium episcopum, Priscilliani accusatorem, cæterosque illius socios, quos nominari non est necesse, vi regiâ tuebatur, ne quis ei crimini daret, operâ illius cujuscumque modi hominem fuisse damnatum. —— Congregati apud Treviros episcopi tenebantur, qui quotidie communicantes Ithacio communem sibi caussam fecerant. Dial. 3. cap. xi. in.

[d] Ithacius et Ursacius Episcopi ob necem Priscilliani, cujus accusatores fuerant, Ecclesiæ communione privantur. Prosp. p. 389. Ap. Scalig. Thes. Temp.

[e] See note [e] p. 498.

[f] —— ad postremum convictus, in eos retorquebat, quorum id mandato et consiliis effecerat. Solus tamen omnium episcopatu detrusus est Nardacius, [f. Nam Idacius, 'Vorst.'] licet minus nocens, sponte se episcopatu abdicaverat. Sapienter id, et verecunde, nisi postea amissum locum repetere tentâsset. H. S. l. ii. c. 5. p. 392.

[g] —— propter quorum frequentes dissensiones crebo me excusaveram. De Obitu Valentin. n. 25. T. ii. p. 1181.

[h] Item Legit: ne quis jejunet Die Dominico.—Item legit: Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur in ecclesiâ non consumsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum.—— Item legit: Viginti et uno die, quo a 16 Kalendas Januarii usque in diem Ephiphaniæ, quæ est 8. Idus Januarii, continuis diebus, nulli liceat de ecclesiâ se absentare, nec latere in domibus, nec secedere ad villam, nec montes petere, nec nudis pedibus incedere, sed concurrere ad ecclesiam.—Item lectum est, ut hi per disciplinam, aut sententiam episcopi ab ecclesiâ fuerint separati, ab aliis episcopis non sint recipiendi. Item legit: si quis de clericis propter luxum, vanitatemque præsumtam, de officio sponte discesserit, ac velut observatorem legis monachum voluerit esse magis quam clericum, ita de ecclesiâ repellendum.—— Item lectum est: Ne quis doctoris sibi nomen imponat, præter has personas, quibus concessum est.—— Concil. Cæsaraugust. Ap. Labb. T. ii. p. 1009, 1010.

from church on these days; assembling in private houses and country places; receiving the eucharist, without consuming it [or swallowing it] at church; going barefoot; taking upon them the character of teachers, without authority; referring perhaps to Agape, Elpidius, and Priscillian, who was yet a layman: bishops receiving those who had been excommunicated; clergymen leaving their stations, and betaking themselves to a retired monastic kind of life, because of the luxury, or other faults observable among ecclesiastics. These, and some other such like things are forbidden, which may be reckoned erroneous or irregular. Here are no sentences of condemnation upon those who teach obscene doctrines, and practise gross indecencies: but here are intimations of pretensions to more than ordinary strictness and mortification. And, if I mistake not, the decrees of this council, and their silence about the shameful things imputed to Priscillian at his trial, very much confirm the conjecture formerly proposed to be considered; that no such things had been heard of, till they were invented by Ithacius, and others: who, when once they had begun to prosecute Priscillian before the civil magistrate, were too intent upon victory, as Sulpicius observed, and without any regard to truth, forged calumnies, and heaped upon him reproaches of infamous actions, till they gained their end, and had him executed.

The other council was held at Toledo, in the year 400, or thereabout; of which a sufficient account [a] may be seen in several authors, so far as relates to this affair. Here were reconciled to the church Symphosius and Dictinius, noted Priscillianists, and several others of that sect. It seems, that they two had been with Ambrose at Milan, to entreat his favourable interposition in their behalf: if that is not certain, it is however manifest, that Ambrose became their mediator, and proposed terms upon which they might be received. Ambrose died in 397. Why the affair was deferred is not known: but it appears from the acts of the council, that Simplician had then succeeded him in the see of Milan. Ambrose had proposed, that [b] they should be received to the peace of the church upon retracting their errors, and confessing the faults which they had been guilty of; and they were now received. Symphosius's Priscillianism had many aggravations; he [c] seems to have been a follower of Priscillian from the beginning, and to have declined the judgment of the council of Saragossa in 380. Moreover, the terms proposed by Ambrose were, that [d] for the present all should abide in the stations they were in, without alteration. Nevertheless, in the mean time, before those terms were accepted and executed, Symphosius had ordained Dictinius bishop, who before was only presbyter; which, he said, had been extorted from him by the importunate requests of the people. Symphosius likewise, or he and Dictinius together, had lately ordained in the vacant sees of the province of Galicia several bishops, who were in the Priscillianist scheme. In particular they had ordained Paternus bishop of Braga, the chief city of Galicia: who, however, now renounced Priscillianism before the council, having been convinced of his error, he said, since his ordination, by reading the works of Ambrose bishop of Milan.

Dictinius had been a forward Priscillianist; he had written several books much esteemed by the sect; particularly a book called Libra, the Pound, consisting of twelve parts or arguments, as the Roman pound had twelve ounces. Augustine [e] speaks of him and his book. I have put

[a] Baron. Ann. 405. n. xliii.—lix. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 405. n. xii.—xvii. Tillemont Les Priscillian. art. xiv. —xvii. T. viii. Beausobr. Diss. sur les Adamites. Part. ii. p. 377—379.

[b] Arduum nobis esset audire jam dictos. Literis tamen sanctæ memoriæ Ambrosii, quas post illud concilium ad nos miserat, Ut si condemnâssent quæ perperam egerant, et implêssent conditiones, quas præscriptæ literæ continebant, reverterentur ad pacem, [adde, quæ sanctæ memoriæ Siricius Papa suasisset] magnam nos constat præstitisse patientiam. Conc. Tolet. i. ap. Labbe. T. ii. p. 1230.

[c] Etsi diu deliberantibus verum, post Cæsaraugustanum Concilium, in quo sententia in certos quosque dicta fuerat, solâ tamen unâ die, præsente Symphosio, qui postmodum declinando sententiam præsens audire contemserat. Ibid.

—— In Synodo Cæsaraugustanâ, anno 381 adversus Priscillianum coactâ; cujus judicium declinâsse dicitur Symphosius in sententiâ Toletanæ i. Synodo, se subducens. Pagi Ann. 405. n. xiii.

[d] Cæterum extortum sibi de multitudine plebis, probaret Symphosius, ut ordinaret Dictinium Episcopum, quem sanctus Ambrosius decrevisset bonæ pacis locum tenere presbyterii, non accipere honoris augmentum. Confitentur etiam illud, quod alios per diversas ecclesias ordinâssent, quibus deerant sacerdotes; habentes hanc fiduciam, quod eum illis propemodum totius Galliciæ sentiret plebium multitudo. Ex quibus ordinatus est Paternus Bracarensis ecclesiæ episcopus. In hanc vocem confessionis primus erupit, et sectam Priscilliani se scisse, sed factum episcopum liberatum se ab eâ lectione librorum S. Ambrosii esse juraret. Conc. Tol. i. ibid.

[e] —— et Dictinii Episcopi —— famam laudare mordaciter. Est hoc tolerabilius adhuc, quia ille putatur fuisse catholicus, atque ex illo errore correctus—cum deinde Dictinii librum, cujus nomen est Libra, eo quod pertractatis duodecim quæstionibus, velut unciis explicatur, tantis extulerit laudibus, ut talem libram——multis librarum auri millibus pretiosiorem esse testetur. Contr. Mendac. ad Consent. cap. 3. n. 5. T. vi.

Quæ cum ita sint, quoniam nimis longum est omnia pertractare quæ in illâ Librâ Dictinii sunt posita, velut imitanda, exempla mentiendi. Ibid. cap. 17. n. 35. Vid. et cap. 21. n. 41.

some of his passages, where he speaks of them, in the margin. Pope Leo likewise speaks of Dictinius. He [a] complains of the Priscillianists, that they still read his writings, and followed his errors, though he had renounced them.

These two learned Priscillianist bishops, and leading men among them, Symphosius and Dictinius, were received by the catholics in the council of Toledo, upon abjuring their former errors, embraced by them, or advanced and promoted by them in their discourses or writings. Their form [b] of renunciation and confession I have placed below somewhat at large. In like wise was received Comasius, presbyter under Symphosius; his confession is in the passage just transcribed. Isonius [c] was also now received upon confession, who had lately been baptized and ordained bishop by Symphosius. In [d] like manner Vegetinus, who had been made bishop by the council of Saragossa.

From the reception of these ecclesiastics by the council, ariseth a strong argument, that the Priscillianists were not guilty of the evil practices laid to the charge of Priscillian, and generally imputed to Gnostics: if they had, they would not have been received upon renouncing their former errors: if that had been the case, I suppose they would have been deposed, and put into a state of penance, and declared incapable of ever holding any office in the church.

I would just take notice of one thing more, mentioned in the account of the acts of this council, relating to Herenas bishop of some place in Spain: that [e] all his clergy in general, without being asked, cried out aloud before the council, that Priscillian was a catholic and a holy martyr. Herenas himself likewise said the same, and that Priscillian had suffered persecution from the bishops of his time. Which judgment of his, the bishops of the council said, was a reflection upon many holy men, some deceased, others still living: they therefore declared Herenas, and his clergy, and divers other bishops adhering to him in that sentiment, to be deposed from their offices.

This serves to satisfy us of two things: First, that about thirteen or fourteen years after the event, the Priscillianists (and, it is likely, many others) were of opinion, that Priscillian had been falsely accused, and unjustly put to death. Secondly, it shews, that lewd principles and practices were no part of their religion: but they disapproved them, and reckoned the imputation of them to any man to be reproachful and dishonourable.

(8.) Once more, the testimony of Jerom in favour of Priscillian is not unworthy of our regard: for in his book of Illustrious Men, as cited at the beginning of this chapter, he says, that 'by 'means of the faction of Idacius and Ithacius, Priscillian had been put to death at Treves; that 'to that day he was accused by some as having been of the Gnostic heresy; whilst others defended 'him, saying, that he did not hold the opinions which had been imputed to him.' And in the next chapter he gives an account of Latronian and Tiberian of Bætica, two followers of Priscillian, and particularly commends the former for his learning and poetical writings. It is true, in

[a] Postremo autem capitulo hoc prodidit justâ querimoniâ, quod Dictinii tractatus, quos secundum Priscilliani dogma conscripsit, a multis cum veneratione legerentur: cum, si aliquid memoriæ Dictinii tribuendum putant, reparationem ejus magis debeant amare quam lapsum. Non ergo Dictinium, sed Priscillianum legunt; et illud probant quod errans docuit, non quod correctus elegit. Leon. Ep. 15. cap. xvi. al. ep. 93.

[b] Symphosius dixit: Juxta id quod paulo ante lectum est, in membranâ nescio quâ, in quâ dicebatur Filius innascibilis, hanc ego doctrinam, quæ aut duo principia dicit, aut Filium innascibilem, cum ipso auctore damno, qui scripsit.—Item dixit: Omnes libros hæreticos, et maxime Priscilliani doctrinam, juxta quod hodie lectum est, ubi innascibilem Filium scripsisse dicitur, cum ipso auctore damno. Comasius Presbyter dixit: Nemo dubitet, me cum domino meo episcopo sentire, et omnia damnare quæ damnavit, et nihil ejus præferre sapientiæ, nisi solum Deum.—Dictinius Episcopus dixit: Sequor sententiam domini mei, et patris mei, et genitoris et doctoris mei Symphosii. Quæcumque locutus est loquor.—Et idcirco omnia quæ Priscillianus aut male docuit, aut male scripsit, cum ipso auctore condemno. Ibid. p. 1229.

Post aliquanta.——Dictinius episcopus dixit: Audite me, optimi sacerdotes. Corrigite omnia.——Hoc enim in me reprehendo, quod dixerim unam Dei et hominis esse naturam. Item dixit: Ego non solum correctionem vestram rogo, sed et omnem præsumtionem meam de scriptis meis arguo atque condemno.——Item dixit:——Quæcumque conscripsi, omnia me toto corde respuere. In ead. pag. sub in.

[c] Item Isonius nuper baptizatum se a Symphosio, et episcopum factum, hoc se tenere, quod in præsenti concilio Symphosius professus est, respondit. Ibid. p. 1230.

[d] Vegetinus vero, olim ante Cæsaraugustanum concilium Episcopus factus, similiter libros Priscilliani cum auctore damnaverat, ut de cæteris acta testantur. Ibid.

Vegetinum autem, in quem nulla specialiter dicta fuerat ante sententia, datâ professione, quam synodus accepit, statuimus communioni nostræ esse reddendum. Ib. p. 1231. in.

[e] Herenas clericos suos sequi maluerat, qui sponte, nec interrogati, Priscillianum catholicum, sanctumque Martyrem clâmassent; atque ipse usque ad finem catholicum hunc esse dixisset, persecutionem ab episcopis passum. Quo dicto omnes sanctos, jam plurimos quiescentes, aliquos hac luce durantes, suo judicio deduxerit in reatum. Hunc cum his omnibus, tam suis clericis, quam diversis episcopis, hoc est, Benito, Acurio, Emilio; qui ab eorum professione recedente, maluissent sequi consortium perditorum, decernimus ab sacerdotio submovendum. Ib. p. 1230, 1231.

another work, written about the year 415, he says, that[a] Priscillian had been condemned by the civil magistrate, and by the judgment of all the world: which has led some to say, that Jerom was now better informed concerning the Priscillianists, than when he wrote the former work in 392. But,[b] as Quenell says, Jerom could not be then ignorant of the affairs of the church. That learned man therefore would suppose, that the chapter in the book of Illustrious Men had been interpolated. To which Du Pin well answers, that[c] conjecture, though unsupported by any manuscript, might have been of some moment, if it were not well known, that Jerom has oftentimes spoken very differently of one and the same person. The case, I think, is this: in the book of Illustrious Men he writes with the calmness of an historian; in the other he is out of humour and [illegible] in the heat of controversy. We may then be well assured, that in the year 392, when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, there were different opinions among men concerning Priscillian; and that there were some, who did not allow him to have held the opinions imputed to him, or to have been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge.

We may therefore, I think, after this long discussion of the affair, and after weighing what can be said on both sides, assent to the judgment of that wise and good man, Martin, bishop of Tours, who lived at that time, who was several times at the court of Maximus, before and after the trial of Priscillian, and was well acquainted with the bishops chiefly concerned in that prosecution. He said, 'It was sufficient, and more than sufficient, that being convicted of heresy by 'the bishops, they should be turned out of the church.' And when that was done, I presume, they ought to have been allowed to live quietly in the world, and to worship God in separate assemblies, in their own way, under the protection of the civil government. Which likewise may be supposed to have been Martin's intention: for, as it seems, neither he, nor his disciple and historian Sulpicius, approved, that magistrates should interpose in things of religion. They therefore did not like, that civil penalties should be inflicted upon erroneous Christians, but only church-censures: and it is likely, that they judged this method to be most conducive to the interests of religious truth. They hoped, that by such censures, men might be awakened to consideration; and that by reasons and arguments, calmly proposed, they who had been seduced, might be convinced of their error, brought back to the catholic church, and to the acknowledgement of the right faith.

VIII. Hitherto we have chiefly considered the origin of this sect, and the history of its author, and his first followers, with their sufferings, as related by Sulpicius, who has given but a very general account of their opinions. And it may be expected, that some farther notice should be taken of these by us.

1. There is no account of this sect in Epiphanius. Fabricius[d] indeed has referred us for a knowledge of them to Epiphanius and Damascenus; but it is a mistake of that excellent man, through haste. Epiphanius speaks there only of the Montanists, sometimes called Priscillians from Priscilla, one of Montanus's prophetesses; and Damascenus's article in the place referred to is only Epiphanius's summary or recapitulation. Quesnell[e] says, Epiphanius takes no notice of this sect. The reason, he thinks, may be, that he did not distinguish it from the Gnostic or Manichæan, with whom the Priscillianists very much agreed. But I should think that there is another very obvious reason of Epipanius's silence, and more likely to be the true reason: which is, that this sect did not become famous, till after Epiphanius had finished his work. Nor are they expressly mentioned by Philaster; whether he has quite omitted them, will be considered hereafter. However, there are several writers, which may be of use to us, beside Sulpicius Severus, the historian already transcribed: Augustine has a long article concerning them in his book Of Heresies; Orosius, of Spain, sent or delivered to Augustine a Memoir or Commonitorium relating to them. And other writers have mentioned them.

2. Augustine at the beginning of his article concerning them, which I transcribe below, says, 'The[f] Priscillianists, followers of Priscillian of Spain, have a mixture of the doctrines of the 'Gnostics and Manichees, together with errors borrowed likewise from other heresies.'

[a] Quid loquar de Priscilliano, qui et seculi gladio, et totius orbis auctoritate damnatus est? Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 4.

[b] Vir, nihil eorum, quæ in Ecclesiâ gerebantur, ignarus. Quesnell. Not. et Observation. in Leon Ep. xv. p. 448.

[c] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 241.

[d] De Priscilliano —— ejusque hæresi —— Epiphanius et Damascenus hæresi 49. Fabric. not. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 121. Ap. Bib. Ec.

[e] De hac hæresi nihil apud Epiphanium, qui forte eam a Gnosticorum, Manichæorum, aliorumque sectis, quibuscum pleraque habebant Priscillianistæ communia, non distinxit. Quesn. Not. et Observ. in Ep. xv. S. Leon. p. 447.

[f] Priscillianistæ, quos in Hispaniâ Priscillianus instituit,

3. Let that suffice for his general character of this people. I shall now add some particulars though not in the order in which they lie in Augustine.

4. I therefore in the first place observe their opinion concerning the scriptures. 'In which respect,' he says, 'they are more cunning than the Manichees; for they reject not any part of 'the canonical scriptures, but receive them all, and endeavour to support themselves by their 'authority. And when any texts are alleged against them, they strive to evade them by allego- 'rical interpretations. They likewise use apocryphal scriptures, and argue from them in favour 'of their opinions.'

5. And in divers places, Augustine speaks to the like purpose, saying, that [b] they receive all the canonical scriptures entire; using also apocryphal books. And says, whatever is objected against them from scripture, they evade sometimes by cunning and artful, at other times by ridiculous and stupid interpretations. He also observes, that [c] they had a hymn, said by them to be the hymn which Christ sung at the last supper with the disciples. He moreover says, that hymn was to be found in apocryphal scriptures, not peculiar to the Priscillianists, but used by other heretics likewise. A main [d] part, if not the whole of that hymn, may be seen in Augustine's letter to Ceretius just quoted. What respect they had for that, or other apocryphal scriptures, is not very clear; there does not appear any thing heterodox in that hymn; they owned it was not in the canonical scriptures, and they [e] explained it by them, and agreeably to them.

6. Orosius, Augustine's friend, and of Spain, says, that [f] the Priscillianists, differing from the Manichees, endeavour to support their doctrine by the scriptures of the Old, as well as of the New Testament. He also says, they [g] had a book entitled the Memoir, or Memoirs of the Apostles: in which, possibly, the above-mentioned hymn was inserted.

7. Priscillian is one of those heretics, who, as Vincent of Lerins [h] says, in almost every page of their works insert quotations of the books of the Old or New Testament.

8. Pope Leo, with a partiality well becoming a man that uses authority in things of religion, and loves to make the worst of every thing relating to those called heretics, says, the [i] Priscillianists pretend to receive the books of the Old Testament. However, he cannot deny, but that therein they differ from the Manichees. As [k] for their apocryphal books, he not only prohibits them, but directs also, that they should be sought for, and burnt.

9. Turibius bishop of Astorga in Spain, who [l] is supposed to have flourished about the year 447, speaks [m] of their using apocryphal scriptures, the same with those used by the Manichees;

Maxime Gnosticorum et Manichæorum dogmata permixta sectantur. Quamvis et ex aliis hæresibus in eos sordes, tamquam in sentinam quamdam, horribili confusione confluxerint. De Hær. cap. 70. T. viii.

[a] Hoc versutiores etiam Manichæis, quod nihil Scripturarum Canonicarum repudiant, simul cum Apocryphis legentes omnia, et in auctoritatem sumentes, sed, in suos sensus allegorizando, vertentes quidquid in sanctis libris est, quod eorum evertat errorem. Ibid.

[b] Priscillianistæ vero accipiunt omnia et canonica et apocrypha simul. Sed quæcumque, quæ contra eos sunt, in suæ perversitatis sensus aliquando callidâ et astutâ, aliquando ridiculâ et hebeti expositione pervertunt. Ad Ceret. ep. 237. n. 3. T. ii.

[c] Hymnus sane, quem dicunt esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui maxime permovit venerationem tuam, in scripturis solet apocryphis inveniri. Quæ non proprie Priscillianistarum sunt, sed alii quoque hæretici eis nonnullarum sectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur, inter se quidem diversa sentientes: ——sed scripturas istas habent in suâ diversitate communes, easque illi præcipue frequentare assolent, qui Legem vetêrem et Prophetas non recipiunt. Ibid. n. 2.

[d] Habes verba eorum in illo codice ita posita: 'Hymnus Domini, quem dixit secrete sanctis Apostolis discipulis suis, quia scriptum est in Evangelio: Hymno dicto adscendit in montem.'——[Matt. xxvi. 30.] Ibid. n. 4.

[e] Deinde, quid caussæ est, ut eumdem hymnum isti secundum scripturas canonicas conentur exponere? Ibid. n. 5.

[f] Priscillianus, primum in eo Manichæis miserior, quod ex Veteri quoque Testamento hæresim confirmavit. Oros. Comm. ad Augustin. n. 2. T. viii.

[g] Et hoc ipsum confirmant ex libro quodam, qui inscribitur Memoria Apostolorum: ubi Salvator interrogari a discipulis videtur secreto, et ostendere, quia de parabolâ Evangelicâ, quæ habet: 'Exiit seminans seminare semen suum.' [Matt. xiii. 3.] Ibid.

[h] Lege Pauli Samosateni opuscula, Priscilliani, Eunomii, Joviniani, reliquarumque pestium: cernas infinitam exemplorum congeriem, prope nullam omitti paginam, quæ non Novi aut Veteris Testamenti sententiis fucata et colorata sit. Vincent. Comm. p. 356. Paris. 1669.

[i] ——Quia etsi Vetus Testamentum, quod isti se suscipere simulant, Manichæi refutant, ad unum tamen finem utrorumque tendit intentio; cum quod isti abdicando impugnant, isti recipiendo corrumpunt. Ad Turib. ep. 15. cap. 16. p. 280.

[k] Apocryphæ autem scripturæ, quæ sub nominibus Apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solum interdicendæ, sed etiam penitus auferendæ sunt, atque ignibus concremandæ. Quamvis enim sint in illis quædam, quæ videantur speciem habere pietatis, numquam tamen vacua sunt venenis, et per fabularum illecebras hoc latenter operantur, ut mirabilium narratione seductos laqueis cujuscumque erroris involvant. Ibid. cap. 15.

[l] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 440. et Tillemont. S. Leon. art. xvii.—xix. Tom. xv.

[m] —— specialiter autem Actus illos, qui vocantur S. Andreæ; vel illos, qui appellantur S. Joannis, quos sacrilego Leucius ore conscripsit; vel illos, qui dicuntur S. Thomæ, et his similia; ex quibus Manichæi, et Priscillianistæ, vel quæcumque illis est secta germana, omnem hæresim suam confirmare nituntur; et maxime ex blasphemissimo illo libro, qui vocatur Memoria Apostolorum, in quo ad magnam perversi-

as the Acts of Andrew, Thomas, and John: and he particularly mentions the Memoir of the apostles, taken notice of by Orosius.

10. According to Jerom[a] the Priscillianists made use of apocryphal books of the Old, as well as of the New Testament; particularly, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Revelation of Eliae.

11. It must therefore, I think, be allowed, that the Priscillianists, beside the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament, made use of apocryphal books: what respect they had for them, is not certain; but from these testimonies it may be reckoned probable, that they shewed them a good deal of respect, more than catholics generally did: though after all, they need not to be supposed to have equalled them to those scriptures, which are usually called canonical. This then was their doctrine concerning the scriptures.

12. By several they are said to have held the Sabellian doctrine concerning the Deity. So[b] Augustine in his book of Heresies, and[c] elsewhere; so likewise[d] Orosius. It is the last particular in Orosius's Memoir, and in Augustine's chapter concerning the Priscillianists in his book of Heresies: but it makes the first[e] in Pope Leo's letter concerning the errors of the Priscillianists written in the year 447.

13. Pope Leo presently afterwards[f] charges them with agreeing with the Arians in their sentiment concerning the person of Christ: whether consistently, or not, let others determine.

14. They are supposed to have had some doctrine concerning the innascibility of Christ: we[g] see it in the confessions of those who renounced Priscillianism before the council of Toledo, and returned to the catholics. Pope[h] Leo seems not to have understood the meaning of this, though it be one of his articles of accusation against them, and he talks a good deal about it. I do not perceive Orosius or Augustine to say any thing distinctly about this point.

15. They had also some opinions concerning the soul, which were disliked by many of the catholics. They[i] are said to have held, that the soul was consubstantial to the Deity: so says Leo; nor is this denied, but supposed to be their opinion, both[k] by Orosius and Augustine. To the like purpose Jerom,[l] in a passage which I transcribe below; shewing, that there were among Christians, as well as among the philosophers, different opinions concerning the origin of the soul.

16. Farther, Pope Leo adds, It[m] was also said, that they believed the pre-existence of human souls, and that they had sinned in heaven, before they were sent into bodies. And[n] Orosius

tatis suæ auctoritatem doctrinam Domini mentiuntur. Turib. cap. v. ap. S. Leon. p. 232.

[a] Ascensio enim Isaïæ et Apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habent testimonium. Et per hanc occasionem, multaque hujusmodi, Hispaniarum et Lusitaniæ deceptæ sunt mulierculæ, &c. In Is. cap. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473, 474. Conf. ad Theodor. ep. 53. al. 29. p. 581. T. iv.

[b] De Christo Sabellianam sectam tenent, eumdem ipsum esse dicentes, non solum Filium, sed etiam Patrem, et Spiritum Sanctum. De Hær. cap. 70.

[c] Contra quam veritatem Priscillianus Sabellianum antiquum dogma restituit, ubi ipse Pater qui Filius, qui et Spiritus Sanctus perhibetur. Ad. Oros. cap. 4. T. viii.

[d] Trinitatem autem solo verbo loquebatur. Nam unionem absque ullâ existentiâ aut proprietate asserens—Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, hunc esse unum Christum dicebat. Oros. Comm. ap. S. Aug. T. viii.

[e] Primo itaque capitulo demonstratur, quam impie sentiant de Trinitate, qui et Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, unam atque eamdem asserunt esse personam, tamquam idem Deus nunc Pater, nunc Filius, nunc Spiritus Sanctus nominetur. Ep. 15. cap. i. p. 227.

[f] In secundo capitulo ostenditur ineptum vanumque commentum de processionibus quarumdam virtutum ex Deo. ——In quo Arianorum suffragantur errori, dicentium, quod Pater Filio prior sit.—Ibid. cap. 2.

[g] Symphosius episcopus dixit: ——Hanc ego doctrinam, quæ, aut duo principia dicit, aut Filium innascibilem, cum ipso auctore damno, qui scripsit. Concil. Tolet. i. ap. Labb. Conc T. ii. p. 1229. Vid. et supr. not.[m] p. 477, 478.

[h] Tertii vero capituli sermo designat, quod iidem impii asserant, ideo Unigenitum dici Filium Dei, quia solus sit natus ex virgine. Quod utique non auderent dicere, nisi Pauli Samosateni et Photini virus hausissent: qui dixerunt, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, antequam nasceretur ex virgine Mariâ, non fuisse. Si autem isti aliud de suo sensu intelligi volunt, neque principium de matre dant Christo: asserant necesse est, non unum esse Filium Dei.——Quoquoversum igitur se contulerint, in magnæ tendunt impietatis abruptum. ——Ib. cap. 3.

[i] Quinto capitulo refertur, quod animam hominis, divinæ asserant esse substantiæ, nec a naturâ Creatoris sui conditionis nostræ distare naturam. Quam impietatem, ex Philosophorum quorumdam et Manichæorum opinione manantem, catholica fides damnat. Ib. cap. v. p. 228.

[k] Vid. Aug. ad Oros. cap. i. et iv. T. viii.

[l] Super animæ statu memini vestræ quæstiunculæ, imo maximæ ecclesiasticæ quæstionis: Utrum lapsa de cœlo sit, ut Pythagoras Philosophus, omnesque Platonici, et Origenes, putant; an a propria Dei substantia, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hispana Priscilliani hæresis suspicantur; an in thesauro habeantur Dei, olim conditæ, ut quidam ecclesiastici stultâ persuasione confidunt; an quotidie a Deo fiant, ut mittantur in corpora;—an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinaris, et maxima pars Occidentalium autumant, &c. Ad Marcellin. et Anaps. ep. 78. al. 82. T. iv. p. 642.

[m] Decimo autem capitulo feruntur asserere, animas, quæ humanis corporibus inseruntur, fuisse sine corpore, et in cœlesti habitatione peccâsse. Leo. ib. c. 10.

[n] —— docens animam, quæ a Deo nata sit, de quodam

and[a] Augustine both speak of their believing the pre-existence of human souls, and their descent from heaven, through several regions, into bodies allotted to them. But they do not say, that they supposed those souls to have sinned in their pre-existent state.

17. Another opinion ascribed to them by Pope Leo is, that the[b] sons of promise are born of women, but conceived by the Holy Spirit. I do not observe this in Orosius, or Augustine: perhaps it is a consequence, which some deduced from their principles. Whether allowed by them, may not be certain; nor is it very intelligible: and perhaps there is nothing heretical in it.

18. Several other opinions are imputed to them: whether rightly, or not, cannot be certainly said, as we have none of their writings; and what their enemies say is not easy to be understood. However, I observe farther,

19. Pope Leo says, they[c] fasted on the day of Christ's nativity, and on the Lord's-day; which may be true, so far as I know: and though herein was an irregularity, yet in their way they honoured those days. Moreover, I think, it ought to be allowed, that this adds not any credit to the charge of licentiousness.

20. Another article imputed to them is a disadvantageous opinion of marriage. Pope Leo says, 'They[d] condemn marriage, and the procreation of children: in which, as in almost every 'thing else, they agree with the Manichees. And, as their manners shew, they therefore dislike 'marriage, because of the confinement of that state, and it is an obstruction to lewdness.'

21. Augustine expresseth himself to this purpose: 'With[e] regard to diet, they look upon 'the flesh of animals as impure. Where this sect prevails, it is a common thing with them to 'separate men from their wives, and women from their husbands, without mutual consent. For 'all fleshly productions, they ascribe not to the good and true God, but to malignant angels.'

This, probably, was the reason of their disliking marriage: and they must consequently have condemned fornication, and every kind of uncleanness.

22. Pope Leo says, 'that upon this head the Priscillianists agreed with the Manichees.' We have no writings of Priscillianists, to give us light, and but very imperfect accounts of their opinions: concerning the Manichees we have fuller information; and we can be satisfied, that as they had a disadvantageous notion of marriage, they absolutely condemned fornication, and such like things. This I suppose so have been made out[f] formerly; I would now confirm it by a passage of Faustus not yet alleged: 'We[g] do not think,' says that Manichean bishop, 'that 'the lives and manners of robbers are to be approved, because Jesus shewed mercy to a robber 'on the cross; or that we are to approve the lives of publicans and harlots, because Christ 'declared their sins to be forgiven, and that they went into the kingdom of heaven before those 'who behaved proudly. For when he absolved a woman taken in adultery, whom the Jews 'brought before him, he said to her, "Go, and sin no more."' And Pope Gregory the first, surnamed the great, as well as Leo, says; the[h] Manichees condemned marriage, because they had observed virginity to be commended in the sacred oracles. If therefore the Priscillianists condemned marriage, it may be supposed, that they went upon the like grounds with the Mani-

promtuario procedere, profiteri ante Deum, se pugnaturam, instrui adhortatu angelorum; dehinc descendentem per quosdam circulos a principatibus malignis capi, et secundum voluntatem victoris principis in corpora diversa contrudi, eisque adscribi chirographum. Oros. Comm. ap. Aug. T. viii.

[a] Hi animas dicunt ejusdem naturæ atque substantiæ, cujus est Deus, ad agonem quemdam spontaneum in terris exercendum, per septem cœlos, et per quosdam gradatim descendere principatus, et in malignum principem incurrere, a quo istum mundum factum volunt, atque ab hoc principe per diversa carnis corpora seminari, &c. De Hær. cap. 70.

[b] Non autem annotatio manifestat, quod filios promissionis ex mulieribus quidem natos, sed ex Spiritu Sancto dicant esse conceptos. Ibid. cap. 9.

[c] Quarto autem capitulo continetur, quod Natalem Christi ——non vere isti honorent, sed honorare simulent, jejunantes eodem die, sicut et die Dominico, qui est dies resurrectionis Christi. Ubi supr. c. 4.

[d] Septimo loco sequitur, quod nuptias damnant, et procreationem nascentium perhorrescunt. In quo, sicut pene in omnibus, cum Manichæorum profanitate concordant. Ideo, sicut eorum mores probant, conjugalem copulam detestantur: quia non est illic libertas turpitudinis, ubi pudor et matrimonii servatur et sobolis. Ib. cap. 7.

[e] Carnes, tamquam immundas, esca ipsa devitat. Conjuges, quibus hoc malum potuit persuadere, disjungens, et viros a nolentibus feminis, et feminas a nolentibus viris. Opificium enim omnis carnis non Deo bono et vero, sed malignis angelis tribuunt. Hær. 70. T. viii.

[f] P. 159, 160.

[g] —— Sed tamen non idcirco dicemus, et latronum vitas et mores nobis probabiles esse debere, quia Jesus latroni indulgentiam dederit: aut quia publicanis ignoverit errata, dixeritque, quod etiam præcederent ipsi ad regnum cœlorum eos qui superbe segesserunt. In injustitiâ namque et in adulterio deprehensam mulierum quamdam, Judæis accusantibus, absolvit ipse, præcipiens ei, ut jam peccare desineret. Faust. l. 33. cap. i. ap. Augustin. T. viii.

[h] Quia autem in sacro eloquio Manichæus virginitatem laudari comperit, conjugia damnavit. Jovinianus, quia concedi conjugia cognovit, virginitatis munditiam despexit. Gregor. Moral. in Job. l. xix. c. 18. T. i. p. 618. D.

chees: and if they judged marriage itself not sufficiently pure, they loudly condemned fornication, and all sins of the flesh.

IX. We are now led to the consideration of two branches of immorality charged upon the Priscillianists, by some writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. One is lying, to conceal their principles; the other is the practice of impurity: I shall transcribe in the margin these charges as expressed by Augustine and Jerom; afterwards I shall take notice of what is said by Pope Leo: and if I speak to both these charges together, for the sake of brevity, I hope it will not be taken amiss.

1. Of their falsehood Augustine speaks in the article[a] for this sect, in his book of Heresies and in another work. He says, they approved of lying, to conceal from others their real principles and actions: they were said to have this among the rules of their sect, Swear, forswear: but never betray a secret.

2. Augustine[c] speaks of lewd women among the Priscillianists.

3. Jerom[d] speaks of the Priscillianists, as practising lewdness in a very shameful manner.

But there are considerations, which may dispose us to think, that here is some misrepresentation or aggravation of both these points.

(1.) It is very likely, that the charge of falsehood against these people, as well as of impurity, was partly owing to their being reckoned a branch of the Gnostics, to whom such things were generally imputed. A passage of Sulpicius, which[e] I place below, may justify this supposition.

(2.) Augustine seems not to have full proof of the falsehood, which he imputes to them. He says, it was reported of them, and it had been confirmed by some who had once been of the sect and had left them. But the testimony of such persons I take to be of little or no value; some such people might be willing to say any thing, to ingratiate themselves with their new friends.

(3.) There were martyrs among the Priscillianists, as[f] Augustine allows. Therefore, probably, there were seasons, when they reckoned themselves obliged to declare the truth: though at other times, from prudential considerations, they might judge it proper to be upon the reserve, as indeed most people will think, who lie under difficulties and discouragements.

(4.) Augustine himself acquits them of excessive lewdness. For he says, 'A[g] more impure 'sect, possibly, may be found; but never were there any men comparable to them for falsehood.'

(5.) According to Augustine, the Priscillianists had an argument in behalf of lying from Thamar. Whereupon he says, 'Why[h] do they think, that Thamar is to be imitated when she 'lied, and that Judah may not be imitated in the commission of uncleanness?' Augustine therefore knew very well, that the Priscillianists did not approve of fornication, or adultery, or any other such sins of the flesh.

(6.) Jerom, in his letter to Ctesiphon, speaks of[i] Priscillianism as a doctrine of perfection, and that they pretended to uncommon degrees of knowledge and holiness. If therefore they transgressed, it was not by principle, but through infirmity, and the force of sudden temptation, as the men of other sects too often do.

(7.) In another work he speaks of the Priscillianists, as[k] asserting, that with due care men may arrive at such perfection, as to be free from sin, even in thought. They who had this

[a] Propter occultandas autem contaminationes et turpitudines suas habent in suis dogmatibus et hæc verba: Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli. De Hær. cap. 70. T. viii.

[b] Possunt enim aliqui hæretici reperiri fortasse immundiores. Sed nullus istis fallacia comparatur. Alii quippe, ut sunt hominum vitia, de hujus vitæ consuetudine vel infirmitate mentiuntur. Isti autem in ipsâ nefariâ doctrinâ hæresis suæ præceptum habere perhibentur, ut occultandorum dogmatum suorum causâ etiam falsâ juratione mentiantur. Hi, qui eos experti sunt, et ipsorum fuerant, atque ab eis Dei misericordiâ liberati sunt, etiam verba ipsa præcepti hujus ista commemorant: Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli. Ep. 237. al. 253. n. 3. T. ii.

[c] Quod si enim ex numero Priscillianistarum impudicarum aliqua feminâ injiciat oculum in catholicum Joseph. Contr. Mendac. ad Consent. cap. vii. n. 17. T. vi.

[d] Priscillianus in Hispaniâ, pars Manichæi (de turpitudine cujus te discipuli diligunt plurimum) soli cum solis clauduntur mulierculis, et illud eis inter coïtum amplexusque decantant, —Qui quidem partem habent Gnosticæ hæreseos de Basilidis impietate venientem. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 476.

[e] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnosticorum hæresis intra Hispanias deprehensa, superstitio exsecrabilis, arcanis occultata secretis. Hist. Sa. l. ii. c. 46. al. 61. in.

[f] —Exsecrantur Priscillianistarum falsa martyria. Contr. Mendac. cap. v. n. 9. T. vi.

[g] See before note [b]

[h] Cur autem isti imitandum sibi Thamar existimant mentientem, et imitandum Judam non existimant fornicantem? Contr. Mendac. cap. xiv. n. 30. T. vi.

[i] Priscillianus in Hispaniâ, pars Manichæi—verbum perfectionis et scientiæ sibi vindicantes. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. p. 476. in.

[k] —— ut præteream Manichæum, Priscillianum,—quorum omnino ista sententia est: posse ad perfectionem, et non dicam ad similitudinem, sed æqualitatem Dei humanam virtutem et scientiam pervenire; ita ut asserant se ne cogitatione quidem et ignorantiâ, quum ad consummationis culmen ascenderunt, posse peccare. Adv. Pelag. Dial i. T. iv. p. 484. in.

notion, must have aimed at perfection, and could not by principle indulge themselves in evil actions.

(8.) I do not observe Orosius, in the account which he gives Augustine of the Priscillianists, to charge them either with falsehood or lewdness.

X. We now proceed to Pope Leo; for I have thought it worth the while to place him by himself, and to consider distinctly what he says; I[a] therefore transcribe him largely below. The sum of what he says is this: 'The Priscillianists agree with the Manichees in sentiments, and 'consequently in practice. Wicked and obscene mysteries had been proved upon the Manichees; 'and therefore they were also used by the Priscillianists. Moreover, such things had been proved 'upon the Priscillianists in former times.'

In answer to which I say: 1. I am of opinion, that obscene mysteries never were proved upon the Manichees by Pope Leo, or any others. And I would willingly refer to what I have [illegible] already observed relating to this point in[b] this volume, and particularly to the Remarks upon Mr. Bower's account of the Manichees.[c] 2. Supposing such things to have been proved concerning the Manichees, it does not follow, that they may be righteously ascribed to the Priscillianists. For allowing the Priscillianists to have agreed with the Manichees in some of their peculiarities, it cannot be thence reasonably concluded, that they embraced them all: yea it is apparent, that they differed from them, and in a material point, receiving the scriptures of the Old Testament: not now to mention any thing else. 3. Pope Leo says, obscene mysteries had been proved upon the Priscillianists in former times; referring, I suppose, to the trial of Priscillian and his friends. To which I answer: I am of opinion, that they were not then proved upon Priscillian nor his followers; and of this let every one judge, who has perused the preceding part of this chapter. 4. I think, it appears, that Pope Leo had not any positive proof, that the Priscillianists used obscene mysteries, or practised any wickedness by principle: for he alleges not any such proof; and founds his charges against them upon their supposed agreement with the Manichees, and the transactions of former times.

XI. As yet I have taken nothing from Philaster, because the Priscillianists are no where mentioned by him under that name. But he has an article of heretics, whom he calls Abstinents, which[d] I shall now transcribe at the bottom of the page.

It is the opinion of[e] Fabricius, and[f] Tillemont, that the Priscillianists are the heretics here intended by Philaster.

What he says is briefly this: That in Gaul, and Spain, and Aquitain, there was a sort of Abstinents, a branch of the Gnostics and Manichees, who dissolved marriages without mutual consent, and enjoined abstinence from some kinds of food. And he shews the inconveniences of the former of those doctrines, and confutes it by texts of scripture, as he does also the latter. He moreover says, that they captivated many people.

Whenever this article was written by Philaster, it tends greatly to wipe off some aspersions

[a] In exsecrabilibus autem mysteriis eorum, quæ quanto immundiora sunt, tanto diligentius occulantur, unum prorsus nefas est, una est obscœnitas, et similis turpitudo. Quam etsi eloqui erubescimus, solicitissimis tamen inquisitionibus indagatam, et Manichæorum, qui comprehensi sunt, confessione detectam, ad publicam fecimus pervenire notitiam —Quod autem de Manichæorum fœdissimo scelere, hoc etiam de Priscillianistarum incestissimâ consuetudine olim compertum, multumque vulgatum est. Qui enim per omnia sunt impietate sensuum pares, non possunt in sacris suis esse dissimiles. Ep. 15. cap. 16. p. 230, 231.

[b] P. 158—160. [c] P. 240—243.

[d] Sunt in Galliis, et Hispaniis, et Aquitaniâ, veluti Abstinentes, qui et Gnosticorum et Manichæorum particulam perniciosissimam æque sequuntur, eamdemque non dubitant prædicare: separantes persuasionibus conjugia hominum, et escarum abstinentiam promittentes, quæ non ex legis præcepto, sed promotionis cœlestis, et dignitatis causâ voluntati hominum talis a Christo concessa est gratia. Dicit enim Dominus Petro: 'Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum' Matt. xix. 11.] Et iterum idem Dominus ait: 'Qui dimiserit uxorem suam sine causâ criminis, facit eam mœchari.' [ib. ver. 9.] Aliud est itaque consensu communi hoc fieri, laudis causâ majoris consequendæ a Domino, et aliud contra legem suadere, contraque amborum facere voluntatem. Et iterum: 'Qui non manducat, manducantem non spernat: et qui manducat, non manducantem non judicet.' [Rom. xiv. 3.] Quod ex voluntate est itaque, laudis est amplioris, immo potius mercedis cœlestis est desiderium. Quod autem extra legem est, non a Deo Christo est tractum, sed inani hominum præsumtione et errore inventum. Scriptum est enim, 'Do vobis omnia edere, sicut fœnum.' [Gen. ix. 3.] Hoc autem ideo faciunt, ut escas paulatim spernentes, dicant eas non esse bonas, et ita non a Deo hominibus escæ causâ fuisse concessas sed a Diabolo factas ut adserant, ita sentiunt. Inque hoc jam creaturam non a Deo creatam, sed a Diabolo eam factam prædicare nituntur. Perque hoc mendacium multorum animas captivârunt. Philast. H. 84. Abstinentes.

[e] Perspicuum vero est a Philastrio perstringi Priscillianistas, qui circa A. C. 380. proferre se cœperunt. Fabric. annot. in Philast. p. 161.

[f] Si les hérétiques qu' il nomme Abstinens sont les Priscillianistes, comme il y a assez d' apparence, il n' a écrit, qu' après l' an 380, auquel cette hérésie commença à éclater dans l'Espagne. S. Philastre. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

which were cast upon the Priscillianists. Their distinguishing character was not licentiousness, but rigour and abstinence: this was their profession, this their outward appearance; and thereby they gained upon many people. If this article of Philaster was written soon after the rise of Priscillianism, and before the trial of Priscillian at Treves, (which may be reckoned very probable) it confirms the conjecture mentioned some while ago; that the charges brought against him were first invented about that time.

The only two articles imputed to these Abstinents by Philaster, are their rigid doctrines about marriage and diet. These, as I apprehend, first induced men to call them Manichees: and having once given them that denomination, or said that they were a branch of the Gnostics and Manichees, men were led to ascribe to them all the enormities, which were generally imputed to those people.

XII. Upon the whole, from what has passed before us in this chapter, I think it appears, that the Priscillianists received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which were generally received by other Christians. They likewise made use of apocryphal books; but what respect they had for them cannot be now clearly determined. Some ecclesiastics, who went under this denomination, are represented, from an ill-judged zeal and without sufficient reason, to have deserted their stations in the church, to betake themselves to a retired and solitary course of life. They had errors concerning the soul, and some other matters. They seem to have had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and thereby sometimes made unhappy breaches in families, if their adversaries do not aggravate. They also had rules about diet, not founded in reason, nor scripture. Some of these people are blamed for not consuming the eucharist at church: and they were irregular in fasting, when other Christians feasted. But as we have none of their writings remaining, we do not know their whole system with certainty. By some they have been charged with obscene doctrines, and lewd practices. But so far as we are able to judge upon the evidence that has been produced, they rather appear to have made high pretensions to sanctity and purity, and to have practised uncommon mortifications.

CHAP. CVIII.

DIODORUS, BISHOP OF TARSUS.

Diodorus, of[a] a good family, and probably born at Antioch, in which city he long resided, was ordained bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia by[b] Meletius bishop of Antioch about the year 378. He died in 394, or sooner.

2. St. Jerom, whom[c] I place below, reckons the time when he was presbyter the most shining period of his life. He does not assign the reasons of that judgment: but they may be collected from other writers, particularly the ecclesiastical historians of those times.

3. Diodorus, whilst presbyter, seems to have had the direction of some monastery, or school, in or near the city of Antioch. At[d] which time he instructed divers young men in the knowledge of the scriptures, and the principles of religion: among whom three, who were afterwards very eminent, are particularly mentioned; Maximus bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople. Chrysostom in an oration calls Diodorus[e] his father, and boasts of the share he had in his esteem.

4. Moreover, Jerom may have an eye to some sufferings, which he underwent from the

[a] Και την μεν τȣ γενȣς ȣκ ελοτιζετο περιφανειαν, την δε ὑπερ της ὡιςεως ταλαιπωριαν ασπασιως ὑπεμεινε. Theod. H. E. l. iv. c. 25. p. 188. B.

[b] Ib. l. v. c. 4. in.

[c] Diodorus, Tarsensis Episcopus, dum Antiochiæ esset Presbyter, magis claruit. Extantque ejus in Apostolum commentarii, et multa alia, ad Eusebii magis Emiseni characterem pertinentia; cujus cum sensum secutus sit, eloquentiam imitari non potuit propter ignorantiam sæcularium literarum. De V. I. cap. 119.

[d] Τηνικαυτα ȣν ȣ̓τοι [Ιωαννης, Θεοδωρος, και Μαξιμος] σπȣδαιοι περι την αρετην γενομενοι, μαθητευȣσιν εις τα ασκητικα Διοδωρῳ και Καρτεριῳ· οἱτινες τοτε μεν ασκητηριῳ προϊςαντο· Socr. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302. B. Et Conf. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. Et Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

[e] In Diod. T. iii. p. 748. A.

Arians in the time of Valens: whereas his episcopate was peaceable. Chrysostom says, he 'was more than once banished from his native country, for his freedom in speaking the truth. Theodoret, in divers places, celebrates Diodorus's courage in those difficult times. He says, 'that [b] when Leontius was bishop of Antioch, he and Flavian, though they were then but laymen, 'not only openly professed the apostolical doctrine, but were also very diligent in keeping the 'people in the right faith. He elsewhere calls them 'lights of the truth.'

To these, and some other like things, Jerom may refer.

5. Jerom says farther, that 'Diodorus wrote Commentaries upon St. Paul's Epistles, and many 'other things, imitating the manner of Eusebius of Emesa;' of whom, it may be remarked, as we spake [d] formerly. To the like purpose [e] Socrates, and [f] Sozoman: who say, that Diodorus wrote many books, representing the literal or historical sense of scripture, omitting the mystery.

6. I formerly [g] had occasion to take notice of Diodorus's work against the Manichees, in five and twenty books, of which there is mention made in [h] Photius. The same learned critic mentions a book of Diodorus [i] concerning the Spirit, and [k] gives a large account of his work against Fate, in eight books, and three and fifty chapters.

7. By Theodoret we are assured, that [l] Diodorus wrote against Paul of Samosata, Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus.

8. Suidas [m] says, 'that Diodorus lived in the time of Julian and Valens: and adds, as from 'Theodore the reader, that he wrote Commentaries upon all the books of the Old Testament, 'Genesis, Exodus, and the books following, and upon the Psalms, and the four books of the 'Kingdoms, and the difficult places of the Chronicles, and upon the Proverbs: the [n] difference 'between theory and allegory: upon Ecclesiastes: upon the Canticles; upon the Prophets—[o] 'upon the four Gospels: upon the Acts of the Apostles: upon the epistle of the evangelist John: —Against the Melchizedekians:—Against the Jews: of the resurrection of the dead: of [p] the 'soul, and the different opinions about it—of Providence: against [q] Plato, concerning God, and 'the gods: of nature and matter: against the Astronomers and Astrologers, and of fate: of [r] 'God, and the fictitious matter of the Greeks, or Gentiles—against the philosopher Euphronius, 'by way of question and answer:—against Porphyry of animals and sacrifices:' and divers others, which need not to be here rehearsed.

9. Ebedjesu, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers found in the Syriac language, says, That Diodorus' wrote sixty books, which the Arians had burned. However he mentions eight, which had remained, having escaped the diligence of his enemies; one of which is the work against the Manichees; another is an explication of a part of St. Matthew's gospel.

10. One book, in Suidas, and which may be supposed to relate to the right interpretation of scripture, is entitled 'The difference between theory and allegory.' In the enumeration of his works, it is placed, as we have seen, next after the Commentary upon the book of the Proverbs; and [t] therefore may have been a Dissertation subjoined to it. But the design of it is not very obvious. Fabricius thinks, it [u] shewed the difference of the mystical sense from the allegorical and moral. Ludolf Kuster, in his notes upon Suidas, says, that [x] theory denotes the abstruse and

[a] Αλλα και εἷλος πολλακις της παΐριδος εξεπεσε δια την ὑπερ της πιςεως παρρησιαν. Ibid. p. 749. B.

[b] —— Ἡ δε αξιαλογος ξυνωρις Φλαβιανος και Διοδωρος, ἱεραλικης μεν ἐλευθερλας μηδεπω τετυχηκοτες, τῳ δε λαῳ συνεΐλαμμενοι, νυκλωρ και μεθ' ἡμεραν εις τον ὑπερ της ευσεβειας ζηλον διηγειραν ἀπανλας. Theod. L. ii. c. 24. p. 107. A. B. Vid. et l. iv. cap. 25.

[c] —— οἱ της αληθειας φωςηρες. L. iv. c. 27. p. 190. c.

[d] See p. 315, 316.

[e] —— πολλα βιβλια συνεγραψε, ψιλῳ τῳ γραμματι των θειων προσεχων γραφων, τας θεωριας αὐτων εκπεπομενος. Socr. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302. C.

[f] Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 257. A.

[g] P. 144. 150.

[h] Cod. 85. p. 204.

[i] Cod. 102. p. 275.

[k] Cod. 223. p. 662, &c.

[l] Hæret. Fab. l. ii. cap. xi.

[m] V. Διοδωρος.

[n] Τις διαφορα θεωριας και αλληγοριας.

[o] Εις τα δ' ευαγγελια· εις τας Πραξεις των αποςολων· εις την επιςολην Ιωαννε τε ευαγγελις8. Ibid.

[p] Περι ψυχης· και α διαφορων περι αὐτης αἱρεσεων.

[q] Και α Πλατωνος περι Θεε και θεων.

[r] Περι θεε και ὑλης Ἑλληνικης πεπλασμενης.

[s] Composuit libros numero sexaginta, quos Ariani combusserunt——Remanserunt vero ex illis quæ sequuntur—et Expositio in partem Matthæi. Ebed. Cat. n. 18. ap. Assemani Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 39.

[t] 'In Proverbia:' cui addidit dissertationem de 'Differentiâ Theoriæ et Allegoriæ,' sive sensûs mystici ab allegorico atque morali. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 362.

[u] See note.'

[x] Θεωρια hic significat sensum abstrusiorem et mysticum: cui opponitur το ῥητον, sive sensus literalis. Sozomenus de Diodoro nostro:——περι δε το ῥητον των ἱερων λογων τας ἐξηγησεις ποιησασθαι, τας θεωριας αποφευγοντα: id est: 'Quem 'accepi multos libros a se conscriptos posteris reliquisse, et 'sacram scripturam ad literam exposuisse, omisso sensu mys-'tico.' Et Socrates—ψιλῳ τῳ γραμματι των θειων προσεχων γραφων, τας θεωριας αὐτων εκπεπομενος. 'Diodorus vero '—— multos conscripsit libros, simplicem tantum atque ob-'vium scripturarum sensum inquirens, mysticam vero earum 'interpretationem refugiens.' Θεωρια igitur quid significet, hinc patet. Ab eâ differt allegoria, quod hæc in inferioribus subsistat, nec in tam sublimi argumento versetur, quam theoria. Kuster.

mystical sense in opposition to the literal sense: and moreover, that the theory is more sublime than the allegory.

11. Diodorus seems to have been an apologist for the Christian religion. He wrote, as we have seen, against the Jews, as well as against heretics. And it may be reckoned very probable, that in some of his works he confuted heathenism, or some of its principles: it may be fairly argued from the titles of several of them above-mentioned from Suidas. And, if Facundus may be relied upon, the emperor Julian wrote a letter to Photinus, in [a] which he reviled Diodorus, as ignorant of the mysteries of the gods, but well versed in the fishermen's theology; a large part of which letter Facundus has left us in a sad Latin translation.

12. The respect shewn to Diodorus appears, in part, in some things already said.

13. Theodoret [b] speaks of him in terms of the highest respect, and often commends him. Basil, who was acquainted with Diodorus, testifies [c] his esteem and affection for him, as an excellent and useful man. They who are pleased, may also consult [d] Facundus.

13. Many learned moderns have been very sensible of his merit. Cave [e] speaks honourably of his method of interpreting scripture. And as he imitated Eusebius of Emesa, so, as it seems, to [f] him we are indebted for Chrysostom and Theodore, whose taste was formed by his. I place in the margin a part [g] of Beausobre's character of our Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. 'He calls them two of the most learned bishops of antiquity: both which, as he 'says, banished from their Commentaries allegorical interpretations, confining themselves to the 'literal sense. The loss of their works has been a great detriment to the Christian interest. 'But the Greeks sacrificed them to their hatred and envy, because Nestorius had been their 'scholar.'

15. The usefulness of Diodorus's Commentaries, if they had been extant, may be collected from what Montfaucon says: That [h] from the remaining fragments of them, to be found in the Chains, he appears to have been well acquainted with Origen's Hexapla.

16. I have allowed myself to enlarge in the history of Diodorus, and his works, because they are most of them lost, and many of them were designed for illustrating the holy scriptures. But for farther accounts of them, and the reflections cast upon his and Theodore's memory, after the rise of the Nestorian and Pelagian controversies, I refer to other [i] writers; though I have made some use of them, and have been assisted by them in composing this article.

[a] Julianus enim, Christo perfidus Imperator, sic Photino hæresiarchæ adversus Diodorum scribit.—Diodorus autem Nazaræi magus,—acutus apparuit sophista religionis agrestis ——usque adeo ignorans paganorum mysteria, omnemque miserabiliter imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum piscatorum errorem. Facund. l. iv. cap. 2. p. 59.

[b] Και Διοδωρος μεν ὁ σοφωτατος τε και ανδρειοτατος, οια τις πολεμος διειδης τε και μεσας, τοις μεν οικειοις την αρετην προσεφερε, τας δε των εναντιων βλασφημιας επεκλυζε. Theod. l. iv. c. 25. p. 188. B. Vid. et l. v. cap. ult.

[c] Bas. Ep. 244. al. 82. p. 378. D. [d] Fac. l. iv. c. 2.

[e] Vir sane undequaque doctissimus, qui in indagando S. Scripturarum sensu, repudiatis allegoriis, simplicem duntaxat atque obviam verborum intelligentiam sectatus est. Cav. H. L. T. i. in Diodoro.

[f] Præcipuus Diodori labor fuit, quo plerosque Scripturæ libros interpretando imitatus est Eusebium Emesenum. Atque ipse præivit Joanni Chrysostomo atque Theodoro Mopsuesteno, ita ut sensum literalem, potius quam, ex recepto apud plerosque alios illis temporibus more, allegorias sectarentur. &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 362.

[g] Je ne say, si Theodore de Mopsueste, et Diodore de Tarse, deux des plus savans Evêques de l' antiquité, decouvrirent cette vuë des loix Mosaïques: [pour être un préservatif contre l'idolatrie:] mais ils bannirent, l'un et l' autre, de leurs commentaires sur le V. T. tout ce fatras d' allégories, s' attachant uniquement à bien expliquer le sens literal. Quelle perte pour l' Eglise que celle le leurs excellens ouvrages, que les Grecs ont sacrifié à leur haine et leur envie, parce que ces savans hommes avoient été les maîtres de Nestorius. Beaus. H. de Manich. l. i. ch. iv. T. i. p. 288.

[h] Diodorus Tarsensis, in sacrâ Scripturâ apprime versatus, Hexaplorum plenam notitiam habuisse videtur: ut ex ejus fragmentis, quæ in Catenis supersunt, deprehenditur. Montf. Prælim. in Hexapl. Orig. p. 95.

[i] Vid. Cav. H. L. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 358—363. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii. et Du Pin. T. ii.

CHAP. CIX.

A COMMENTARY UPON THIRTEEN OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

I. *The time and author of this work.* II. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. I HAVE already more than once [a] taken notice of a Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, usually joined with St. Ambrose's works, and of late ascribed by many to Hilary, deacon of Rome.

1. And as I have not yet given any account of him, I shall do it now, but briefly. He was born in Sardinia and made deacon of Rome about the year 354. He is mentioned by Jerom in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, in the chapter concerning [c] Lucifer of Cagliari, and several times in his book against the Luciferians. Hilary was always a zealous Homoüsian. Afterwards he became a rigid Luciferian, and even exceeded the bishop, from whom those people received their denomination. Jerom [d] pleasantly calls him another Deucalion, as if he would bring again an universal deluge on the world, because he was for rebaptizing Arians, and other heretics, when they came over to the church: whereas it had been the general usage of Christians in former times, and of the church of Rome in particular, to receive heretics upon repentance. Upon the ground of this notion Hilary separated from the church. He also wrote treatises in favour of his opinion. So says Jerom.

2. Cave readily allows this Hilary, deacon of Rome, to be author of the fore-named Commentary, written, as he supposeth, before 384, as also of Quæstiones in Vetus et Novum et Testamentum, written about 370, and usually joined with [e] St. Augustine's works. Pagi [f] likewise contends, that Hilary, deacon of Rome, was author of both these works. Du Pin [g] carefully examines this point. Tillemont says: It [h] is now thought by many, that Hilary is author of the forementioned Commentary: but that this opinion is not without its difficulties. James Basnage, without determining who is the author, says, he [i] lived in the time of Damasus, before the end of the fourth century. Samuel Basnage [k] hesitates. And as for the Quæstiones, &c. he will not deny them to have the same author with the Commentaries, because they agree in several things. But [l] he says, they are written in a manner much inferior to the commentaries. None, in my opinion, have treated this question more fully, or more judiciously, than the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works: they say, that [m] the manuscript copies of the commentaries are very different from one another; and that in some parts of those commentaries there appear to be interpolations of long passages. Nor are they certain that the Quæstiones were written by the author of the commentaries. And if they were, they also have been interpolated: which indeed, I take to be very probable, or even manifest, concerning both these works.

II. I shall make some extracts out of the commentaries; but I forbear to transcribe any thing out of the Quæstiones in V. et N. Testamentum.

1. In these Commentaries upon thirteen epistles of St. Paul, most books of the Old and New

[a] See p. 15. 162.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 317. [c] De V. I. cap. 95.

[d] Est præterea aliud quod inferemus, adversum quod ne mutire audeat Hilarius, Deucalion orbis. Si enim hærètici baptisma non habent, et ideo rebaptizandi ab Ecclesiâ sunt, quia in Ecclesiâ non fuerunt, ipse quoque Hilarius non est Christianus. In eâ quippe Ecclesiâ baptizatus est, quæ semper ab hæreticis baptismum recepit.—Diaconus eras, o Hilari, et a Manichæis baptizatos recipiebas. Diaconus eras, et Ebionis baptisma comprobabas. Repente, postquam exortus est Arius, totus tibi displicere cœpisti. Segregas te cum tuis vernulis, et novum balneum aperis.——Quod si negandum quispiam putaverit, hæreticos a majoribus nostris semper fuisse susceptos, legat beati Cypriani epistolas.——Legat et ipsius Hilarii libellos, quos adversus nos de hæreticis rebaptizandis edidit: et ibi reperiet, ipsum Hilarium confiteri, a Julio, Marco, Silvestro, et cæteris veteribus episcopis similiter in pœnitentiam omnes hæreticos susceptos. Hieron. Adv. Lucifer. T. iv. P. ii. p. 305. Vid. ib. p. 302. infr. m.

[e] Tom. iii. edit. Lovan. T. iv. edit. Benedict.

[f] Ann. 362. n. xxv. xxvi. [g] Bib. Ec. T. ii.

[h] St. Ambroise. art. xci. Mem. Ec. T. x. et Lucifer de Cagliari Art. ix. et not. 9, 10, Mem. T. vii.

[i] Histoire de l' Eglise. l. xix. ch. 7. n. 15. p. 1181.

[k] Ann. 362. n. 21, 22.

[l] Commentarius porro operi Quæstionum longissime præstat. Ib. n. 22.

[m] In Commentar. Admonit. ap. S. Ambrosii. Opp. T. ii. in Append. p. 21. &c.

Testament are quoted: as the four gospels, Mark's [a] in particular; the Acts of the apostles very often; the first and [b] second epistle of Peter; St. John's first epistle often, his [c] third epistle once at least; the [d] Revelation he ascribes to John the apostle, and quotes it very freely: whether the author received the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's, may be questioned; since he wrote commentaries upon his acknowledged thirteen epistles, and not upon that. However, the epistle to the Hebrews is mentioned in [e] these commentaries.

2. I shall now put down some remarkable observations and explications of this author.

3. He says, that [f] all the apostles were chosen out of the Jewish nation, and that it was fit it should be so.

4. Upon Gal. i. 19, he says, that [g] James, there mentioned, and called "brother of the Lord," was son of Joseph by a former wife: but some impiously asserted, that Joseph had children by Mary.

5. He supposeth, that [h] the Christians at Rome had no apostle with them, before the time of St. Paul's writing to them; which to me appears very probable: it may be argued from the whole of his epistle to them, though from some parts of it more especially. However, Pelagius manifests a different opinion in [i] his commentary upon that epistle.

6. Upon Col. iv. 14, "Luke the beloved physician and Demas greet you:" he says, 'That [k] 'Luke was justly dear to Paul, because he constantly accompanied him. Moreover, he is said 'to have written the gospel and the Acts of the apostles.' Which manner of expression seems to intimate some doubt about the truth of that tradition; or, whether Luke here mentioned, and called physician, was the evangelist.

7. He supposeth [l] the epistle, called to the Ephesians, to have been written to them.

8. The translation of Col. iv. 16, followed by him, is [m] "that ye read the epistle of the Laodiceans." The same is in [n] the commentary ascribed to Pelagius. Which expression I take to be ambiguous: it may import an epistle written by the Laodiceans; or an epistle which was their property, as having been written to them. In which of those two senses Pelagius understood the expression does not appear: but this author, I think, understood it in the latter sense; and supposed, that hereby was meant a letter sent to the Laodiceans by the apostle. Since, therefore, he allowed the epistle, called to the Ephesians, to have been written to them; and that there was an epistle sent to the Laodiceans, mentioned Col. iv. 16, he must have looked upon this as a lost epistle. For it does not appear, that there was any epistle of the apostle Paul received by him, which was inscribed to the Laodiceans.

9. The first epistle to the Thessalonians is inscribed in this manner: 'Paul, and Silvanus, and 'Timothy, to the church of the Thessalonians.' Upon which the author observes: 'The [o] letter 'has the names of three bishops, [or of bishops, without three,] but the sense and words are the 'apostle's alone.' A somewhat like observation may be seen in Pelagius's [p] Commentary upon

[a] Quamvis dicat Marcus Evangelista de dæmonibus: 'Sciebant enim Christum ipsum esse Jesum.' [Marc. i. 34.] In 1 ep. ad Cor. cap. ii. 8. Ap. Ambros. T. ii. Append. p. 118. D.

[b] Sicut Petrus Apostolus inter cætera dicens: 'Ut sitis,' inquit, 'consortes divinæ naturæ.' [2 Pet. i. 4.] In Philip. i. p. 251. F.

[c] Hic est Caius, ut arbitror, ad quem scribit Joannes Apostolus, exsultans in caritate ejus, quam exhibebat fraternitati. In Rom. xvi. p. 110. E.

[d] Sicut dictum est in Apocalypsi Joannis Apostoli. In 2 Thess. c. ii. p. 286. C. Vid. et in 2 Cor. xi. p. 198. B. in 1 Thess. iv. p. 282. A. Et passim.

[e] Nam simili modo et in epistolâ ad Hebræos scriptum est, quia Levi, qui decimas accepit, decimas dedit Melchisedec. In 2 Tim. i. p. 305. B.

[f] Hoc est quod dicit, quia dispensatio prædicationis his decreta est a Deo, qui ex Judæis crediderunt in Christum. Unde nullus ex Gentibus ad Apostolatum electus est. Dignum enim erat, ex his eligi prædicatores, qui ante speraverunt salutem, quæ illis promissa est in Christo. In Eph. i. ver. 11, 12. p. 233. B.

[g] In Galat. i. p. 213. F.

[h] Romanis autem [ut Galatis] irasci non debuit, sed et laudare fidem illorum: quia nulla insignia virtutum videntes, nec aliquem Apostolorum, susceperant fidem Christi, ritu licet Judaïco. Proleg. in ep. ad Rom. p. 25. B.

[i] Romanos Petri prædicatione fidem tenentes confirmare se velle Paulus dicit; non quo minus accepissent a Petro, sed ut duobus Apostolis testibus atque doctoribus, eorum roboretur fides. Pelag. in Rom. i. 11. Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 927.

[k] Vere carissimus Apostolo fuit Lucas, quia, omnia postponens, Apostolum semper sequutus est. Qui et Evangelium et Actus Apostolorum scripsisse perhibetur. In Col. p. 276. C.

[l] Vid. Proleg. in ep. ad Eph. et Comm. in c. i. v. 1.

[m] 'Et vos ut eam, quæ est Laodicensium, legatis'] Quia generales sunt Apostolorum, et ad omnium profectum ecclesiarum scriptæ epistolæ:——idcirco, etiam Laodicensibus epistolam hanc legi præcepit, ut per hanc quid agendum sibi esset addiscerent: et Colossenses ut eorum legerent, juxta sensum supradictum. In Col. iv. p. 276. D.

[n] Et ea, quæ Laodicensium est, vobis legatur. Pelag. in Col. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1076.

[o] Trium quidem Episcoporum nomina literæ continent. [Al. Episcoporum nomine literæ continentur.] Sed sensus et verba solius Apostoli sunt. In 1 Thess. p. 277. A.

[p] 'Et Sosthenes frater.'] 'Frater,' inquit, non Apostolus.

the beginning of the first epistle to the Corinthians. And it is very just. All the authority of the epistle is derived from the apostolical character and commission.

10. His reading at 1 Tim. iii. 16, is [a] 'which was manifested in the flesh.' That must have been in many Latin copies at that time.

11. In the note upon Tit. iii. 13, he makes no question, but [b] that Zenas was a Jewish lawyer: which appears to me very probable, though then a Christian.

CHAP. CX.

PHILASTER, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

1. According to Cave [c] Philaster, bishop of Brixia, or Brescia, in Italy, the author of a work Concerning Heresies, flourished about the year 380. Tillemont likewise [d] thinks it probable, that the forementioned work must have been written in the year 380, or soon after. Fabricius not only thinks that [e] Philaster wrote after Epiphanius, but that he also borrowed from him: which does not appear certain to me. Some few instances of agreement between authors, who have the same design, will not amount to a full proof. If Philaster had read Epiphanius, in all probability he would have mentioned him. It needs not to be reckoned at all strange, if he was wholly unacquainted with Epiphanius's work, even supposing him not to have written before 380, or somewhat later, which is not certain. Augustine, long after that, had seen only the Summary or Synopsis of Epiphanius, as all allow. Philaster is often quoted by Augustine in his book of Heresies. It may not be amiss to put down [f] a passage of Augustine in his letter to *Quod vult deus* concerning that work, in which he gives the preference to Epiphanius above Philaster. The year of Philaster's death is not certainly [g] known; but it is generally supposed that [h] he died in 386, or 387.

2. Philaster has a catalogue of the books of scripture: which, omitting some things relating to apocryphal writings, is to this purpose. 'It [i] was appointed by the apostles, and their successors, that nothing should be read in the catholic church, but the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the Acts of the apostles, and thirteen epistles of Paul, and seven other, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James, which seven are joined with the Acts of the apostles. But the hidden, that is, apocryphal scriptures, though they ought to be read by the perfect, for the improvement of men's manners, may not be read by all.'

3. In that article are omitted the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation. Nevertheless, perhaps, they are not quite rejected, but only denied to be publicly read. Let us therefore observe some other places.

4. The very next article relates to the epistle to the Hebrews, and is to this effect: 'There [k]

Hunc autem idcirco secum scribentem inducit, quia ex ipsis doctor est, et pro his valde solicitus. Pelag. in 1 Cor. ap. S. Hieron. T. v. p. 974. [a] P. 296. B.

[b] Quamvis enim Zenam legisperitum vocitet, Apollo tamen perfectus erat in Scripturis. Sed quia Zenas hujus professionis fuerat in synagogâ, sic illum appellat. In Tit. iii. p. 317. A. [c] Hist. Lit. T. i.

[d] See S. Philastre Mem. Ec. T. 8.

[e] Etiam ante Philastrium scripsit Epiphanius, ex cujus libris ille profecit. Fabric. Not. ad Vit. Philast. per Gaudentium.

[f] Philastrius quidam Brixiensis episcopus, quem cum sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipse vidi, scripsit hinc librum—— Neque enim putandum est, aliquas ignorâsse Epiphanium, quas noverat Philastrius: cum Epiphanium longe Philastrio doctiorem invenerimus. Epist. 222. T. ii.

[g] See St. Philaster in Tillemont, near the end.

[h] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. et Basnag. ad ann. 380, n. x.

[i] Propter quod statutum est ab Apostolis, et eorum successoribus, non aliud legi in ecclesiâ debere catholicâ, nisi Legem, et Prophetas, et Evangelia, et Actus Apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et unam Jacobi, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt. Scripturæ autem absconditæ, id est, apocrypha, etsi legi debent morum causâ a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent. Phil. de Hær. cap. 88.

[k] Sunt alii quoque, qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos non adserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt, aut Barnabæ esse Apostoli, aut Clementis de urbe Româ episcopi. Alii autem Lucæ Evangelistæ aiunt. Epistolam etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam. Et quia addiderunt in eâ quædam non recte sentientes, inde non legitur in ecclesiâ, etsi legitur a quibusdam. Non tamen in ecclesiâ legitur populo, nisi tredecim epistolæ ipsius, et ad Hebræos interdum. Et in eâ quia rhetorice scripsit, sermone

'are others also, who do not allow the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews to be his: but say, it is 'either an epistle of Barnabas the apostle, or of Clement bishop of Rome. But others say, it is 'an epistle of Luke the evangelist. And some receive an epistle to the Laodiceans. Some pre- 'tend, that additions have been made to it by some heterodox persons, and that for that reason, 'it ought not to be read in the churches, though it is read by some. But in the church are read 'to the people his thirteen epistles only, and that to the Hebrews sometimes. Moreover some 'reject it as more eloquent than the apostle's other writings, and because Christ is here said [a] to 'be "made:" and because of what he says of [b] repentance, which the Novatians make an 'advantage of.'

A part of this chapter was alleged [c] formerly.

5. By this we perceive, that there was at that time not a few, who on one account or other had doubts about the writer of this epistle, which has not St. Paul's name at the beginning, as his other epistles have. The objection taken from the superior elegance of the style of this epistle above the rest deserves notice. It affords an argument, that the ancient Christians read the scriptures with care. How Origen expresseth himself upon this head we saw [d] formerly.

6. Philaster himself received the epistle to the Hebrews; for he reckons it a heresy to reject it. And in the remaining part of the chapter, just cited, he proposeth answers to the two last-mentioned objections. And in this his work, of Heresies, he has [e] several times referred to this epistle, or quoted it as the apostle Paul's.

7. Philaster received likewise the book of the Revelation. For one of his heresies is that [f] of those who reject the gospel of John and his Revelation. I put that article at the bottom of the page; where he observes, there are some who dare to say, that the Revelation is not a writing of John the apostle and evangelist, but of Cerinthus.

8. I do not think it needful to make any more remarks upon these articles, nor to transcribe any more chapters of this author. But it hence appears, that he received the same books of the New Testament which we do. If ever we come to that part of this work, which is allotted for the history of the heretics of the first two centuries, we shall have occasion to take farther notice of Philaster.

CHAP. CXI.

GAUDENTIUS, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

1. Gaudentius, successor of Philaster in the bishopric of Brescia, is placed by Cave at the year 387. For a more particular account of him and his works, I refer to [g] others. I shall only take his testimony to the books of the New Testament, and some select passages.

2. He expressly says, there [h] are four evangelists; and he has frequently quoted all the four gospels, St. Mark's [i] in particular.

3. The [k] book of the Acts of the apostles is expressly quoted, and ascribed to St. Luke, who had also written a gospel.

plausibili, inde non putant esse ejusdem Apostoli. Et quia et *factum* Christum dicit in eâ, inde non legitur. De pœnitentiâ autem propter Novatianos æque. Ibid. cap. 89.

[a] Hebr. iii. 2. [b] Hebr. vi. 4. and x. 26.

[c] See p. 64. [d] See Vol. i. p. 532.

[e] Cum Apostolus doceat, quod omnem hominem mori oportet, postque hoc jam judicari. cap. 122. p. 255. Vid. Hebr. ix. 27. Et honorandæ nuptiæ. cap. 117. p. 239. A. Vid. Hebr. xiii. 4.

[f] Post hos sunt hæretici, qui Evangelium secundum Joannem, et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt: et cum non intelligunt virtutem Scripturæ, nec desiderant discere, in hæresi permanent pereuntes: ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim ibidem non beati Joannis Evangelistæ et Apostoli, sed Cerinthi hæretici, qui tunc ab Apostolis beatis hæreticus manifestatus, abjectus est ab ecclesiâ. Hær. 60. p. 120, 121. Et Conf. Fabricii. not. (*b*).

[g] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 282. Du Pin. Bib. T. iii. Tillem. Mem. T. x.

[h] In quatuor Evangelistarum testimonio. Ab. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 947. A. [i] Vid. p. 950. F. 951. G.

[k] Sicut in principiis Actuum Apostolorum Lucas Evangelista, testatur. p. 959. A. Lucas Evangelista, qui beatos Apostolos pari merito subsequutus est, et Evangelii librum et Actus Apostolorum imitandâ examinatione conscripsit. p. 969. C.

4. I need not produce any particular quotations of St. Paul's epistles. I only observe that [a] he has several times quoted the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's.

5. Gaudentius takes but little notice of the catholic epistles. However, he has quoted [b] the epistle of St. James, and [c] the first epistle of St. Peter. And, very probably, he received all the rest.

He likewise quotes [d] the book of the Revelation.

7. There is no notice taken by Gaudentius of any apocryphal Christian books; and it is likely, that his canon of the New Testament was the same with that now generally received.

8. It appears, that [e] Gaudentius was wont to compare the Latin and Greek copies of the New Testament, or the Latin translation with the Greek original. And as he had travelled in the East, it is not improbable, that he was well skilled in the Greek language.

9. He has divers good observations upon Christ's shewing himself to Thomas, and takes notice [f] of the advantage which we have from the scrupulousness of that apostle, in the fuller evidence of our Lord's resurrection.

10. Gaudentius supposed [g] our Lord's ministry to have been of but one year's duration only from his baptism to his death.

11. He often speaks [h] of the Lord's-day, or the first day of the week, sanctified by Christ's resurrection from the dead.

12. He asserts free-will very strongly. He says, 'That [i] things are not done, because they 'were foretold: but the divine prescience knows beforehand what will happen, and therefore 'they are foretold. It is, he says, inconsistent with the perfections of God, that he should com-'mand, or compel men to do what he blames, if done. What the Jews did, they did voluntarily, 'though it had been foretold. And do you think, that if the Jews had repented at the preaching 'of Jesus, the world could not have been saved? I think we are not to limit the divine power 'or wisdom. "For who has known the mind of the Lord? or who has been his counsellor?" 'Consider, how in the gospel Christ waited for the repentance of the Jewish people, and how 'he upbraided the cities, in which most of his mighty works were done, because they repented 'not.'

13. Descanting upon the notice taken of the value of the ointment, with which Mary had anointed the Lord, as mentioned John xii. 4, 5, he [k] has some uncommon thoughts concerning our Saviour's treatment of Judas.

14. He [l] seems to have read the decree of the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. as we now

[a] Sicut Scriptura testatur in epistolâ Pauli beatissimi ad Hebræos. p. 975. G. et passim.

[b] P. 972. F. [c] P. 960. C.

[d] Et sicut in Apocalypsi de Babylone scribitur, vel urbe, vel gente, vel unâquâque animâ, errorum caligine, vitiorumque carnalium permixtione confusâ. [Apoc. c. xvii. ver. 6.] p. 943. C. et alibi.

[e] —— dicens: 'Nunc judicium est hujus mundi. Nunc hujus mundi princeps mittetur deorsum,' sive, 'expelletur foras,' ut in Græcis exemplaribus legimus. [Joh. xii. 31.] p. 969. B.

'Sine,' inquit, 'eam,' sive 'sinite.' Utrumque enim et in Græcis et Latinis exemplaribus invenitur. Sed magis congruere videtur sensui, cum legitur. 'Sinite,' &c. [Conf. Marc. xiv. 6. Joh. xii. 7.] p. 964. A.

[f] Sufficiat nobis, quoniam sancti Thomæ curiositas et ambiguitas futuræ scrupulositatis finem fecit. Quod enim absens fuit, quod avidius et videre et attrectare Dominum perquisivit, totum nostræ procurabatur saluti, ut evidentius nosceremus resurrectionis Dominicæ veritatem. p. 969. B.

[g] Anniculus est, quia post illud baptismum, quod pro nobis in Jordane susceperat, usque ad passionis suæ diem, unius anni tempus impletur. Et ea tantum scripta sunt in Evangeliis, quæ in illo anno vel docuit vel fecit. Nec ipsa tamen omnia. p 948. H.

[h] Nam sextâ feriâ, quâ hominem fecerat, pro eodem passus. Et die dominicâ, quæ dicitur in scripturis prima sabbati, in quâ sumserat mundus exordium, resurrexit. p. 945. F. Vid. et p. 960. D. et 959. B.

[i] Synagoga Judæorum quod erat crudeliter factura, prædictum est: non, ut fieret, jussum est. Nec ideo factum est, quia prædictum erat. Sed ideo prædictum est, quia erat futurum; ut præscientiam suam Deus in his quæ per libertatem arbitrii hominum futura erant, ostenderet. Libertatem diximus arbitrii, quia voluerunt Judæi facere quod fecerunt: et utique si voluissent, [f. noluissent] non fecissent. Certe ingentis sacrilegii est, vel cogitare quod Deus, qui non solum bonus et justus, sed ipsa bonitas est et ipsa justitia, vel jubeat aliquid vel cogat fieri, quod factum damnet. An fortasse putamus, quia, si pœnituissent Israëlitæ, aliter omnipotens Filius Dei salvare non potuerit mundum? 'Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?' Considera in Evangelio, quomodo expectaverit Christus pœnitentiam Judæorum; ubi exprobat civitatibus, in quibus factæ sunt plurimæ virtutes ejus, quod non egerint pœnitentiam. ——Præscientia quidem Dei non fallitur. Sed nec homini concessa semel voluntatis libertas aufertur, &c. p. 948. F. G. Vid. et p. 963. B.

[k] Quamvis ergo Dominus Jesus conscientiæ judex esset, noluit tamen Judam de occultis ejus acrius increpare, ne, quoniam verisimili ratione videbatur locutus, putaretur forsitan injuste correptus, atque hinc iracundiam ejus tantam concepisse causam, ut inimicis necandum traderet, quem sine ullo peccamine habuisset infensum. Nihil ergo acerbum Christus voluit pro merito sceleratæ mentis illius loqui, ne Judas eum tradere videretur iratus, &c. p. 964. D. E.

[l] Et idcirco beatus Jacobus cum cæteris Apostolis decretum tale constituit in ecclesiis observandum: 'Ut abstineatis vos,' inquit, 'ab immolatis, et a sanguine,' id est, 'a suffocatis.' Prætermiserunt 'homicidium, adulterium, veneficia:'

have it. By "blood" he does not understand homicide, but the blood of animals. Moreover he says, there was no occasion to insert there a prohibition of homicide, adultery, and such great crimes, which were punished even by human laws, but only those particulars, "things offered to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication." If the reader pleases, he may recollect what was formerly [a] said by us concerning the true reading of that place.

15. He [b] asserts the reality of natural religion: and says, that by the exercise of their own reason men may learn the existence of God, and discern the obligation of an equitable conduct one toward another.

16. He [c] celebrates the progress of the Christian religion, and the effects of it in turning men from darkness to light, and from vice to virtue and holiness.

17. I conclude my extracts with a pious observation of this writer: 'That [d] we are born again, 'that we know in part the works of God, that we endeavour to improve the time of this life, so 'as to obtain a better, that in the hope of future recompenses we act and speak religiously, is all 'owing to God: I say, it is owing to God.'

CHAP. CXII.

SOPHRONIUS.

1. As St. Jerom has placed his learned friend Sophronius in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, I transcribe the chapter [e] below. And I likewise refer to some learned [f] moderns, who have made observations upon it.

2. Jerom says, that Sophronius was a very learned man; that when young, he published a work entitled The praises of Bethlehem, and since, an excellent account of the Demolition of the Temple of Serapis. He had also translated several of Jerom's works into Greek.

3. All those things are lost. But we have a Greek version of St. Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, called Sophronius's. But though many receive it as his, all do not. Its genuineness is denied, not only by [g] Isaac Vossius, who thought it to have been made by Erasmus himself, who first published it, but [h] by divers other learned men, who allow the antiquity of it.

4. Nevertheless, Robert Stephens and Mill have prefixed to the four gospels the several chapters or Lives of the four Evangelists, in that Greek version; and Mill, in like manner, the

quoniam nec nominari ea in ecclesiis oporteret, quæ legibus etiam Gentilium punirentur. Prætermiserunt quoque illas omnes minutias observationum legalium. Et sola hæc, quæ prædiximus, custodienda sanxerunt, ne vel sacrificatis diabolo cibis profanemur immundis, vel ne mortuo per viscera suffocatorum animalium sanguine polluamur, vel ne immunditiis fornicationum corpora nostra, quæ templa Dei sunt, violemus. p. 967. F. G. [a] See p. 13—20.

[b] Neque hodie aliquis reatum peccati incurrit, si eum non astringat aut naturalis lex, aut mandati lex, aut literæ lex. Naturalis lex est illa, quâ Gentes, legem literæ non habentes, naturaliter ea quæ legis sunt faciunt: quia rationabilis animæ humanæ natura, ut Creatorem suum sentiat, ut proximum non lædat, ut non faciat quod pati non vult, naturali quâdam lege intelligit. &c. p. 960. F.

[c] Nam, priusquam pateretur et resurgeret Christus, notus erat tantum in Judæâ Deus. Tunc in omnes gentes fulgor claritatis dominicæ pertransit.——p. 948. C.

[d] Nos ipsi etiam, quod renascimur, quod hæc ipsa opera Domini ex parte novimus, quod vivendo vitam quærimus, quod futurorem spem gerentes pie conversamur et loquimur, Dei, inquam, Dei sunt opera. p. 960. B.

[e] Sophronius, vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem adhuc puer, et nuper de subversione Serapis insignem librum composuit. De Virginitate quoque ad Eustochium, et Vitam Hilarionis monachi, opuscula mea, in Græcum eleganti sermone transtulit. Psalterium quoque, et Prophetas, quos nos de Hebræo in Latinum vertimus. De V. I. cap. 134.

[f] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Ec. et Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 195—198. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xii. St. Jerome, art. 39. et 58.

[g] Vid. Voss. citat. a Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 295, 296.

[h] Viro summo Isaaco Vossio facile largior, nec Sophronii illius, cui tribuitur, nec valde antiquam esse Græcam Catalogi Hieronymiani versionem. Sed ut ab Erasmo, aut ab alio illius ævi confictam credam, adduci non possum. Nam cum ex eo quædam iisdem verbis in Lexico Suidæ legantur, potius est, ut Suidâ vetustiorem credam. Jo. Andr. Bosius Introductione in notitiam Script. Ec. cap. 3. citat a Fabr. Bib. Ec. p. 13.

Ac præterea Græcus Interpres, qui adscito Sophronii nomine vetustatem mentitur, eam fideliter exhibeat. C. A. Heuman. Præf. ad Lactant. Symph. p. v. Hanover. 1722.

chapters of St. James and St. Jude to their epistles. He should have taken also the chapter concerning St. Paul, and have placed it before his epistle to the Romans. Why he omitted it, I do not know, unless he thought it too long. Moreover, these chapters, so far as taken, are in [a] Stephens, and [b] Mill, called Sophronius's. But, if I may be allowed to speak my mind, it seems to me, that those articles had been better put in St. Jerom's own original Latin, even supposing, that the Greek version had been made by his friend Sophronius: but as that is not certain, the version is still less proper. I formerly [c] took the liberty to make some remarks upon some of the testimonies prefixed by Mill to the gospels.

CHAP. CXIII.

THEODORE, BISHOP OF MOPSUESTIA IN CILICIA.

I. *His time and history.* II. *Accounts of his works, particularly of his commentaries, from Photius and others, and his testimony to the scriptures.* III. *A fragment concerning the four gospels, with remarks.* IV. *His character, as a preacher.* V. *Reflections upon him after his death.*

I. THEODORE was mentioned in the chapter of Diodorus of Tarsus. He was descended of an honourable family, and in all probability was a native of the city of Antioch. He [d] was an intimate friend and fellow-disciple of John Chrysostom under Libanius the sophist, and Andragathius the philosopher, and afterwards under the fore-mentioned Diodorus and Carterius.

Sozomen says, that [e] he was well skilled in the sacred scriptures, and in the liberal sciences of the rhetoricians and philosophers. Theodoret [f] calls him the doctor of the whole church: he says, he was bishop six and thirty years, and wrote against all heresies, particularly those of Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinarius.

And, as according to Theodoret's account, Theodore died in 429, it is concluded, that [g] he was ordained in 394. I do not therefore well know, why [h] Cave placed him as flourishing about the year 407; when, too, he supposeth him to have been bishop so soon as 392. And indeed, there are others also, who think, he [i] was ordained bishop in 392, and died in 428.

Theodore [k] had a brother, named Polychronius, who presided with honour over the church of Apamea, and was distinguished by his agreeable manner of preaching, and the holiness of his life.

II. Photius has given an account of several of Theodore's works.

1. The first in order is [l] his Defence of Basil against Eunomius, consisting of five and twenty books. 'Though his style is not clear,' Photius says, 'he is full of sense and argument, and 'abounds with texts of scripture. He confutes Eunomius, almost word for word; and largely 'shews him to have had little skill in profane learning, and yet less in our theology.'

2. The next is a Commentary upon the book of Genesis. Here Photius says, that [m] Theodore studiously shuns allegorical interpretations, and confines himself to the history. He moreover says, that in this work may be perceived the principles of Nestorianism, though the author was before Nestorius.

[a] Βιος—μαΐβαιω καΐα Σωφρονιον. Ap. Stephan.
[b] Σωφρονιος.
[c] See the chapter of Hippolytus. Vol. i. p. 500, 501.
[d] Vid. Socr. l. vi. c. 3. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.
[e] Μόψβεςιας δε της Κιλικων Θεοδωρος, ανηρ και των ιερων βιβλων, και της αλλης παιδειας ρητορων τε και φιλοσοφων ικανος επιςημων. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. B.
[f] — Θεοδωρος, ὁ Μοψβεςιας επισκοπος, πασης μεν εκκλησιας διδασκαλος. κ. λ. Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.
[g] Vid. Pagi Ann. 423. xvi. et 427. xii. Et Conf. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 400. not. 3.
[h] Claruit anno 407. Quin si mortis ejus tempus recte assequor, jam ab anno 392 episcopatum tenuit. Obiisse enim videtur anno 428, postquam ecclesiam Mopsuestenam per 36 annos gubernâsset. H. L. T. i. p. 385.
[i] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 428. n. v.
[k] Thdrt. ubi supra.
[l] Cod. 4. p. 7.
[m] Cod. 38. p. 24.

3. The third [a] is a small volume in three books, against [b] the Persian Magic, and shewing the preference of true religion. Here again Photius says, that the author favours Nestorianism.

4. The fourth and last is [c] 'a work in five books, against those who said, that men sin by 'nature, not by will and choice. He considers it as a doctrine held by those in the west, and 'from thence brought into the east, especially by an author, called Aram; who he is I do not 'know, who had written several books in defence of it. The opinions of that sect he represents 'in this manner. One of them is that men sin by nature, not by choice. By nature, however, 'not meaning that, in which Adam was first formed; for that, they say, was good; but that 'which he afterwards had, when he had transgressed, being now bad instead of the good, and 'mortal instead of the immortal nature, which he before had. Hence men being bad by nature, 'who before were good, now [d] sin by nature, not by choice. Another opinion of theirs, and con-'sequent upon that is, that [e] infants, though newly born, are not free from sin; forasmuch as 'from Adam's trangression a sinful nature, as they express it, is derived to all his posterity: for 'this they allege those words, "I was born in sin," and others. Here also,' as Photius proceeds, 'appear Nestorian principles, and the notion of Origen concerning the period of the punish-'ments of the future state. He [f] also says, that man was at first made mortal; though death 'be represented as the consequence of his transgression, the better to convince us of the evil 'of sin.' Photius concludes that article, saying, that this writer appeared to have studied the scriptures with care, though in many things 'he erred from the truth.'

5. Photius did not know, who was meant by Aram, nor whether it was a real or fictitious name. But learned men are now well satisfied, that [g] hereby is to be understood St. Jerom: and that in this work Theodore aimed to confute Jerom's three Dialogues against the Pelagians. And it is supposed, that he had also an eye to Augustine.

6. It is observable, that [h] in the copies which Photius had of all these works, they were said to be written by Theodore of Antioch. Nevertheless Photius perceived, that they were written by Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia; and had good evidence of it from some of his epistles, which he had read.

7. Theodore's works were translated into Syriac; Ebedjesu gives this account of them: 'Theodore [i] the Commentator composed one and forty tomes.—A Commentary upon the book 'of Genesis in three tomes; upon David in five tomes; upon the Twelve Prophets in two 'tomes; upon Samuel [or the first two books of the Kings] in one tome; upon Job in two 'tomes; upon Ecclesiastes in one tome; upon Isaiah, and Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, and Daniel, 'each in one tome: there putting an end to his labours upon the Old Testament. Matthew he 'explained in one tome; Luke and John in two tomes; the Acts of the apostles in one tome; 'the epistle to the Romans, the two epistles to the Corinthians, in two tomes; the epistles to 'the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and the two epistles to 'the Thessalonians, both the epistles to Timothy, the epistle to Titus, and to Philemon, and to 'the Hebrews; thus [k] completing his Commentaries upon the whole apostle in five tomes. 'Ebedjesu afterwards mentions several other works of Theodore. A book concerning the sacra-'ments: one book entitled Of the Faith: one tome Concerning the Priesthood: two tomes 'concerning the Holy Spirit: a tome concerning the Incarnation: two tomes against Eunomius: 'and [l] two other against an author, who asserted sin to be in our nature: two other against 'Magic:—and [m] moreover five tomes against the Allegorists:—and a book of Jewels, in which his 'epistles are collected: and a Discourse of Lawgiving, wherewith he put an end to his labours.'

[a] Βιβλιδαριον——Cod. 81. p. 200.

[b] Conf. Theod. de Mops. art. 6. Tillem. T. 12.

[c] —— προς τȣς λεγοντας, φυσει και ȣ γνωμῃ πταιειν τȣς ανθρωπȣς.——Cod. 177. p. 396.

[d] —— εν τῃ φυσει, και ȣκ εν προαιρεσει κεκτησθαι την ἁμαρτιαν. Ib.

[e] —— μηδε τα παιδια, κἀν αρτιγενητα ῃ, μη απηλλαχθαι ἁμαρτιας.

[f] Ετι δε ȣδε το λεγειν αυτον, απ' αρχης μεν θνητον πεπλασθαι τον Αδαμ, ενδειξει δε μονον· ἱνα μισησωμεν την ἁμαρτιαν, σχηματισαι ȣτω τον Θεον. Ibid.

[g] Vid. T. Ittigii Diss. de Aramo scriptore ecclesiastico antipelagiano. In App. ad Diss. de Hæresiarchis. p. 466. &c. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 387. Tillem. Theodor. de M. Art. 7. Mem. T. xii. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 402. not. 4. Beaus. H. M. T. ii. p. 466, 467. Hod. de Bib. Text. p. 322. n. 18.

[h] Vid. Cod. 177. p. 396. in. Et Conf. Cod. 4. p. 8. cod. 38. p. 24. cod. 81. p. 200.

[i] Theodorus Commentator.

Composuit quadraginta et unum tomum, Ebedjesu Catalog. cap. 19. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 30. &c.

[k] Quinque autem tomis finem imposuit
Commentariis suis in totum Apostolum.
Ibid. p. 33.

[l] Ac duo alii adversus asserentem
Peccatum in naturâ insitum esse.——Ib. p. 34.

[m] Quinque præterea tomos composuit
Adversus Allegoricos,
Et unum pro Basilio.

Item

8. Simeon, who [a] was bishop of Beth-Arsam, or Arsamopolis, in Persia, from the year of Christ 510 to 525, says, that [b] Theodore wrote commentaries upon all the books of the Old and New Testament.

9. According to [c] the Edessen Chronicle, he began to write commentaries in the year of Christ 402, or the ninth year of his episcopate.

10. I forbear to transcribe [d] Gennadius's chapter concerning Theodore; but would refer to some learned moderns [e] for a farther account of his works. For the present let us make a stand, and review what we have seen in ancient authors.

(1.) Ebedjesu having mentioned Theodore's Commentaries upon the Twelve Prophets, and upon Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, adds, that he there put an end to his labours upon the Old Testament. Which may afford an argument, that Theodore did not receive, as sacred and divine scripture, any books written after those of the Jewish canon.

(2.) He is said [f] to have spoken in disrespectful terms of the book of Job, and the Canticles. But [g] as those accounts appear among the charges and accusations of enemies, there is, in all probability, some misrepresentation. Moreover, as we have seen in Ebedjesu, he wrote a Commentary upon the book of Job: which may amount to a confutation of one part of that charge.

(3.) Ebedjesu mentions commentaries upon the three gospels only of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, saying nothing particularly of St. Mark. Nevertheless there can be no question made, but he received four gospels, as other Christians did: and we may see proof of it in a fragment to be alleged presently.

(4.) Theodore, as we are also assured by Ebedjesu, wrote commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epistles, particularly upon that to the [h] Hebrews.

(5.) None of the accounts of his commentaries, which we have seen, are sufficient to satisfy us, which of the catholic epistles were received by him. Unquestionably, he received those, which had been all along received by Christians in general. But what was his opinion concerning the rest, and concerning the book of the Revelation, does not as yet clearly appear, that I know of.

(6.) Most of Theodore's works are lost. But fragments may be found, chiefly in Latin, and perhaps not fairly represented, in the Acts of the second general council of Constantinople, or the fifth general council, held in 553, as also in Facundus, and in the Greek Chains. We are likewise assured by Fabricius, that [i] his Commentary upon the Twelve Prophets is still in being, in manuscript, in the emperor's library at Vienna. D. B. de Montfauçon, in his Diarium Italicum, in his account of things in the library of St. Mark at Venice, speaks [k] of its being there, and in the library at Vienna, and in the Vatican: of which [l] he speaks again in his

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Item librum Margaritarum,
In quo Epistolæ ejus collectæ sunt,
Demum Sermonem de Legislatione,
Quo finem lucubrationibus suis imposuit.
Ib. p. 34. et 35.

[a] Vid. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. 341.

[b] A Diodoro accepit Theodorus, Mopsuestiæ in Ciliciâ, qui omnes quidem tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti libros commentatus est. Sim. Beth-Ars. ap. Assem. ib. p. 348.

[c] Vid. ib. p. 400.

[d] Gennad. de Script. Ec. cap. 12.

[e] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Oudin. de Scr. Ec. T. i. p. 895. Du Pin. Bib. T. iii. p. 90. Tillem. Mem. T. xii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 33. T. ix. p. 153, &c. Pagi Ann. 423. n. xv.—xix.

[f] Vid. Conc. Constant. ii. app. Labbé. T. v. p. 451, 452. Conf. Tillem. T. xii. Theod. de M. art. v. et Du Pin ubi supr. p. 90. b.

[g] On dit, que Theodore de Mopsueste [Garnier. ad Mar. Mercat. Diss. i. sect. 9. p. 320.] regardoit le livre de Job comme une fable tirée du paganisme,——le Cantique de Salomon comme une chanson d' amoureux——J' ai de la peine à le croire——Il n' y eut personne pendant sa vie, qui l' accusât d' erreur——Il ne fut condamné que près de cent cinquante ans après sa mort, par la cabale de Justinien. J. Basn. H. de l' Egl. l. viii. ch. v. n. 6. p. 430. Vid. ib. l. x. ch. 6. n. 4. p. 520.

[h] Dr. Joseph Asseman, in a note upon Ebedjesu's Catalogue, says: Epistolas Pauli omnes a Theodoro fuse explicatas esse, testatur Theodoritus. Præfat. in Comment. in easdem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 32. Which led me to consult Theodoret's preface to his Commentaries upon St. Paul's Epistles, and his argument to the Epistle to the Hebrews. But I have not found there any mention made of Theodore's Commentaries. It seems that Dr. Asseman borrowed this from Dr. Cave, who still says in the new edition of his H. L. T. i. p. 387, in his account of Theodore's Works: Commentarii in 14 D. Pauli Epistolas; quas omnes a Theodoro fuse explicatas esse, auctor est Theodoritus. Præf. in Comm. in Ep. S. Pauli. This mistake is corrected by Fabricius, who seems to have had the same fruitless task imposed upon him by Cave, that I have had from Asseman. Quod vero Epistolas Pauli omnes fuse explicatas a Theodoro scripserit Theodoritus, in ejus Præfatione Commentarii in Epistolas Apostoli, quam laudat eruditissimus Caveus, non reperio. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ix. p. 163. m.

[i] 'In duodecim Prophetas Commentarius.'——Integer foliorum 223 servatur Græce in Bibl. Cæsareâ teste Lambecio. Fabr. B. G. T. ix. p. 162.

[k] 'Theodori Antiocheni in xii. Prophetas.' Hic liber nondum editus est. Exstat quoque in Bibliothecâ Cæsareâ Viennensi, et in Vaticanâ Bibliothecâ. Diar. Ital. p. 39.

[l] In Bibliothecâ Cæsareâ Vindebonorum. Codex clxiii. bombycinus Græcus, Theodori Mopsuesteni in duodecim Pro-

Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum MSS. I am glad there is so good evidence that this work is still extant, and that there are several copies of it; I hope, it may some time be published: it might let us know more fully this writer's manner of interpreting scripture; and, possibly, we might there see his sentiments concerning the disputed books of the New Testament, about which we do not yet distinctly know his opinion.

(7.) The last work of Theodore in Ebedjesu's Catalogue, is entitled, A Discourse of Lawgiving, or of the Lawgiver. As it is not now extant, we cannot say what was in it: but if a conjecture were to be formed, we might be apt to think, the [a] design of it was to shew, that one and the same God was the author of the Old and the New Testament, or of the more ancient and the latter dispensation.

III. I shall now put down a fragment, or passage of Theodore concerning the four gospels, which is prefixed by Dr. Mill to St. John's gospel, taken [b] from Corderius's Chain upon that evangelist. As Dr. Mill's New Testament is very common, I need not transcribe the Greek here at length; but I shall endeavour to make a literal version of it.

Says Theodore: 'After [c] the Lord's ascension to heaven, the disciples stayed a good while 'at Jerusalem, visiting the cities in its neighbourhood, preaching chiefly to the Jews; until the 'great Paul, called by the divine grace, was appointed to preach the gospel to the Gentiles 'openly. And in process of time, Divine Providence, not allowing them to be confined to any 'one particular part of the earth, made way for conducting them to remote countries. Peter went 'to Rome, the others elsewhere. John, in particular, took up his abode at Ephesus, visiting how-'ever at seasons the several parts of Asia, and doing much good to the people of that country by 'his discourses. About [d] this time the other evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, published 'their gospels; which were soon spread all over the world, and were received by all the faithful 'in general with great regard. Nevertheless, the Christians of Asia, having a great opinion of 'the abilities and faithfulness of John, and considering that he had been with Jesus from the 'beginning, even before Matthew, and that he had been greatly favoured by the Lord, brought 'to him the other books of the gospels, desiring to know his opinion concerning them. And he 'declared his approbation of them, saying, that what they had written was agreeable to truth; 'but that some miracles, which might be of great use if recorded, were omitted. He said, 'moreover, that whereas they had written of the coming of Christ in the flesh, it was fit that 'the things concerning his Divinity also should be recorded. The brethren thereupon earnestly 'desired him to write those things, which he esteemed needful to be known, and which he saw 'to have been omitted by the rest: with which request he complied. And he was induced to 'begin immediately with the doctrine of Christ's Deity. After which he proceeded to the 'account of the things said and done by the Lord in the flesh.'

It will now be proper to make some remarks.

1. This account of the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel agrees very much with that in [e] Eusebius of Cæsarea. I mention this observation in the first place, because it is likely, that the occasion of St. John's gospel was the thing primarily intended in that part of our author's work, from which this passage is taken.

2. The late date of the first three gospels is here supposed: they were not written, until after that the first twelve disciples had for a good while preached the gospel to the Jews at Jerusalem, and in the neighbouring cities; nor until after St. Paul had been called, and had openly preached the gospel to the Gentiles; nor until after that St. Peter had been at Rome; nor, as it seems, until after, or at least, about the time of St. John's taking up his abode at Ephesus in Asia.

3. It seems to be supposed, that all the first three gospels were written about the same time.

4. Those gospels were soon spread abroad among Christians all over the world. This is expressly said by our author, as well as that they were received by all with great regard. And indeed the accounts given, both by Theodore and by Eusebius, of the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel, afford good evidence, that the first three gospels soon came into the hands of

phetas Minores. Biblioth. MSS. T. i. p. 546. Et vid. in Ind. Gen. Theodor. Mops. in Scripturam.

[a] Vid. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 33. not. 3.

[b] Ap. Balth. Corderii. Caten. in S. Joan. in Proœm. Anty. 1630.

[c] Μετα την εις ϑρανες αναληψιν τϑ κυριϑ επι πολλω μεν τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις ενδιετριψαν οι μαθηται, τω χρονω. κ. λ.

[d] Γινεται τοινυν εν τουτοις των λοιπων ευαγγελιστων εκδοσις, Ματθαιϑ τε και Μαρκϑ.——

[e] See p. 369.

many Christians. Before St. John wrote his gospel, the Christians in Asia had seen and read the other three; and they asked St. John his opinion concerning them, and he approved them. There can be no reason to doubt, that about this time, and soon after they were written, those three gospels were delivered to other Christians, beside those in Asia.

5. The publishing of St. John's gospel, which he wrote now at the request of the believers at Ephesus, would contribute to their being yet more public, and looked upon by all with the greatest veneration. And from this time forward, it is reasonable to think, the four gospels were collected in one code or volume. And St. John's gospel, now added to the rest, would occasion a diligent comparing of all of them together, and a careful attention to the several accounts of each.

I now proceed.

IV. That Theodore was a celebrated commentator, we have seen: that he was also a celebrated preacher, and admired as such, at Antioch, and Constantinople, and all over the East, may be collected from testimonies in [a] Facundus.

V. 1. Theodore, as the same Facundus [b] says, lived and died in the communion of the church. And his great reputation is manifest from Sozomen and Theodoret, before cited. Nevertheless afterwards, upon occasion of the Pelagian and Nestorian controversies, there [c] were great debates about his sentiments; and not a few moderns [d] called him the parent both of Pelagianism and Nestorianism: whilst others allow [e] indeed his holding the Pelagian principle, but thinks the charge of Nestorianism not so clear. Divers passages of his, alleged by Facundus,[f] seem not reconcileable therewith: however, we have seen, that Photius, in his account of Theodore's works, scruples not to accuse him of being in the Nestorian principle. And in his epistles he says, that [g] Nestorius borrowed his abominable doctrine from Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia: but bishop R. Montague,[h] in a note upon Photius, vindicates both those great men.

2. I shall take here two passages of Theodore, one out of his commentary upon St. John's gospel, the other out of his commentary upon the Acts of the apostles; as they are cited, in Latin, in [i] the Acts of the fore-mentioned council of Constantinople, in 553, and in Greek, in the emperor Justinian's confession of the right faith, or his edict issued in [k] 545, or rather in [l] 551; against the three chapters, as they are called, that is the works of our Theodore, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, and the letter of Ibas bishop of Edessa, about the year 436, to Maris a Persian. They are alleged in the way of reproach, and are among charges brought against him: and perhaps the quotations are not quite exact and fair; nevertheless, they may be of some use to us, in forming an idea of Theodore's judgment, or way of thinking.

In [m] his commentary upon St. John's gospel, he says, 'that when Thomas made that confes-

[a] Theodosio Imperatori, qui per idem tempus mundi regebat gubernacula, sic dicit: Theodorus enim, quem quando dicimus, virum dicimus in episcopatu clarum finem habentem, et quinquaginta pene annis fortiter repugnantem cunctis hæresibus, et in expositionibus, quas in omnibus ecclesiis orientalibus faciebat, et quibus in regiâ civitate valde esset comprobatus, apparet. &c. Facund. l. ii. c. 2. p. 23. Vid. et l. x. cap. 1. p. 148. E.

[b] —— in cujus pace atque honore defunctus idem Theodorus. Id. l. x. c. 1. p. 148. C. Vid. et l. ii. c. 2.

[c] Vid. S. Basnag. Ann. 550. n. vii.—ix. 551. n. x. &c. 553. n. xvii. &c. Tillem. Theodore de M. art. 4. Mem. T. xii.

[d] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Pelagianorum æque ac Nestorianorum parens. Assem. ad Chr. Edess. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 402. not. 3.

Hinc Theodorus merito Pelagianorum pater audit, ejusque sectatores Chaldæi Nestoriani de originali peccato usque in præsentem diem male sentiunt.——Nam Nestoriani Pelagianum dogma expresse docuere, ut probat Pagius ad annum 428. n. xvi. hac in re a magistro suo Nestorio desciscentes, qui de peccato originali recte senserat. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 34. not. 1. Conf. Pagi Ann. 423. n. xv.—xviii.

[e] Vid. S. Basnag. Ann. 428. n. 7. [f] Facund. l. ix.

[g] Phot. Ep. i. p. 7. f. Vid. et p. 11. m.

[h] Intelligit Mopsuestenum, et Tarsensem episcopos, qui et doctissimi et orthodoxi erant, aut habebantur, præcipue Diodorus, et a Basilio, Chrysostomo, ac aliis laudantur. Nec nisi mortui in suspicionem hæreseos venere, et sequiorum calamis punguntur. Qui mihi non persuadent, fuisse hæreseos labe infectos. Montac. Not. ad Phot. Ep. i. p. 46.

[i] Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, 'Dominus meus et Deus meus' dicit; non ipsum Dominum et Deum dicens, (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat et Deum esse eum qui resurrexit) sed quasi pro miraculo facto Deum collaudat.

— Ut quum ad ipsum accessissent, tamquam Salvatorem, et omnium bonorum auctorem, et doctorem veritatis, ab ipso, utpote auctore bonorum, et doctore veritatis vocarentur: sicut omnibus hominibus, quamcumque sectam sequentibus, consuetudo est ab ipso dogmatis inventore vocari, ut Platonici et Epicuræi, Manichæi et Marcionistæ, et siquidem tales dicuntur. Eodem modo et nos nominari Christianos judicaverunt Apostoli, tamquam per hoc certum facientes, quod ipsius doctrinam oportet adtendere. Conc. Constantin. ii. Col. iv. ap. Labbé. T. v. p. 440, 441.

[k] Vid. Cav. de Justiniano. H. L. T. i. p. 509. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. xi. p. 441.

[l] Pagi ann. 551. n. v. Basnag. ann. 551. n. 7, 8.

[m] Ουτος δε και την ομολογιαν Θωμα, ην επι τη ψηλαφησει των χειρων και της πλευρας τε κυριε μετα την αναστασιν, το, ὁ κυριος μου και Θεος μου, ειπεν, μη ειρησθαι περι τε Χριστε παρα τω Θωμα, (ου γαρ ειναι λεγει τον Χριστον Θεον) αλλ' επι τω παραδοξω της αναστασεως εκπλαγεντα τον Θωμαν ὑμνησαι τον

'sion to Christ, "My Lord and my God," [John xx. 28,] he did not call Christ Lord and 'God; but being astonished at the great miracle of his resurrection, and the full evidence of 'it, which had been afforded to him, he praised God, who had raised Christ from the dead. 'Nor is the being raised from the dead a proof of deity.' And in his commentary upon the Acts of the apostles, he says: 'As the Platonics and Epicureans, and the men of other sects, 'are called from their masters, who first taught the principles professed by them; so Christians 'are called from Christ, whom they have received as the teacher of truth, and their Saviour, 'and the author of all good. And the apostles therefore gave us this denomination, that thereby 'we might be reminded of our obligation to adhere to Christ's doctrine.'

That is the sense of those two passages, as may appear to such as will compare the Latin and Greek at the bottom of the pages.

3. I conclude this chapter with transcribing below [a] the charges brought against Theodore, and the principles ascribed to him, by Simeon Beth-Arsam before-mentioned, as the passage may entertain some of my readers: though indeed he there, and elsewhere [b] speaks to the like purpose also of Diodorus, whom he considers as his master; and Paul of Samosata as master of both. But Theodore of Mopsuestia is the worst of all, having added to, and farther established the Unitarian Jewish Sentiments, which he had received from them.[c]

CHAP. CXIV.

JEROM.

I. *His time.* II. *His history and character.* III. *A catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, from his prologue to the books of Samuel and the Kings, translated by him from Hebrew, with remarks.* IV. *Of the books called Hagiographa.* V. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, from his letter to Paulinus.* VI. *Another catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament.* VII. *His preface to his commentary upon St. Matthew, concerning the four evangelists, and their gospels.* VIII. *His history of the eight writers of the New Testament, from his book of Illustrious Men, with remarks.* 1. *Matthew.* 2. *Mark.* 3. *Luke.* 4. *John.* 5. *Paul.* 6. *James.* 7. *Peter.* 8. *Jude.* IX. *Apocryphal books mentioned by Jerom.* X. *His editions of the books of scripture, and commentaries upon them, and other works for explaining the scriptures.* XI. *His respect for the scriptures.* XII. *Various readings.* XIII. *Observations upon the original languages, and the style of the scriptures.* XIV. *Select passages concerning divers matters.*

I. Eusebius Hieronymus,[d] or St. Jerom, was born of Christian parents,[e] at Striden, on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia. It is generally allowed by learned men, that he died in the

Θεον εγειραντα τον Χρεστον. Το δε χειρον, ὁτι εν τῃ των Πραξεων των Αποστολων γενομενῃ παρ' αυτȣ δηθεν ἑρμηνειᾳ, συγκρινων ὁ αυτος Θεοδωρος τον Χριστον Πλατωνι, και Μανιχαιῳ, και Επικȣρω, και Μαρκιωνι, λεγει, ὁτι ὡσπερ εκεινων ἑκαστος εὑραμενος οικειον δογμα τȣς αυτῳ μαθητευσαντας πεποιηκε καλεισθαι Πλατωνικȣς, και Μανιχαιȣς, και Επικȣρειȣς, και Μαρκιωνιστας, τον ὁμοιον τροπον και τȣ Χριστȣ εὑραμενȣ το δογμα, εξ αυτȣ τȣς Χριστιανȣς καλεισθαι. Ap. Chron. Pasch. p. 361. et Concil. Labb. T. v. p. 706.

[a] A Diodoro accepit Theodorus Mopsuestiæ in Ciliciâ, qui omnes tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti libros commentatus est. Verum in cunctis ipsius commentariis et sermonibus Judaïcam de Christo opinionem tradit, Diodoro, Pauloque Samosateno præceptoribus suis consentiens. Quæ vero a Simone Mago, a Paulo, et a Diodoro asserebantur, hæc ille amplificavit, confirmavitque, asserens Christum hominem esse creatum, factum, mortalem, consubstantialem nobis, Filium adoptivum, et Templum Dei æterni, non Filium naturalem Dei esse, sed per gratiam et adoptionem.—A Theodoro accepit Nestorius, &c. Ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 348, 349.

[b] A Paulo accepit Diodorus Tarsi Ciliciæ episcopus.—Christum vero ipsum hominem existimavit creatum, factum, mortalem, consubstantialem nobis, et Filium per gratiam, Pauli Samosateni præceptoris sui vestigiis presse inhærens. Ib. p. 348. in.

[c] Some learned moderns think, that Diodorus of Tarsus, in his old age, in opposing the Apollinarians, espoused the same doctrine concerning Christ with Paul of Samosata, Marcellus of Galatia, and Photinus: which, as they say, was likewise the opinion of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius. Vid. Garner. ad Marium Mercatorem. T. ii. p. 317—319. et Pagi ann. 428. xix. Et Conf. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 361. et Tillem. Mem. T. viii. Diodore de Tarse.

[d] Hieronymus, patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis, quod, a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiæ quondam Pannoniæque confinium fuit, usque in præsentem annum, id est, Theodosii principis decimum quartum, hæc scripsi... De Vir. Ill. cap. 135.

[e] Quanto magis ego Christianus, de parentibus Christianis natus? Pr. in Job, T. i. p. 798, in.

year 420; but it is not easy to determine with certainty the time of his birth. Some have supposed that [a] he was not born till about 342; others [b] place his birth in 329, or 330, or 331, and say that [c] he was about ninety years of age when he died. I cannot but accede to the former: that date seems more agreeable to the whole course of his life, and in particular to what he says of [d] his being at a grammar school in the time of the emperor Julian, and his being [e] a youth only when he was in Gaul, which certainly was not till afterwards.

Jerom was ordained presbyter by Paulinus, at Antioch, in 378; but it was upon this condition he accepted that office, that [f] he should not be confined to any one church, or be drawn from his monastic, studious course of life.

He is placed by Cave as flourishing about the year 378, when he was ordained presbyter; but I presume it will not be much disliked that I place him at the year 392, when he wrote his book of Illustrious Men, which has been so often quoted by me in this work; and I take this opportunity to refer to [g] Tillemont's account of that book, as deserving particular notice.

Nor will it be amiss for me to transcribe below [h] a passage or two of Jerom himself relating to it. One of them is in a letter to Augustine, who had met with this work without a title, and did not know what to call it. Jerom tells him it should be entitled, of Illustrious Men, or more particularly, Of Ecclesiastical Writers. I likewise refer to his preface or introduction to it, which is inscribed to his great friend Fl. L. Dexter, who was son of Pacian, bishop of Barcelona,[i] and had the honour to be for some time præfect of the prætorium.

Jerom, in the last chapter of that work, says he brought it down to the 14th year of Theodosius; it is therefore the common opinion of learned men, that it was finished in that year. Pagi, however, says that [k] it was not published till the fifteenth year of Theodosius, 393; and that the fourteenth year should be understood inclusively, not exclusively.

II. As I do not write at large the history of Jerom, it may not be proper for me to attempt his character: nevertheless, considering his great eminence and fame as a writer, I am unwilling quite to omit either.

He [l] studied grammar and other parts of literature at Rome, where [m] he was when the tidings of the emperor Julian's death was brought thither. One [n] of his masters was the celebrated grammarian Donatus, author of commentaries upon Terence and Virgil: he seems [o] to have had other masters for logic, and the several branches of philosophy. Having studied some while at Rome, he went into [p] Gaul. Whilst he was at Treves, as [q] we learn from one of his epistles, he

[a] Baron. Ann. 372. n. lvii. . . . lxii. Tillem. S. Jerome, art. 2. et note 2. Mem. Ec. T. xii.

[b] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 267. Pagi, Ann. 420. n. xxi. S. Basnag. Ann. 378. n. xii.

[c] . . . qui natus est anno 329, denatus 420, ætatis 91. H. Hod. de Bib. Text. Orig. l. iii. P. ii. c. 2. p. 350. —— De Hieronymo ipso, qui anno 331 natus, et nonagenario propior, presbyter Bethleemiticus, A. C. 420 obiit, nihil dicere quam pauca præstat. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 375.

[d] Dum adhuc essem puer, et in grammaticæ ludo exercerer, omnesque urbes victimarum cæde polluerentur, ac subito in ipso persecutionis ardore Juliani nuntiaretur interitus, &c. In Abac. cap. 3. T. iii. p. 1036, in.

[e] . . quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Atticotes, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus. Adv. Jovin. l. ii. p. 202. M. T. iv.

[f] Fac a te ordinatum, idem ab eo audies, quod a me misello homine sanctæ memoriæ episcopus Paulinus audivit: Num rogavi te, ut ordinarer? Si sic presbyterium tribuis, ut monachum non auferas, tu videris de judicio tuo. Sin autem sub nomine presbyteri tollis mihi propter quod seculum dereliqui, ego habeo quod semper habui, nullum dispendium in ordinatione passus es. Ad Pamm. ep. 38, al. 61. T. iv. p. 333, in.

[g] See S. Jerome, art. 58. T. xii.

[h] Dicis accepisse te librum meum a quodam fratre, qui titulum non haberet; in quo scriptores ecclesiasticos, tam Græcos quam Latinos, enumeraverim. . . Ergo hic liber, vel De Illustribus Viris, vel proprie De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, appellandus est; licet a plerisque emendatoribus imperitis De Auctoribus dicatur inscriptus. Ad Aug. ep. 74, al. 89. T. iv. P. ii. p. 818. —— Scripsi librum De Illustribus Viris ab apostolis usque ad nostram ætatem, imitatus Tranquillum, Græcumque Apollonium; et post catalogum plurimorum, me quoque in calce voluminis, quasi abortivum, et minimum omnium Christianorum, posui: ubi mihi necesse fuit usque ad decimum quartum annum Theodosii principis quæ scripserim breviter annotare. Ad Desider. ep. 48. al. 144. T. iv. p. 562.

[i] Vid. De V. I. cap. 132; et adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 419.

[k] Nam Hieronymus librum illum anno trecentesimo nonagesimo tertio, quo Theodosius die xix. Januarii annum decimum quintum iniit, et quindecennalia celebravit, in lucem emisit. Solebant quippe auctores (ut toties a me monitum est) annis hujusmodi solenniis dicatis opera sua publicare. Quare eo in opere Hieronymus loquitur de scriptoribus qui usque ad annum Theodosii xiv. inclusive, non vero exclusive, floruere; ipsumque in lucem dedit anno decimo quinto Theodosii. Pagi, Ann. 389. n. iv.

[l] Puto quod puer legeris. . . . Victorini in Dialogos Ciceronis, et in Terentii Comœdias præceptoris mei Donati, atque in Virgilium. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 367. —— Dum adhuc essem puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum cæteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi diebus Dominicis sepulcra apostolorum et martyrum circuire, &c. In Ez. cap. xl. T. iii. 979, F.

[m] See before, note [d]

[n] Victorinus rhetor, et Donatus grammaticus meus, Romæ insignes habentur. Chr. p. 184.

[o] Stultus ego, qui me putaverim hæc absque philosophis scire non posse . . . nec quidquam me doctus magister per εισαγωγην introduxit in logicam. Ad Domn. ep. 32, al. 51. T. iv. p. 245, in.

[p] Vid. supra, note [c]; et conf. Pr. ii. in Ep. ad Gal.

[q] Interpretationem quoque Psalmorum Davidicorum, et

wrote out for the use of his friend Rufinus the Commentaries of Hilary of Poictiers upon the Psalms, and his long treatise of Synods, composed in 358. He afterwards returned into Italy; and now, whilst he was in the western part of the empire, he [a] seems to have collected a good library; to which, undoubtedly, additions were made afterwards. From Italy he went into the east, where he spent several years, partly in the deserts of Syria, partly at Antioch, partly at Constantinople. In 382 he came to Rome, and was made secretary to Pope Damasus. Near the end of 385 he returned into the east: I place below [b] the description of his voyage, in his own words. In the year 386 he settled at Bethlehem, where he resided the remaining part of his life; excepting, perhaps, an excursion into Egypt, and some journies in Palestine.

As Jerom owes a large part of his reputation to his acquaintance with Hebrew, an uncommon thing among Christians at that time, some particular notice may be fitly taken of it. He seems to have begun his acquaintance with that language in his younger [c] days, which he afterwards improved by great application and diligence. He had at least two Hebrew masters, of great note for skill in their own tongue; one [d] an unbeliever, another [e] a Christian. To [f] these, or other learned rabbins, he often refers in his Commentaries upon the scriptures of the Old Testament; mentioning some of their observations, or interpretations of texts which he had received from them. In his preface to the book of Job, translated by him from Hebrew, he says that [g] at a great expence he had procured the instructions of a very learned Jew, to lead him into the right interpretation of that difficult book. He [h] speaks to the like purpose in the preface to his translation of the book of Chronicles, from the Seventy; and says that he had travelled over the land of Judea in the company of some Jews, in great reputation for learning; supposing that a distinct knowledge of the situation and names of places in that country might contribute more than a little to the understanding of the scriptures, especially the historical books. In his Comment upon the book of Nahum he says, that [i] in his perambulation over the land of Judea, he had been shewn by his learned Jewish conductor the place of the nativity of that prophet, which was then a small village in Galilee, almost in ruins.

prolixum valde de Synodis librum sancti Hilarii, quem ei apud Treviros manu meâ ipse descripseram, ut mihi transferas, peto. Ad Flor. ep. 4. al. 6. T. iv. p. 6.

[a] . . . Bibliothecâ, quam mihi Romæ summo studio et labore confeceram, carere non poteram. Ad Eustoch. ep. 18, al. 22. T. iv. P. ii. p. 42. Conf. et Ep. ad Florent. ubi supra.

[b] Mense Augusto, flantibus Etesiis, cum sancto Vincentio presbytero, et adolescente fratre, et aliis monachis . . . navim in Romano portu securus ascendi . . . Veni Rhegium . . . Malui per Maleas et Cycladas Cyprium pergere. Ubi susceptus a venerabili episcopo Epiphanio, cujus testimonio gloriaris, veni Antiochiam, ubi fruitus sum communione pontificis confessorisque Paulini, et deductus ab eo mediâ hieme, et frigore gravissimo, intravi Ierosolymam . . . Inde contendi Ægyptum, lustravi monasteria Nitriæ . . . Protinus concito gradu Bethleem meam reversus sum. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 459, F.

[c] Hebræam linguam, quam ego ab adolescentiâ multo labore ac sudore ex parte didici, et indefatigabili meditatione non desero, ne ipse ab eâ deserar, &c. Ad Eustoch. ep. 86, al 27. T. iv. p. 686.

Veni rursum Ierosolymam et Bethleem. Quo labore, quo pretio, Baraninam nocturnum habui præceptorem! Timebat enim Judæos, et mihi alterum exhibebat Nicodemum. Horum omnium frequenter in opusculis meis facio mentionem. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41, al. 65. ib. p. 342. Conf. adv. Ruf. l. i. ib. p. 363. et 369, in.

[d] Ad quam edomandam cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebræis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi: ut post Quintiliani acumina, Ciceronis fluvios, gravitatemque Frontonis, et lenitatem Plinii, alphabetum discerem, et stridentia anhelantiaque verba meditarer. Ad Rustic. ep. 95. al. 4. p. 774.

[e] Verbum Hebraïcum . . . lxx. transtulerunt . . . Hebræus, quo ego præceptore usus sum, Arcturum interpretatus est. In Is. cap. xiii. T. iii. p. 109.—Referebat mihi Hebræus, præsentem visionem non pertinere ad illud tempus quo Nabuchodonosor Jerusalem cepit . . . sed ad Sennacherib tempora. In Is. cap. xxii. p. 138.—Hebræus autem, qui nos in Veteris Testamenti lectione erudivit, &c. Ib. p. 200.—Est vir quidam, a quo ego plura didicisse me gaudeo, et qui Hebræum sermonem ita elimârit, ut inter scribas eorum Chaldæus existimetur. Is longe aliâ viâ ingressus est. Ad Damas. de Seraphim et Calculo. T. iii. p. 220. Vid. ib. p. 222. Vid. et in Naum. cap. ii. T. iii. p. 1568, M.

[f] Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis Lyddæum quemdam præceptorem, qui apud Hebræos primus haberi putabatur non parvis redemisse nummis; cujus doctrinâ an aliquid profecerim, nescio. Hoc unum scio, non potuisse me interpretari nisi quod ante intellexeram. Pr. in Job. T. i. p. 795.

[g] Quomodo Græcorum historias magis intelligunt, qui Athenas viderint . . . ita sanctam scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Judæam oculis contemplatus est. Unde et nobis curæ fuit, cum eruditissimis Hebræorum hunc laborem subire, ut circumiremus provinciam, quam universæ Christi ecclesiæ sonant. Fateor enim, mi Domnion, et Rogatiane carissimi, nunquam me in divinis voluminibus propriis viribus credidisse, nec habuisse magistrum opinionem meam; sed ea etiam, de quibus scire me arbitrabar, interrogare solitum. Quanto magis de his, super quibus anceps eram? Denique, quum a me nuper literis flagitâssetis, ut vobis Paralipomenôn librum Latino sermone transferrem, de Tiberiade legis quondam doctorem, qui apud Hebræos admirationi habebatur, assumpsi; et contuli cum eo a vertice, ut aiunt, usque ad extremum unguem. Et sic confirmatus, ausus sûm facere quod jubebatis. Pr. in Paral. T. i. p. 1418.

[h] Porro, quod additur: 'Naüm Elcesæi:' [cap. i. 1.] quidam putant, Elcesæum patrem esse Naüm . . . quum Elcesi usque hodie in Galilæâ viculus sit; parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judæis, et mihi quoque a circunducente monstratus. Pr. in Naum, T. iii. p. 1559.

It is pleasant to observe how[a] Jerom represents the harshness which the study of the Hebrew language, and the reading of their authors, had brought upon his Latin style and pronunciation. He speaks after this manner in a letter supposed to be written so early as the year 384.

I may not give any account of his controversial writings against Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and others; I am obliged to decline it for avoiding too great prolixity: besides, the history of those controversies is well known, and may be seen in many[b] authors. Nor may I remark here upon his difference with his friend Rufinus: though I fear it cannot be quite passed over, and will come in our way hereafter. And in shewing his testimony to the scriptures, I shall be led to take notice of many of his works relating to them, for explaining and illustrating them.

Great commendations of Jerom may be seen in divers ancient writers who were his contemporaries, or who lived not long after him: particularly[c] Sulpicius Severus,[d] Augustine, and[e] Prosper, who fail not to mention his skill in three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and extol his learning, diligence, zeal for the catholic faith, and freedom in reproving the vices of the clergy, and other Christians of his time.

Nor can it, in my opinion, be improper to take notice of what Jerom upon divers occasions says of himself, and of his laborious, studious course of life: that[f] he had been from the beginning diligent and inquisitive, that[g] all his days he had been employed in the schools of rhetoricians and philosophers, or[h] in reading the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; that, beside Latin and Greek, he had endeavoured to make himself master of Hebrew; that[i] he did not rely upon his own judgment and understanding in interpreting the scriptures, but consulted other commentators, and was willing to improve by their labours; that[k] he never thought himself too

[a] Nos, ut scis, Hebræorum lectione detenti, in Latinâ linguâ rubiginem obduximus, in tantum ut loquentibus quoque nobis stridor quidam non Latinus interstrepat. Ad Marcell. de Ephod et Teraphim, T. ii. p. 616, al. ep. 130. Scripta Romæ, 384.—Loquar? Sed omnem sermonis elegantiam, et Latini eloquii venustatem, stridor lectionis Hebraïcæ sordidavit. Nôstis enim et ipsæ, quod plus quam quindecim anni sunt, ex quo in manus meas nunquam Tullius, nunquam Maro, nunquam Gentilium literarum quilibet auctor ascendit. Pr. iii. in Galat. T. iv. p. 287. Scr. A. C. 388, vel circiter.—Obsecro te, lector, ut ignoscas celeri sermone dictanti; nec requiras eloquii venustatem, quam multo tempore Hebreæ linguæ studio perdidi. In Agg. cap. ii. T. iii. p. 1704, F.

[b] Accounts of those controversies may be seen in all ecclesiastical historians, and in the writers of Jerom's life. The history of Jovinian may be read in Mr. Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. i. p 253... 257. And the affair of Vigilantius is largely treated by Ja. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, l. xix. ch. 13. sect. 5... 13. For Jovinian see also, by all means, S. Basnag. Annal. 382. n. xii. xiii.

[c] ... Hieronymus, vir maxime catholicus, et sacræ legis peritissimus: S. Sever. Dial. i. cap. 3, al. c. 7.—Igitur inde digressus, Bethleem oppidum petii... Ecclesiam loci illius Hieronymus presbyter regit... Mihi jam pridem Hieronymus superiore illâ meâ peregrinatione compertus, facile obtinuerat, ut nullum mihi expetendum rectius arbitrarer. Vir enim, præter fidei meritum, dotemque virtutum, non solum Latinis atque Græcis, sed et Hebræis ita literis institutus est, ut se illi in omni scientiâ nemo audeat comparare. Miror autem, si non et vobis per multa quæ scripsit opera compertus est, cum per totum orbem legatur. Nobis vero, inquit Gallus, nimium nimiumque compertus est... Ego, ut dicere institueram, apud Hieronymum sex mensibus fui; cui jugis adversus malos pugna perpetuumque certamen. Concivit odia perditorum: oderunt eum hæretici, quia eos impugnare non desinit; oderunt clerici, quia vitam eorum insectatur et crimina. Sed plane eum boni omnes admirantur et diligunt; nam qui eum hæreticum esse arbitrantur, insaniunt. Vere dixerim, catholica hominis sententia sana doctrina est. Totus semper in lectione, totus in libris est; non die, non nocte, requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper, aut scribit. Id. ib. cap. 8. 9. al. c. 4.

[d] Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Græco, sed ex Hebræo, in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converteret. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 43. T. vii.—Illud tamen scio, quod etiam sanctus Hieronymus, qui hodieque in literis ecclesiasticis tam excellentis doctrinæ famâ ac labore versatur. Aug. de Peccat. Merit. l. iii. c. 6. n. xii. T. x.—Nec sanctum Hieronymum, quia presbyter fuit, contemnendum arbitreris, qui Græco et Latino, insuper et Hebræo, eruditus eloquio, et occidentali ad orientalem transiens ecclesiam, in locis sanctis atque in literis sacris usque ad decrepitam vixit ætatem: omnesque vel pene omnes, qui ante illum aliquid ex utrâque parte orbis de doctrinâ ecclesiasticâ scripserant, legit. Contr. Julian. Pelag. l. i. c. 7. n. xxxiv. T. x. et alibi passim.

[e] Tunc etiam Bethleï præclari nominis hospes,
Hebræo simul, et Graio, Latioque venustus
Eloquio, morum exemplum, mundique magister,
Hieronymus, libris valde excellentibus hostem
Dissecuit....
Prosper de Ingratis, cap. 3.

[f] Dum essem juvenis, miro discendi ferebar ardore, nec juxta quorumdam præsumptionem ipse me docui. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41, al. 65. T. iv. p. 342, M.—Nos autem, qui Hebreæ linguæ saltem parvam habemus scientiam, et Latinus nobis utcumque sermo non deest, et de aliis magis possumus judicare, et ea, quæ ipsi intelligimus, in nostrâ linguâ exprimere. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 427, fin.

[g] Qui et Hebræum sermonem ex parte didicimus, et in Latino, pene ab ipsis incunabulis, inter grammaticos et rhetores et philosophos detriti sumus. Pr. in Joh. T. i. p. 798, al. ep. 113. Vid. et adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 429, M. et l. iii. p. 443. init.

[h] ... si nihil mihi profuit Hebræorum eruditio, et ab adolescentiâ usque ad hanc ætatem quotidianâ in lege, prophetis, evangeliisque meditatio. Ad Domn. ep. 32, al. 51. T. iv. p. 245. Scr. Ann. 395.

[i] Non quo ab adolescentiâ aut legere unquam, aut doctos viros ea quæ nesciebam interrogare, cessaverim; et meipsum tantum, ut plerique, habuerim magistrum. Denique nuper ob hanc maxime causam Alexandriam perrexi, ut viderem Didymum, et ab eo in scripturis omnibus quæ habebam dubia sciscitarer. Ad Eph. Pr. i. T. iv. p. 319.

[k] Jam canis spargebatur caput, et magistrum potius quam discipulum decebat. Perrexi tamen Alexandriam, audivi Didymum, &c. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 342.

old to learn, but embraced all opportunities of increasing in knowledge; that[a] he was not employed, as many monks were, in making baskets of rushes, and skreens of palm-leaves, to get a livelihood, but in studying the scriptures, and putting out correct editions of them.

And though some may apprehend that hereby Jerom incurs the imputation of vanity, I rather think that he does not exceed the bounds of modesty; for he had many enemies, as appears from his writings. His most laborious and beneficial performances, correcting the ancient, and making new versions of the scriptures, were all suspected to be of a dangerous tendency, and were opposed and censured by many.

However, we are not to imagine that Jerom was in all things exempt from just reprehension. Some reflections upon him may be found in ancient writers. I forbear to take any thing from Rufinus: but as I have transcribed commendations of our author, I know not how to excuse myself in passing over the censures of Palladius, another contemporary writer, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, author of the Lausiac History; so called from Lausus, a great man in the imperial court at Constantinople, to whom it is inscribed; containing the lives of those who about this time were remarkable for great austerities in Palestine and Egypt.

Palladius is placed by[b] Cave as flourishing about the year 401, though his History was not written till about 421, in the fifty-third year of his age. Whether he is the same as Palladius who wrote a Dialogue of the Life of St. Chrysostom, in 408, is not certain.

Says Palladius, 'In[c] those parts lived Jerom, a presbyter, remarkable for his great capacity, 'and Roman eloquence; but his envious disposition obscured the merit of all his services. Posi- 'donius, who was there a good while, said to me, "The liberal Paula, who takes care of him, I 'believe will die without reproach; but such is the envy of this person, that no good man will be 'able to live there, not even his own brother." And so it has come pass.' This Palladius calls the prophecy of the excellent Posidonius: who, as[d] Tillemont thinks, was at Bethlehem in 387: and Palladius must have been there about the same time.

In another place, the same writer, speaking of Paula, who lived at Bethlehem under Jerom's direction, says, 'She[e] was well disposed for the spiritual life, if she had not been hindered by a 'certain man, named Jerom, from Dalmatia. She had so many good qualities, that she might 'have excelled most, if not all of her sex; but his envy obstructed her, that he might serve his 'own purposes.'

Tillemont supposes that[f] these reflections may have been occasioned by Jerom's moderating Paula's alms and austerities, which[g] he owns he often endeavoured to do; and likewise by diverting her from seeking after allegorical interpretations of scripture: and indeed Jerom[h] speaks particularly of an attempt to lead her into the Origenist scheme. Nevertheless, perhaps, that is not the whole which is here intended: and the farther consideration of the character of this writer, and of Jerom's conduct and writings, may afford us some elucidations.

Palladius was an Origenist, or at least a favourer of Origen, and a friend to his memory. He commends Rufinus and Melania. He says 'that[i] Rufinus was the meekest as well as the most 'learned man he ever knew. When he and Melania lived at Jerusalem, as they did many years, 'they honoured and relieved the clergy, he says, and gave offence to none, and were useful to 'almost all the world.' Melania,[k] with whom Jerom was offended after the difference between

[a] Si aut fiscellam junco texerem, aut palmarum folia complicarem, ut in sudore vultûs mei comederem panem, et ventris opus solicitâ mente tractarem; nullus morderet, nemo reprehenderet. Nunc autem, quia juxta sententiam Salvatoris volo operari cibum qui non perit, et antiquam divinorum voluminum viam sentibus virgultisque purgare; mihi genuinus infigitur, corrector vitiorum falsarius vocor, et errores non auferre, sed serere. Tanta est enim vetustatis consuetudo, ut etiam confessa plerisque vitia placeant; dum magis pulchros habere malunt codices, quam emendatos. Quapropter, O Paula, et Eustochium, unicum nobilitatis et humilitatis exemplar, pro flabello, calathis, sportulisque, munusculo monachorum, spiritualia hæc et mansura dona suscipite; ac beatum Job, qui adhuc apud Latinos jacebat in stercore, et vermibus scatebat errorum, integrum immaculatumque gaudete. Prol. in Job e Græco in Latin. sermonem a se conversum. T. i. p. 1187.

[b] H. L. T. i. p. 376.

[c] . . . Ἱερώνυμος γαρ τις πρεσβύτερος ωκει εις τοπους εκεινους, αρετη λογων Ρωμαϊκων πολλη κεκοσμημενος, και ικανη ευφυια· τοσαυτην δε εσχεν βασκανιαν, ως απο ταυτης καλυπτεσθαι των λογων την αρετην. κ. λ. Hist. Laus. c. 78. p. 1005. Bib. PP. Morell. Par. 1644.

[d] See T. xii. S. Jerome, art. 45.

[e] Hist. Laus. c. 124. p. 1037.

[f] See S. Jerome, art. 51. Mem. Ec. T. xii.

[g] Vid. ep. 86, al. 27. p. 678. F. 679, init.

[h] Tangam ergo breviter, quomodo hæreticorum cœnosos devitaverit lacus. . . . Quidam veterator callidus, atque, ut sibi videbatur, doctus et sciolus, me nesciente, cœpit ei proponere quæstiones, et dicere, &c. Ep. 86. ib. p. 684, init.

[i] H. L. cap. 117. p. 1037.

[k] Vid. ib. Cap. 117. p. 1031. et c. 119. p. 1033. &c.

him and Rufinus,[a] is here greatly extolled: nor indeed is she to be blamed for her continued friendship for Rufinus, the [b] guide and companion of her spiritual life, as he is called by Paulinus. I mention these things only for shewing the character of Palladius.

Now let us observe some things in Jerom. In the former part of his life he translated many works of Origen into Latin, and frequently commended him, calling him the greatest doctor of the churches since the times of the apostles. Afterwards his esteem for Origen abated very much. It may be perceived that in 393 or 394 began the difference between him and Rufinus, who appeared to be more favourable to Origen than Jerom then was.

In 397 Rufinus came from the east to Rome, and in that year, or in 398, published there a Latin version of Origen's books Of Principles. From that time Jerom's enmity against Origen became more manifest and violent. He said that when he commended him, he never intended to declare his approbation of any of his peculiar opinions.[c] He admired his great capacity, learning, critical skill in the style and idioms of the scripture; but he never approved his doctrine. If men would not believe him, but would have it that once he was an Origenist, he was now so no longer.

Rufinus staid at Rome above a year, and was well received by pope Siricius; who also, when he went from thence to Aquileia in 398, gave him [d] letters of communion. Siricius died before the end of that year; and was succeeded by Anastasius, who condemned Origen and his followers.[e]

About this time Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, (whose true character may be seen in [f] Isidore of Pelusium, a witness beyond exception, and in other [g] ancient as well as [h] modern writers) [i] out of private spite and envy began to persecute Dioscurus and his brothers (called 'tall' on account of their stature) whom before he had greatly favoured, and other monks of the best understanding in Egypt, under a pretence that they were Origenists. In 401, [k] Theophilus held a synod at Alexandria, in which Origen and his followers were condemned, and the reading his books was prohibited.[l] Soon after, in [m] this very year, as it seems, and at the request of Theophilus, Epiphanius held a council in Cyprus for the same purpose: and with the assistance of the Roman governor, and an armed force, Theophilus drove [n] many monks from their monasteries in the desert of Nitria, and expelled them out of Egypt: Palladius, writer of the Life of St. Chrysostom, says, they [o] were in number three hundred. They fled therefore for

[a] Vid. Hieron. ep. 33, al. 101. T. iv. p. 256. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. p. 476. M. et Rufin. Invect. l. ii. ib. p. 436, M.

[b] . . . . sanctæ Melaniæ spiritali in vitâ comitem. Paulin. ep. 28, al. ep. 9. p. 178.

[c] Objiciunt mihi, quare Origenem aliquando laudaverim. Ni fallor, duo loca sunt in quibus eum laudavi. . . . Quid ibi de dogmatibus ecclesiæ dicitur? Quid de Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto? Quid de carnis resurrectione? Quid de animæ statu atque substantiâ?. . . . Laudavi interpretem, non dogmatisten; ingenium, non fidem; philosophum, non apostolum . . . . Arguite potius ubi hæresim defenderim, ubi pravum Origenis dogma laudaverim. . . . Si mihi creditis, Origenista nunquam fui; si non creditis, nunc esse cessavi. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41, al. 65. T. iv. p. 342, 343.—Sicut enim interpretationem et idiomata scripturarum Origeni semper tribui, ita dogmatum constantissime abstuli veritatem. Ad Theoph. ep. 39, al. 62. p. 337, M.—In Origene miramur scientiam scripturarum; et tamen dogmatum non recipimus falsitatem. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 463, F.

[d] Cernentes hæretici de parvâ scintillâ maxima incendia concitari, et suppositam dudum flammam jam ad culmina pervenisse; nec posse latere quod multos deceperat, petunt et impetrant ecclesiasticas epistolas, ut communicantes ecclesiæ discessisse viderentur. Non multum tempus in medio. Succedit in pontificatum vir ignis Anastasius. Ad Princip. Virg. ep. 96, al. 16. p. 728, M.—Siricii jam in Domino dormientis profers epistolam, et viventis Anastasii dicta contemnis. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 459, init. Vid. et p. 455, I.

[e] Ergo beati episcopi, Anastasius, et Theophilus, et Venerius, et Chromatius, et omnis tam orientalis quam occidentalis catholicorum synodus, qui pari sententiâ et pari spiritu illum [Origenem] hæreticum denuntiant populis. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 417, M.—Tale quid et contra papam Anastasium disputas; ut quia Siricii episcopi habes epistolam, iste contra se scribere non potuerit. Ib. l. iii. p. 462, init.

[f] Isid. l. i. ep. 152.

[g] Socr. l. vi. c. 7. Soz. l. viii. c. 19.

[h] See Cave's Life of St. Chrysostom, in the Lives of the Fathers of the Fourth Century; and Tillem. T. xi. Theophile, art. 6.

[i] Ισως δ' αν και ηδε η ζητησις πανελως τοτε διελυθη, ει μη πεπαυμενην ηδη δι' εχθραν ιδιαν εκινησεν Θεοφιλος, επιβαλευων Αμμωνιῳ και Διοσκορῳ, Ευσεβιῳ τε και Ευθυμιῳ, τοις επικλην Μακροις κ. λ. Soz. l. viii. c. 12, init.

[k] Vid. Pagi, in Baron. A. 401. n. ii. iii.

[l] Prosperoque cursu septimo die Alexandriam pervenimus, ubi fœda inter episcopos atque monachos certamina gerebantur, ex eâ occasione, quia congregati in unum sæpius sacerdotes frequentibus decrevisse synodis videbantur, ne quis Origenis libros legeret aut haberet. Sulp. Sev. Dial. i. 3. Vid. et Socr. l. vi. c. 10.

[m] Vid. Pagi, ann. 401. n. xx. et Theophil. ad Epiphan. Ep. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 829, 830. Et Conf. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 370. de Concil. Cypr.

[n] . . . . εισερχεται προς τον Αυγδυσαλιον. . . . και αξιοι σταλικην βοηθειαν ριφηναι τους ανδρας απο πασης Αιγυπτου. Pallad. De V. S. Chr. c. 7.—Quæ cum reprimi sacerdotum auctoritate non posset, scævo exemplo ad regendam ecclesiæ disciplinam præfectus assumitur, cujus terrore dispersi fratres, ac per diversas oras monachi sunt fugati, ita ut propositis edictis in nullâ consistere sede sinerentur. S. Sever. ubi supra.

[o] Pallad. Ib.

shelter to Palestine, where [a] he pursued them: from thence they went to Constantinople; but he would not let them enjoy rest there: he still prosecuted them with accusations and complaints.

All these things Jerom approved of. He [b] translated into Latin the Synodical Epistle of Theophilus, and two other of his epistles, filled with invectives against Origen. He triumphs in his victory over the monks in Egypt, who were called Origenists; and says, 'Whom [c] Demetrius 'formerly expelled from Alexandria, Theophilus was now driving out of the whole world.' Theophilus sent two men into Palestine to hinder people from giving a reception to the tall brothers, and their companions, who had fled thither from Egypt. Jerom [d] calls them holy men, and applauds their zeal in travelling over Palestine to find them out, and pursuing the basilisks into their holes and coverts. In the same letter, which is written to Theophilus, he encourages and animates him to proceed as he had begun in extirpating heresy: which brings to my mind the account of his journey into Egypt in 386, where, he says, he [e] also visited the monasteries of Nitria, and perceived some asps lying hid among the saints; meaning, I suppose, Origenists.

Moreover, describing the hospitality at Bethlehem, he says, 'We [f] receive and entertain all 'strangers, without regard to merit; none are excepted but heretics.' And he concludes his books against Rufinus, saying, 'Let [g] us but have the same faith, and we are reconciled.'

For certain this is very strange—that a man of the first rank in the learned world, and a master of the Christian philosophy, should be able to think it allowable, and even commendable, to drive men out of their native country, and pursue them as venomous serpents, barely because of some difference of opinion, when they lived peaceably, and gave no disturbance to any; and that he should withhold relief from such upon that account only, or hinder those who would relieve them. Said Palladius, 'His envious disposition obscured the merit of all his services.' A man needed not to be an Origenist, to speak in that manner: many of Jerom's friends must have been grieved and offended at his conduct. Posthumian, the chief speaker in the Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, from which I some while ago transcribed a commendation of Jerom, who [h] likewise was in Egypt and Palestine in the year 401, expresses his surprise that [i] he, who formerly had been esteemed a follower of Origen, should now be remarkably forward in condemning all his writings: and though Posthumian is reserved and modest, he cannot forbear declaring his dislike and concern that men professing Christianity should have been so hardly treated by bishops.

The erroneous opinions ascribed to Origen about this time, as reckoned up by Epiphanius [k] in a letter written to John, bishop of Jerusalem, which we still have in Jerom's Latin translation, are in number eight. They are enumerated after the like manner by Jerom in a letter of his own, to which [l] I refer. As those passages are too long to be transcribed, I place below some others,[m] somewhat shorter, but sufficient: in which Origen is charged with heterodox

[a] Ὁς ἀναζρασθεὶς ὑπο της ὀργης, χαρασσει γραμματα προς τὰς της Παλαιστινης ἐπισκοπους, λεγων. Ουκ ἐδει παρα γνωμην μὰ ἐν ταις πολεσιν ὑποδεξασθαι τὰδας. Pallad. De V. Chr. eod. cap.

[b] Duas, Synodicam et Paschalem, ejus epistolas contra Origenem illiusque discipulos, et alias adversus Apollinarium et eumdem Origenem, per hoc ferme biennium interpretatus sum; et in ædificationem ecclesiæ legendas nostræ linguæ hominibus dedi. Aliud operum ejus nescio me transtulisse. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 453, M.

[c] Quem Demetrius Alexandri urbe pepulit, toto orbe fugat Theophilus. Ad Pamm. et Marcell. ep. 87, al. 78. p. 689, M.

[d] Unde licet per sanctos fratres, Priscum et Eubulum, tuus ad nos sermo cessaverit; tamen quia vidimus illos zelo fidei concitatos, raptim Palæstinæ regiones, et dispersos regulos usque ad suas latebras persequutos, breviter scribimus, quod totus mundus exultet, et in tuis victoriis glorietur. . . . Macte virtute, macte zelo fidei . . . Ad Theoph. ep. 59, al. 70. p. 597.

[e] Inde contendi Ægyptum, lustravi monasteria Nitriæ, et inter sanctorum choros aspides latere perspexi. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 459.

[f] Nobis in monasterio hospitalitas cordi est, omnesque ad nos venientes lætâ humanitatis fronte suscipimus. Veremur enim ne Maria cum Josepho locum non inveniat in diversorio . . . . Solos hæreticos non recipimus, quos solos vos recipitis . . . . Propositum quippe nobis est, pedes lavare venientium, non merita discutere. Adv. Rufin. l. iii. p. 455. init.

[g] In extremâ epistolâ scribis manu tuâ, Opto te pacem diligere. Ad quod breviter respondebo, Si pacem desideras, arma depone. Sit inter nos una fides, et illico pax sequetur. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 473.

[h] Vid. Pagi, Ann. 401. n. xx.

[i] Origenem secutus primo tempore putabatur, quem nunc idem præcipue vel omnia illius scripta damnaret. . . . Nam etsi fortasse videantur parere episcopis debuisse, non ob hanc tamen causam multitudinem tantam sub Christi confessione viventem, præsertim ab episcopis oportuisset affligi. Dial. i. c. 3.

[k] Apud Hieron. ep. 110, al. 60. T. iv. P. ii. p. 822, &c. et ap. Epiphan. Opp. T. ii. p. 312.

[l] Ad Pamm. ep. 38, al. 61. T. iv. p. 309, 310.

[m] Confitemini et vos in quibusdam errare Origenem, et mu non faciam. Dicite eum male sensisse de Filio, pejus de Spiritu Sancto; animarum de cœlo ruinas impie protulisse; resurrectionem carnis verbo tantum confiteri, cæterum assertione destruere; et post multa secula, atque unam omnium restitutionem, id ipsum fore Gabrielem quod Diabolum, Paulum quod Caïaphan, virgines quod prostibulas. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 345, init.—Quæ quum legissem, contulissemque cum Græco, illico animadverti quæ Origenes de Patre,

opinions concerning the person of Christ and the Spirit, and the origin of the human soul, and the resurrection of the body, and the punishments of the future state.

Nevertheless, it does not appear that either Rufinus, or the monks who suffered so much upon that account, held those erroneous opinions which were ascribed to Origen, and were collected out of his works, particularly his books Of Principles.

It is not allowed by all that Origen himself was heterodox in the doctrine of the Trinity: if he was, there is no reason to think that he was followed therein by any of those, to whom men now gave the denomination of Origenist. Rufinus undoubtedly was an Homoüsian, and so were generally all the rest. Moreover Rufinus vindicated himself in his books called Invectives against Jerom, and in the Apology for his Faith, sent to pope Anastasius: in which last, not now to refer to any other places, he first declares his belief concerning the Trinity; then of the resurrection of the same body,[a] with all its members, but free from corruption; then of the general judgment,[b] when men will receive according to their works, and much more the Devil, the great seducer of mankind, who according to the scriptures will undergo the punishment of eternal fire. About[c] the origin of the soul, he said there were different opinions in the writings of ancient Christians; and it was a difficult question, which he was not able to decide. He[d] had made a Latin version of Origen's books Of Principles; but he did not thereby take upon him the defence of all his opinions.

That the monks above mentioned held the errors of Origen, there is no proof: Theophilus did not concern himself about that; they were condemned by him[e] unheard. But they believed, with Origen, that God is spiritual and incorruptible; whilst many other of the silly monks in Egypt thought him to be corporeal: and Theophilus himself, if[f] Socrates and Sozomen are not mistaken, now professed the same opinion, the more effectually to secure his evil designs, though before he had much opposed it.

That they who were called Origenists did not hold all the opinions imputed to Origen, may be argued hence—that they said his works had been interpolated by heretics.

However, it is not unlikely that there was a good number of men who embraced divers of Origen's peculiar opinions. We can perceive, from Sulpicius, that[g] Martin bishop of Tours, was favourable to the opinion concerning the salvation of the fallen angels; but then it is not advanced as a doctrine of religion, but as a pleasing speculation, supposed to be not unsuitable to magnificent apprehensions of the Divine perfections, and the vast extent of his unmerited goodness, displayed in his dealings with sinful men. So Origen, as was formerly[h] observed, when he discoursed of abstruse points, and advanced propositions justly liable to dispute, was wont to

et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto impie dixerat, et quæ Romanæ aures ferre non poterant, in meliorem partem ab interprete commutata. Cætera autem dogmata, de angelorum ruinâ, de animarum lapsu, de resurrectionis præstigiis... de restitutione omnium in æqualem statum... vel ita vertisse, ut in Græco invenerat, vel.... Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 355, M.—Probo inter multa Origenis mala, hæc maxime hæretica: Dei Filium creaturam, Spiritum Sanctum ministrum, mundos innumerabiles æternis seculis succedentes, angelos versos in animas hominum, animam Salvatoris fuisse antequam nasceretur ex Mariâ, et hanc esse, quæ quum in formâ Dei esset, non est rapinam arbitrata æqualem se esse Deo; sed se exinanivit, formam servi accipiens: resurrectionem nostrorum corporum sic futuram, ut eadem membra non habeant.... in restitutione omnium, quando indulgentia principalis venerit,.... angelos, diabolum, dæmonas, animas omnium hominum, tam Christianorum quam Judæorum et Gentilium, unius conditionis et mensuræ fore. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 403; et conf. ib. p. 407.

[a] Sed et carnis nostræ resurrectionem fatemur integre et perfecte futuram, hujus ipsius carnis nostræ, in quâ nunc vivimus.... nullo omnino ejus membro amputato, vel aliquâ corporis parte defectâ; sed cui nihil omnino ex omni naturâ suâ desit, nisi sola corruptio. Ad Anastas. Ap. pro Fide sua, ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 259. Conf. Invect. l. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 356, &c.

[b] Dicimus quoque judicium futurum; in quo judicio unusquisque recipiat propria corporis, prout gessit, sive bona, sive mala. Quod si homines recepturi sunt pro operibus suis, quanto magis et diabolus, qui omnibus existit causa peccati? &c. Apol. ib. p. 260.

[c] Audio et de animâ quæstiones esse commotas.... Si autem de me, quid sentiam, quæratur, fateor me de hac quæstione apud quam plurimos tractatorum diversa legisse.... Ego vero, cum hæc singula legerim, Deo teste dico, quia usque ad præsens certi vel definiti aliquid de hac quæstione non teneo, sed Deo relinquo scire quid sit in vero, et si cui ipse revelare dignabitur. Ibid.

[d] Origenis ego neque defensor neque assertor sum, neque primus interpres, &c. Ibid.

[e] ....και συγκρίλει καὶα των μοναχων συνεδριον, ουΐε δε καλεσας αυΐες εις απολογιαν, εἶε μεταδες λογε. κ. λ. Pallad. de Vit. Chrys. cap. 7.

[f] Vid. Socrat. l. vi. c. 7. et Soz. l. viii. cap. 11, 12.

[g] Martinum diabolo repugnantem respondisse constanter, antiqua delicta melioris vitæ conversatione purgari; et per misericordiam Domini absolvendos esse peccatis qui peccare desinerent. Contradicente diabolo.... tunc in hanc vocem fertur exclamâsse Martinus: 'Si te ipse, O miserabilis, ab 'hominum insectatione desisteres, et te factorum tuorum 'vel hoc tempore, cum dies judicii in proximo est, pœniteret, 'ego tibi, vere confisus in Domino, Christi misericordiam 'pollicerer.' O quam sancta de Domini pietate præsumptio, in quâ etsi auctoritatem præstare non potuit, ostendit adfectum! Sulp. Sev. de Vit. Martin. cap. 24, al. 22.

[h] See Vol. i. p. 529.

insert expressions of caution and diffidence. And they who now followed him in his opinions, seem to have imitated him in the modest manner of proposing them: which may be of use to shew the unreasonableness of the excessive enmity and clamour against Origen and his friends. And indeed if learned and thoughtful men are not allowed freely to propose their sentiments, and humbly and modestly to recommend them to the consideration of others, learning and religion will decline very fast, as they did in the Christian world soon after this time.

Whether Jerom himself ever was an Origenist, may be disputed: Huet [a] says he was, and [b] Du Pin readily assents to his argument; but to me it is not clear. I admire, and may often quote and commend, Origen and Augustin, without any regard to those sentiments which are reckoned more especially theirs.—Whether he once followed Origen in his peculiarities or not, his disrespect for him afterwards, and the hard treatment given by him to those who were reckoned Origen's admirers and followers, must, I think, appear to be inexcusable.

Learned moderns are very much agreed in their judgments about Jerom: they allow him to be the most learned of all the Latin fathers; but they find many faults in him. He so extols celebacy and virginity, as to seem to disparage the marriage state. He [c] is inconstant and passionate. His [d] style is declamatory and hyperbolical. He [e] exceeds in his censures and in his commendations; nevertheless [f] he is very eloquent. As Cave has comprised divers particulars of Jerom's life and character in a few words, I transcribe him [g] below. Ludovicus Vives [h] pleasantly compared Jerom to an 'advocate pleading before a judge in a capital cause.' That is Jerom's true character. He is always, as it were, upon causes of life and death; and that eagerness and violence of temper may be reckoned at once the ground of all his faults, and of all his excellencies. I intend that inquisitiveness, application, and diligence, whereby he acquired great learning and knowledge, and was qualified to perform many benefical services for the church of Christ, and mankind in general.

III. I now proceed to observe his testimony to the scriptures.

1. I begin with transcribing his Preface concerning all the books of the Old Testament, which he prefixed to his Latin translation of the books of Samuel and the Kings from Hebrew; and that being his first translation from Hebrew, he calls the Prologue, a [i] head, or beginning with a helmet: which Preface is supposed to have been written in 392, or not long before.

'The [k] Hebrews have two-and-twenty letters; and they have as many books of divine

[a] Origenian. l. ii. c. 4. sect. 1. n. vi. xvi. xvii.

[b] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 118, 119.

[c] Optabile tamen foret, ut sanctissimus ille doctor constantior animi fuisset et moderatior, neque tam facile bili suæ fuisset morigeratus, ut in contraria, pro rerum ac temporum statu, trahi se et jactari sivisset, nonnunquam etiam maximos viros amarissimis conviciis perfudisset. Huet. Origen. p. 205. fin.

[d] Verum in hisce omnibus eruendis, cavendum nobis est ab insigni inconstantiâ quæ in Hieronymo passim deprehenditur; ab ejus stylo declamatorio, et hyperbolis referto; ab affectibus, quibus non parum indulgebat. 1. Cleric. Qu. Hieron. viii. p. 216.

[e] Primum igitur cavere sibi debent, qui Hieronymum legere aggrediuntur, a declamatorio ejus stylo, quo, quæ vult laudare, sine modo extollit; quæ vero vituperare instituit, ita infamat, quasi intoleranda plane essent. Ii, quibus favit, nullas mediocres virtutes; quibus adversatus est, nulla modica vitia habuerunt. Ib. p. 233.

[f] In illo quæ phrasis! quod dicendi artificium! quo non Christianos modo omnes post se intervallo reliquit, verum etiam cum ipso Cicerone certare videtur! Ego certe, nisi me sanctissimi viri fallit amor, quum Hieronymianam orationem cum Ciceronianâ confero, videor mihi nescio quid in ipso eloquentiæ principe desiderare. Erasm. ap. Cav. H. L. p. 268.

[g] Cæterum, quod sanctissimi viri pace dictum sit, præfervidi erat et impotentis animi, qui affectibus suis nimis indulgebat: semel lacessitus, adversarios acerbissime tractavit, et ab invectivâ ac satyrica scribendi venâ vix ac ne vix temperavit. Testes sunt nobis satis luculenti, inimicitiæ quas cum Rufino olim sibi necessario, Joanne Ierosolymitano, Joviniano, Vigilantio, aliisque habuit. In hos, arreptâ levi quâvis occasione, et remotâ omni pene gravitate, tota conviciorum plaustra evomit, nullâ personæ, dignitatis, eruditionis, ratione habitâ. Cav. H. L. de Hieronymo, T. i. p. 268.

[h] Ubique scilicet declamat, peroratque; adeo ut non inscite dixerit egregius ille ingeniorum censor, Jo. Ludovicus Vives [De conscribendis epistolis, lib. ult.], 'eum videri semper ad 'judices dicere de causâ capitali.' Gregor. Majansii Epistolæ. In Pr. p. xi. Lipsiæ. 1737.

[i] Hic Prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest, &c. Vid. infra, not. [x], sub fin.

[k] Viginti et duas literas esse apud Hebræos, Syrorum quoque et Chaldæorum lingua testatur, quæ Hebraeæ magnâ ex parte confinis est. . . . Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt, per quæ scribimus omne quod loquimur, et eorum initiis vox humana comprehenditur; ita viginti duo volumina supputantur, quibus quasi literis et exordiis in Dei doctrinâ tenera adhuc et lactens viri justi eruditur infantia.—Primus apud eos liber vocatur Bresith, quem nos Genesim dicimus. Secundus Ellesmoth, qui Exodus appellatur. Tertius Vajecra, id est, Leviticus. Quartus. . . . quem Numeros vocamus. Quintus . . . . Deuteronomium prænotatur. Hi sint quinque libri Mosis, quos proprie Thora, id est, Legem, appellant.—Secundum prophetarum ordinem faciunt: et incipiunt ab Jesu, filio Nave, qui apud eos Josua Ben Nun dicitur. Deinde subtexunt Sophtim, id est, Judicum librum; et in eumdem compingunt Ruth, quia in diebus judicum facta narratur historia. Tertius sequitur Samuel, quem nos Regnorum primum et secundum dicimus. Quartus Malachim, id est, Regum, qui tertio et quarto Regnorum volumine continetur. Meliusque multo est Malachim, id est, *Regum*, quam Malachoth, id est, *Regnorum*, dicere. Non enim multarum gentium regna

'doctrine for the instruction of mankind. The first book is called by them Bresith, by us Genesis; 'the second is called Exodus; the third Leviticus; the fourth Numbers; the fifth Deuteronomy. 'These are the five books of Moses, which they call Thora, the law.'

'The second class contains the prophets, which they begin with the book of Joshua, the son 'of Nun. The next is the book of the Judges, with which they join Ruth; her history happen- 'ing in the time of the Judges. The third is Samuel, which we call the first and second book 'of the Kingdoms. The fourth is the book of the Kings, or the third and fourth book of the 'Kingdoms, or rather of the Kings; for they do not contain the history of many nations but of 'the people of Israel only, consisting of twelve tribes. The fifth is Isaiah; the sixth, Jeremiah; 'the seventh, Ezekiel; the eighth, the book of the Twelve Prophets.

'The third class is that of Hagiographa, or sacred writings: the first of which is Job; the 'second David, of which they make one volume, called the Psalms, divided into five parts; the 'third is Solomon, of which there are three books—the Proverbs, or Parables, as they call them, 'the Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; the sixth is Daniel; the seventh is the Chronicles, 'consisting with us of two books, called the first and second of the Remains; the eighth is Ezra, 'which among the Greeks and Latins makes two books; the ninth is Esther.

'Thus there are in all two-and-twenty books of the old law; that is, five books of Moses, 'eight of the prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa. But some reckon Ruth and the Lamen- 'tations among the Hagiographa; so there will be four-and-twenty.

'This prologue I write as a preface to all the books to be translated by me from the Hebrew 'into Latin, that we may know that all the books which are not of this number, are to be reckoned 'apocryphal; therefore Wisdom, which is commonly called Solomon's, and the book of Jesus the 'son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobit, and the Shepherd, are not in the canon. The first book 'of Maccabees I have found in Hebrew; the second is Greek, as is evident from the style.'

2. It may not be amiss to observe, that not far from the beginning of that prologue, Jerom says, 'The [a] Hebrews have five letters, which they write differently at the end from what they do 'in the beginning and middle of words, for which reason five of their books are reckoned double; 'as Samuel, the Kings, the Chronicles, Ezra, and Jeremiah with the Lamentations.'

3. In the preface to his translation of the books of Solomon from Hebrew, he again says, 'that [b] those three books only are his—the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher, and the Song 'of Songs.' He adds, 'There is also the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and a pseudepigraphal or 'falsely-ascribed book, called the Wisdom of Solomon; the former of which I have seen in 'Hebrew, and called, not Ecclesiasticus, but the Parables; with which likewise have been joined 'Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, that the collection might the better resemble the books of

describit, sed unius Israëlitici populi, qui tribubus duodecim continetur. Quintus Isaïas. Sextus Jeremias. Septimus Ezechiel. Octavus liber Duodecim Prophetarum, qui apud illos vocatur Thare Asra.—Tertius ordo ἁγιογραφα possidet: et primus liber incipit a Job. Secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus, et uno Psalmorum volumine, comprehendunt. Tertius est Salomon, tres libros habens: Proverbia, quæ illi Parabolas, id est, Masaloth, appellant; ecclesiastes, id est, Coëleth; Canticum Canticorum. Sextus est Daniel. Septimus Dabre-Jamim, id est, verba Dierum, quod significantius χρονικον totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare: qui liber apud nos παραλειπομενων primus et secundus inscribitur. Octavus Ezras, qui et ipse similiter apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros dividitur. Nonus Esther.—Atque ita fiunt pariter Veteris Legis libri viginti duo, id est, Mosis quinque, Prophetarum octo, Hagiographorum novem. Quamquam nonnulli Ruth et Cinoth inter ἁγιογραφα scriptitent, et libros hos in suo putent numero supputandos: ac per hoc esse priscæ legis libros viginti quatuor.—Hic Prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest; ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est, inter αποκρυφα esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, et Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in canone. Machabæorum primum librum Hebraïcum reperi. Secundus Græcus est; quod ex ipsâ quoque φρασει probari potest. Præf. de omnib. Libr. V. T. Tom. i. p. 317—322. ed. Bened.

[a] Porro quinque literæ duplices apud Hebræos sunt: Caph, Mem, Nun, Phe, Sade. Aliter enim per has scribunt principia medietatesque verborum, aliter fines. Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices æstimantur—Samuel, Malachim, Dabre-Jamim, Ezras, Jeremias, cum Cinoth, id est, Lamentationibus suis. Ibid. col. 317, 318.

[b] ... tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum; Masloth, quas Hebræi parabolas, vulgata autem editio Proverbia vocat; Coëleth, quam Græce Ecclesiasten, Latine Concionatorem, possumus dicere; Sir Assirim, quod in nostrâ linguâ vertitur Canticum Canticorum. Fertur et Παναρετος, Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπιγραφος, qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. Quorum priorem Hebraïcum reperi, non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed Parabolas prænotatum, cui juncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum; ut similitudinem Salomonis, non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere, coæquaret. Secundus apud Hebræos nusquam est, quia et ipse stylus Græcam eloquentiam redolet; et nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Judæi Philonis affirmant. Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobiæ, et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit; sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Præf. in libr. Salom. T. i. p. 938, 939.

'Solomon both in number and design. The second is not to be found at all among the Hebrews, 'and the style plainly shews it to be of Greek original: some ancient writers say it is a work of 'Philo the Jew. As, therefore, the church reads Judith, and Tobit, and the books of Maccabees, 'but does not receive them among the canonical scriptures; so likewise it may read these two 'books for the edification of the people, but not as of authority for proving any doctrines of 'religion.'

4. In the preface to his translation of the books of Solomon from the Greek version, called the version of the Seventy, he says: 'I have translated the three books of Solomon,[a] that is, the 'Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, from the ancient version of the Seventy.....As for 'the book called by many the wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, which all know to be 'written by Jesus the Son of Sirach, I have forborn to translate them; for it was my intention, 'my friends [Paula and Eustochium], to send you a correct edition of canonical scriptures, and 'not to bestow labour upon others.'

5. Near the beginning of his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes, he says, that[b] Solomon published three volumes, the Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles.

6. In his Commentaries upon[c] Isaiah, and[d] Zechariah, the book of Wisdom is quoted, but in such a manner as to denote that it was only called Solomon's by some, but was not really his nor generally received as of authority.

7. In the prologue to his translation of Jeremiah from Hebrew, he says, he[e] does not translate the book of Baruch, because it was not in Hebrew, nor received by the Hebrews.

8. In the prologue to his Commentary upon Jeremiah he says, he[f] does not intend to explain the book of Baruch, which in the edition of the Seventy is commonly joined with the prophecies of Jeremiah, but is not among the Hebrews; nor shall he take any notice of the pseudepigraphal epistle of Jeremiah.

9. In the preface to his translation of Daniel from Hebrew, he says that[g] the Jews did not place the book of Daniel among the prophets, but among those who wrote the Hagiographa; 'and 'that their whole scripture is divided into three parts, the, Law, the Prophets, and the Hagio-'grapha; that is, into five, eight, and eleven books.'

10. Nevertheless Jerom considers Daniel as a prophet. In his letter to Paulinus, to be transcribed largely by and by, he reckons him with Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel;[h] he calls him there the last of the four prophets, and speaks most honourably of his prophecy.

11. In the forecited preface to his translation of Daniel, he assures us that[i] the Jews have not, in their copies of the book of Daniel, the story of Susanna, nor the song of the Three Children in the Furnace, nor the fables of Bell and the Dragon; and that he had met with a Jewish master who criticized all those things, and ridiculed Christians for paying so much regard to them.

[a] Tres libros Salomonis, id est, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum, veteri Septuaginta Interpretum auctoritati reddidi.... Porro in eo libro, qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur, et in Ecclesiastico, quem esse Jesu filii Sirach nullus ignorat, calamo temperavi; tantummodo canonicas scripturas vobis emendare desiderans, et studium meum certis magis quam dubiis commendare. Pr. in libr. Salom. juxta Septuag. Interp. T. i. p. 1419.

[b] Is itaque, juxta numerum vocabulorum, tria volumina edidit – Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, et Cantica Canticorum. In libr. Ec. T. ii. p. 715.

[c] De quo et in Sapientiâ reperimus, quæ nomine Salomonis inscribitur. In Is. cap. 63. T. iii. p. 469.

[d] Unde et in Sapientiâ, quæ Salomonis inscribitur (si cui tamen placet librum recipere,) scriptum reperimus.. In Zach. cap. 12. T. iii. p. 784. in.

[e] Librum autem Baruch, notarii ejus, qui apud Hebræos nec legitur nec habetur, prætermisimus. Prol. in Jerem. T. i. p. 554.

[f] Libellum autem Baruch, qui vulgo editioni Septuaginta copulatur, nec habetur apud Hebræos, et ψευδεπιγραφον epistolam Jeremiæ nequâquam censui disserendam. In Jerem. Prol. T. iii. p. 806.

[g] Illud admoneo, non haberi Danielem apud Hebræos inter prophetas, sed inter eos qui Ἁγιογραφα conscripserunt. In tres siquidem partes omnis ab eis scriptura dividitur; in Legem, in Prophetas, in Ἁγιογραφα, id est, in quinque, et octo, et undecim libros. De quo non est hujus temporis dicere. Pr. in Dan. T. i. p. 990.

[h] Isaiam, Jeremiam, Ezechielem, et Danielem, quis possit vel intelligere vel exponere?.. Quartus vero, qui et extremus inter quatuor prophetas, temporum conscius, et totius mundi philostoros [philostoricus,] lapidem præcisum de monte sine manibus, et regna omnia subvertentem, claro sermone pronuntiat. Ad Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103. T. iv. n. 573.

[i] Hoc idcirco, ut difficultatem vobis Danielis ostenderem; qui apud Hebræos nec Susannæ habet historiam, nec hymnum trium puerorum, nec Belis Draconisque fabulas; quas nos, quia in toto orbe dispersæ sunt, vero.., anteposito, easque jugulante, subjecimus; ne videremur apud imperitos magnam partem voluminis detruncâsse. Audivi ego quemdam de præceptoribus Judæorum, quum Susannæ derideret historiam, et a Græco nescio quo diceret esse confictam, illud opponere quod Origeni quoque Africanus opposuit, etymologias has, απο τε σχινε σχιται, και απο τε πρινε πριται, de Græco sermone descendere... Deinde tantum fuisse olii tribus pueris cavillabatur, ut in camino æstuantis incendii metro luderent, et per ordinem ad laudem Dei omnia elementa provocarent. Aut quod miraculum divinæque aspirationis judicium, vel draconem interfectum offâ picis, vel sacerdotum Belis machinas deprehensas? Quæ magis prudentiâ solertis viri, quam prophetali spiritu perpetrata. T. i. p. 990.

12. The learned reader may do well to observe also what Jerom says to the like purpose, and very largely, in his preface to his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel.[a]

13. In the prologue to his translation of the Twelve Prophets from Hebrew, he says, that[b] according to the Hebrews they are one book; which the reader undoubtedly remembers to have been said by him above.

14. In the Catalogue above transcribed, he said, the Chronicles were reckoned one book. In like manner again expressly, in the preface to his translation of the Chronicles from the Greek version of the Seventy, he says, 'the[c] Chronicles are reckoned by the Jews one book, but 'because of their length they had been divided by Christians into two.' We likewise learn from him, that[d] the books of Samuel were then oftentimes called the books of the Kingdoms.

15. In the preface to his translation of Ezra and Nehemiah from Hebrew, he says, that by the Hebrews they are reckoned one book, call Ezra; but reckoning them two, he had not translated the dreams of those apocryphal books, the third and fourth of Ezra, which were not found among the Jews, and therefore were not to be regarded.

16. In his book against Vigilantius[e] he censures an apocryphal book of Ezra, intending, as[g] is supposed, that which is called the fourth book of Ezra. In the same place he condemns all sorts of apocryphal books in general, published with the names of Solomon or Ezra, or any of the patriarchs or prophets; and he expressly says, the church did not receive that book of Ezra, and (which may be thought strange by some) that he had never read it.

17. Jerom translated likewise Tobit and Judith from Chaldee into Latin, at the desire of some of his friends. But[h] in the prefaces to each he brands them as apocryphal, and not received by the Jews.

18. Jerom never translated Wisdom, nor[i] Ecclesiasticus, nor the books of Maccabees.

19. In his Commentary upon Isaiah he says, that[k] after Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Jews had no prophets until the time of John the Baptist.

20. From what has been seen we plainly perceive that St. Jerom's canon of the Old Testament was that of the Jews. All other books, not received by them, he calls apocryphal; particularly Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees. Those books, he says, the church does not receive among the canonical scriptures; they may be read for the edification of the people, but are not to be esteemed as of authority for proving any doctrines of religion. He also rejects Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, and the song of the Three Children in the furnace, and the story of Bel and the Dragon, and the third and fourth book of Ezra, as they are called. Upon the whole, he receives, as we have seen, all the books commonly received by

[a] T. iii. p. 1074.

[b] Hoc tantum vos, O Paula et Eustochium, admonitas volo, unum librum esse duodecim prophetarum. T. i. p. 727.

[c] Hoc primum sciendum, quod apud Hebræos Paralipomenôn liber unus sit, et apud illos vocetur Dabre Jamim, id est, Verba Dierum; qui propter magnitudinem apud nos divisus est. In libr. Paral. juxta Septuag. Interp. T. i. p. 1418.

[d] Legamus Samuelem, sive, ut in communi titulo habetur, Regnorum libros. Ad Pamm. ep. 33, al. 101. T. iv. p. 253, *F*.

[e] Nec quemquam moveat, quod unus a nobis editus liber est. Nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur: quia et apud Hebræos Ezræ Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor sensibus sunt, procul abjicienda. Pr. in Ezr. T. i. p. 1106, 1107.

[f] Tu vigilans dormis, et dormiens scribis: et proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tui legitur; ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari; quem ego librum nunquam legi. Quid enim necesse est in manus sumere quod ecclesia non recipit? Nisi forte Balsamum mihi, et Barbelum, et Thesaurum Manichæi.... proferas.... Nam in commentariolo tuo, quasi pro te faciens, de Salomone sumis testimonium, quod Salomon omnino non scripsit; ut qui habes alterum Esdram, habeas et Salomonem alterum. Et, si tibi placuerit legito, fictas revelationes omnium patriarcharum et prophetarum. Et quum illas didiceris, inter mulierum textrinas cantato, immo legendas propone in tabernis tuis, ut facilius per has nænias vulgus indoctum provoces ad bibendum. Adv. Vigil. T. iv. P. ii. p. 283, 284.

[g] Librum Esdræ quartum intelligere videtur. Nam falsa Vigilantii opinio sumpta videtur e capite septimo iv. Esdræ, ver. 36—44. Benedictin. in loc.

[h] Mirari non desino exactionis vestræ instantiam. Exigitis enim ut librum Chaldæo sermone conscriptum ad Latinum stylum traham; librum utique Tobiæ, quem Hebræi de catalogo Divinarum Scripturarum secantes, his quæ Apocrypha memorant mancipârunt. Feci satis desiderio tuo, non tamen meo studio. Arguunt enim nos Hebræorum studia; et imputant nobis, contra suum canonem Latinis auribus ista transferre. Pr. in libr. Tob. T. i. p. 1158.——Apud Hebræos liber Judith inter apocrypha legitur; cujus auctoritas ad roboranda illa quæ in contentionem veniunt minus idonea judicatur. Chaldæo tamen sermone conscriptus inter historias computatur. Pr. in libr. Judith. T. i. p. 1170.

[i] Machabæorum librum primum se Hebraïce reperisse scribit [Pr. in Reg.], ut etiam Ecclesiasticum; sed neutrum eorum exinde transtulit. Hod. p. 388, M.

[k] Quis mihi istos genuit? Ego eram sterilis et vidua, deserta, et captiva; in populo Judæorum filios habere desieram, multo tempore non pepereram. Post Aggæum et Zachariam, et Malachiam, nullos Prophetas ante adventum Baptistam videram. In Is. cap. 49. T. iii. p. 469.

the Jews, particularly Solomon's Song, and Esther among the rest, and no other. Some Christians there were in his time, who paid too great a regard to the additional stories in the book of Daniel, and to several of the apocryphal books above named. But our learned author used his best endeavours to reduce them to the Jewish canon, or Hebrew Verity,[a] as he often calls it.

21. Beside the apocryphal books just mentioned, there are divers others relating to the Old Testament, as 'the Revelation of Elias,' and the 'Ascension of Isaiah.' But I defer farther notice of them till we come to observe the apocryphal books of the New Testament, as the considering them all together may be the shortest method.

IV. I might here conclude my remarks upon this preface of Jerom; but I am desirous to take some particular notice of the division of the books of the Old Testament, which, according to his account, then obtained among the Jews.

1. Isaac Vossius suspected that [b] the division of the books of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, was an invention of Aquila, who in the second century made a new version of the Jewish scriptures into Greek; whereas the old partition was that of the Law, the Prophecies, and Psalms. Moreover, he says, that the word itself, αγιογραφα, is absurd, and unsuitable to the Greek language; and probably was coined by Aquila.

Humphry Hody says, that [c] the division of the Jewish sacred books into the Law, the Prophets, and Kethubhim or Hagiographa, is of the highest antiquity. Nevertheless he cannot believe that the books of Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, and the Kings, were placed in the rank of prophets by the ancient Jews; to him this appears to have been done very foolishly. Nor are the Rabbins agreed what books ought to be placed among Prophets, and what among Hagiographa. By Kethubhim,[d] or Hagiographa, he says ought to be understood, and were intended by the ancient Jews, all those books beside the law which were written by inspiration, and were not strictly prophetical.

He moreover says, that [e] the modern Rabbins, as well as Maimonides, and the Jews in Jerom's time place Daniel among the Hagiographa. But he says this was done by them upon very frivolous reasons.

Indeed Daniel is expressly called a prophet by our blessed Saviour. Matth. xxiv. 15; Mark, xiii. 14. By [f] Josephus he is reckoned among the greatest of the prophets; and if any man among the ancient Jews deserved that title, he does.

2. Let us then look back, and recollect the general divisions of the Jewish scriptures in ancient writers.

(1.) In the second prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, or the prologue of Jesus the son of Sirach, are these expressions: 'the [g] law and the prophets, and others that have followed their 'steps;' afterwards, 'the [h] law and the prophets, and other books of our fathers;' and still lower, 'the [i] law itself and the prophets [or prophecies], and the rest of the books.' It is questionable whether here are three, or only two sorts of sacred writings; for it seems to me, that by 'others that have followed their steps,' are not to be understood sacred writers, but

[a] Canonem Hebraïcæ veritatis, excepto Octateucho, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. Ad Lucin. ep. 52, al. 28. T. iv. p. 579, in.—Veniamus ad aliud ejusdem Zachariæ testimonium, quod Joannes Evangelista assumit juxta Hebraïcam veritatem. De Optim. Gen. Iterpr. ad Pamm. ep. 33, al. 101. p. 252. Vid. ib. p. 254, M. et passim.

[b] Aquilæ temporibus, et ab ipso forte Aquilâ, excogitatam fuisse divisionem librorum sacrorum in Legem, Prophetas, et Hagiographa; cum antea obtinuerat partitio in Legem, Prophetias, et Hymnos. Ἁγιογραφα ineptum, uti dicit, vocabulum, et contra naturam linguæ Græcæ formatum, ab Aquilâ suspicatur confictum fuisse, cujus versionem ait plenam fuisse futilibus istiusmodi vocabulis. Vocem quoque Γραφεια, quâ Hagiographa interdum designantur, ab eodem fuisse confictum opinatur. Hod. de Bib. Text. Orig. l. iv. c. 1. p. 578.

Librorum Biblicorum distributionem in Legem, Prophetas, et Kethubhim, sive Hagiographa, esse ultimæ antiquitatis, haud dubito. Id vero minime credo, libros Joshuæ, Judicum, Samuelis, et Regum, in ordinem Prophetârum a Judæis vetustissimis relatos fuisse, ut factum est ætate B. Hieronymi, et a Judæis recentioribus. Ineptissime hoc fieri videtur; neque enim inter Rabbinos de Prophetis et Hagiographis satis convenit. Hod. ib. l. ii. c. 9. p. 190.

[d] Per Kethubhim, sive Hagiographa, intelligi debent, et sine controversiâ a Judæis antiquissimis intellecti fuerunt, omnes illi libri præter Legem Mosaïcam, qui per Spiritum Sanctum scripti sunt, non tamen fuerunt prophetici. Ib. p. 190.

[e] Danielem e numero Prophetarum ejiciunt Rabbini, et olim ejecerunt Maimonidis et Hieronymi ætate. 'Hinc 'unanimi consensu,' inquit Maimonides, 'retulit gens nostra 'librum Danielis inter libros Hagiographos, non vero inter 'Prophetas.' Sed frivolis rationibus id faciunt. Ib. p. 191.

[f] Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 11. n. 7.

[g] Πολλων και μεγαλων ἡμιν δια τε νομȣ, και των προφητων, και των αλλων των καθ' αυτȣς ηκολȣθηκοτων δεδεμενων. κ. λ.

[h] Ὁ παππος μȣ Ιησȣς, επι πλειον ἑαυτον δȣς εις τε την τȣ νομου και των προφητων, και την αλλων πατριων βιβλιων αναγνωσιν.

[i] Και αυτος ὁ νομος, και αἱ προφητειαι, και τα λοιπα των βιβλιων.

wise men who imitated the prophets: consequently here are only two sorts of sacred or canonical books, 'the law' and 'the prophets.' If this be the meaning of the first passage, I reckon that the two others are to be understood in the same manner.

(2.) Philo the Jew speaks of laws and oracles delivered by prophets, and hymns, and other things conducive to promote knowledge and piety.'[a] But Philo being an obscure writer, and here, as it seems to me, not quite clear, I am afraid to make any remarks, or to determine whether he speaks of sacred and canonical books of scripture only, or of them and some others.

(3.) In the New Testament are various ways of speaking. Sometimes the law denotes the scriptures of the Old Testament in general. John x. 34. "Is it not written in your law? I said, Ye are gods." From Ps. lxxxii. 6.—John xv. 25. "That the word might be fulfilled which is written in their law, They hated me without a cause." Ps. xxxv. 19.—1 Cor. xiv. 21. "In the law it is written, With men of other tongues....will I speak to this people"..... Is. xxviii. 11.

Sometimes 'the prophets' is equivalent to the scriptures of the Old Testament. Luke xviii. 31. "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished."—xxiv. 25. "O fools, and slow of heart, to believe all that the prophets have spoken!"—Acts x. 43. "To him give all the prophets witness."—Rom. i. 2. "Which he had promised before by his prophets in the holy scriptures."—Eph. ii. 20. "And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets."

Oftentimes the books of the Old Testament are denoted by a dichotomy, or twofold partition, 'the Law and the Prophets.' Matth. v. 17. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets."—vii. 12. "For this is the law and the prophets." See also xxii. 40.—Matth. xi. 13. "For all the law and the prophets prophesied until John." Compare Luke xvi. 16. —Luke xvi. 29. "They have Moses and the prophets."—31. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets."—xxiv. 27. "And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them, in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself."—John i. 45. "We have found him, of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write."—Acts xxiv. 14. "...believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets."—xxvi. 22. "Saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come."—xxviii. 23. "Persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets."—Rom. iii. 21. "Being witnessed by the law and the prophets."

In one place there seems to be a threefold partition of the scriptures of the Old Testament. Luke xxiv. 44. "These are the words which I spake unto you whilst I was yet with you; that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me." But some very learned and judicious men, are of opinion, that by 'the psalms' in this place we are not to understand the metrical books, or any other general division of the scriptures of the Old Testament, but the book of Psalms. Then what our Lord says is this: 'That all things must be fulfilled which are written of me in the law and in the prophets, especially in the Psalms.' So says [b] Leusden and Wolfius,[c] whom I transcribe below. This interpretation will be much confirmed by observing how much the dichotomy, or twofold partition of sacred books, 'the Law and the Prophets,' prevails in the New Testament. 'All things must be fulfilled which are written in the law 'and in the prophets, especially in that prophetical book, the Psalms.' So Mark xvi. 7. "Go your way, tell his disciples, and Peter;" that is, especially Peter, particularly Peter. 8,

[a] Αλλα νομες και λογια θεσπισθεντα δια προφητων, και υμνους, και τα αλλα, οις επιστημη και ευσεξεια συναυξονται, και τελειουται. De Vit. Contempl. p. 893. B.

[b] Responderi potest (quod mihi etiam maxime verosimile videtur) Christum, Luc. xxiv. 44, nullam mentionem facere librorum Historicorum, vel quorumdam Hagiographorum; quia in illis libris non ita continentur prædictiones de futuro Messiâ, quam quidem in libris Mosis, in libris Prophetarum, et in Psalmis. Christus ergo forte per Psalmos intellexit Psalmos proprie dictos, et non præter Psalmos etiam cæteros libros hymnorum, scil. Jobum, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, et Canticum Canticorum. I. Leusden. Philol. Hebr. Diss. ii. p. 15.

[c] Nec mihi probabile videtur, Christum Dominum nostrum ad hanc divisionem digitum intendisse, quippe qui alibi ad codicem Hebræum provocans, Mosis tantum et prophetarum facit mentionem. v. c. Luc. xvi. 29. 31. Sic Lucas ipse xxiv. 27, commemoratis 'Mose et prophetis,' addit, Christum Dominum nostrum 'exposuisse discipulis omnia quæ de se 'in Scripturis omnibus tradita sint;' ubi sane πασαι γραφαι 'Mosis et prophetarum' nomine comprehenduntur. Non minus Paulus, Actor. xxvi. 22, ex Scriptura Sacra interpretatus, ait, 'se testatum nihil præter ea quæ prophetæ et Moses prædixerint.' Ex quo manifestum est, sanctissimi Servatoris ætate διχοτομιαν potius obtinuisse, et scripta divinitus in Legem et prophetas distincta fuisse. Neque obstat locus Luc. xxiv. 44, ubi Psalmi Mosis et prophetarum scriptis adjunguntur. Ea etiam verba ita putem interpretanda. . . 'Omnia oportere 'impleri quæ scripta sunt in Mose, in prophetis, et' cum 'primis 'in Psalmis,' quemadmodum verba angeli ad mulieres. Marc. xvi. 7. Wolf. Bib. Hebr. P. ii. p. 41.

likewise St. Paul, Eph. vi. 18, 19. "Praying...for all saints, and for me;" that is, particularly for me.[a]

(4.) I now proceed. Josephus says, 'Their[b] sacred books are twenty-two; five books of the 'law of Moses, thirteen[c] prophetical, and four containing hymns in praise of God, and excellent 'rules of life for the direction of mankind.' By the thirteen intending, as is thought,[d] 1. Joshua. 2. Judges, with Ruth. 3. The two books of Samuel. 4. The two books of the Kings. 5. The two books of the Chronicles. 6. Ezra, with Nehemiah. 7. Esther. 8. Job. 9. Isaiah. 10. Jeremiah, with the Lamentations. 11. Ezekiel. 12. Daniel. 13. The Twelve Prophets. —The four books of hymns will then be the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles.

(5.) Melito, bishop of Sardis, about 177, has[e] a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament; but he does not sort them into classes. Nevertheless it may not be quite useless to put down their names in his order: 'Five books of Moses; Joshua the son of Nun; the Judges; Ruth; 'four books of the Kings; two books of Chronicles; the Psalms of David; the Proverbs of 'Solomon; the Ecclesiastes; the Canticles; Job; the books of the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah; 'the Twelve Prophets in one book; Daniel; Ezekiel; Ezra.'

(6.) Origen also,[f] about 230, has a catalogue; nor does he sort the books into any general divisions. However, the order is this: 'Five books of Moses; Joshua, the son of Nun; the 'Judges, with Ruth, one book; the first and second book of the Kings, called by them Samuel, 'and reckoned one book; the third and fourth of the Kings, also one book; the first and second 'of the Remains, in one book; Esdras, first and second, in one book, called by them Ezra; the 'book of the Psalms; Solomon's Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles; Isaiah; Jeremiah; Daniel; 'Ezekiel; Job; Esther.' The book of the Twelve Prophets is wanting in our copies.

(7.) Athanasius, about 326, in his Festal Epistle,[g] transcribed by us formerly,[h] takes little or no notice of general divisions; but he enumerates the books in this order: 'First the five books 'of Moses; then the historical books, from Joshua down to Ezra; then the books in verse, the 'Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job; lastly the Prophets, which are the Twelve 'Prophets in one book, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.' The same order is in the Synopsis Scripturæ,[i] ascribed to him.

(8.) Cyril of Jerusalem, about 348, has a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament,[k] transcribed by us at length formerly.[l] He uses divisions. 'The[m] first are the five books of 'Moses; then the historical books; after them five books in verse—Job, the Psalms, the 'Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles; and, last of all, five prophetical books, which are the 'Twelve Prophets in one book, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.'

(9.) Epiphanius, who flourished about 368 and afterwards, has three catalogues.[n] In two[o] of which all the books of the Old Testament are reckoned up, from Genesis down to Ezra and Esther, without any general denominations or partitions. But in the other,[p] he divides them after this manner: He says,[q] 'that the books of scripture are comprised in four Pentateuchs, and 'two over and above. The first Pentateuch is that which is most properly so, containing the 'five books of the Law; the next contains the five books in verse, the book of Job, the Psalter, 'the Proverbs of Solomon, the Ecclesiastes, the Canticles; the third Pentateuch contains those 'called Grapheia, by others Hagiographa, which are the book of Joshua the son of Nun, the 'book of Judges, with Ruth, the first and second of the Remains, the first and second of the

[a] See A. Blackwall's Sacred Classics, P. i. p. 121.

[b] . . . . δυο δε μονα προς τοις εικοσι βιβλια, τα παντος εχοντα χρονα την αναγραφην, τα δικαιως θεια πεπιστευμενα. κ. λ. Contr. Ap. l. i. c. 8. et ap. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. c. 9, 10.

[c] Οι μεν Μωσεην προφηται τα καθ' αυτες πραχθεντα συνεγραψαν εν τρισι και δεκα βιβλιοις· αι δε λοιπαι τεσσαρες υμνες εις τον Θεον, και τοις ανθρωποις υποθηκας του βιου, περιεχουσιν. Ibid.

[d] Vid. Hod. ubi supra, p. 644. See also H. Prideaux Conn. P. i. book v. year before Christ 446.

[e] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. iv. c. 26. And see, in this work, vol. i. ch. xv.

[f] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 25. And see here, vol. i. ch. xxxviii. p. 532.

[g] Ath. T. i. p. 961, 962. [h] See p. 400.

[i] Ath. T. ii. p. 126—128. And see before, p. 404.

[k] Cat. 4. n. 35. ed. Bened. [l] P. 409.

[m] Τα νομε μεν γαρ εισιν αι Μωσεως πρωται πεντε βιβλοι . . . . Και τα μεν ιστορικα ταυτα. . . . Τα δε συχνης, τυγχανει πεντε. . . . . Επι δε τελοις τα προφητικα πεντε. Ubi supra.

[n] See above, p. 416, 417.

[o] Adv. H. 8. n. vi. T. i. p. 19. De Mens. et Pond. n. xxiii. T. ii. p. 180.

[p] De Mens. et Pond. n. iv. T. ii. p. 161, 162.

[q] Ουτως γαρ συγκεινται αι βιβλοι εν πενταιευχοις τεσσαρσι, και μενεσιν αλλαι δυο υστερησαι· ως ειναι τας ενδιαθετες βιβλες ουτως· πεντε μεν νομικας. . . . Αυτη η πενταιευχος και η νομοθεσια. Πεντε γαρ συχνρεις. . . . Εισι αλλη πενταιευχος τα καλεμενα γραφεια, παρα τισι δε αγιογραφα καλεμενα. . . . Αλλη πενταιευχος, το δωδεκαπροφηλον. . . . Και αυτη η προφηλικη πενταιευχος. . . . κ. λ.

'Kingdoms, and the third and fourth of the Kingdoms; the fourth Pentateuch consists of the 'Twelve Prophets in one book, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel: the two others over and 'above these, are the two books of Ezra, reckoned one book, and Esther.' Which catalogue is followed by John Damascenus,[a] about the year 830.

It should be observed, that in another place, in his account of the Nazarene Christians, Epiphanius says,[b] 'They receive the law and the prophets, and those called the Grapheia; I mean 'the books in verse, and the Kingdoms, and the Remains, and Esther, and the rest; which are 'all read by them in Hebrew.'

(10.) May I add here, that Rufinus, whose catalogue of the books of scripture will be in the next chapter, takes no notice of the Hagiographa? He has not any general divisions, but his order is this: First the legal, next the historical books, then the prophetical, and lastly those called metrical.

3. Having now put down all these catalogues, as distinctly I hope as is needful, some remarks may be made.

(1.) The Jewish people have been very uniform in the number of sacred books received by them.

(2.) They have varied and been somewhat arbitrary, in the general denominations and divisions of them.

(3.) I discern not any proof of the high antiquity of that division of their sacred books into 'the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa;' for there appear not any traces of it in the scriptures either of the Old or New Testament, nor in Josephus, nor in any Christian writers before Epiphanius and Jerom, near the end of the fourth century. To be more particular—I see not this partition in the Prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, nor in Philo, nor in the New Testament. The only place of the New Testament where is any tripartite division of the ancient scriptures, is Luke xxiv. 44; and if by the Psalms are not meant the book of David's Psalms, probably the metrical books are to be thereby understood. Some learned men indeed have supposed, that therein our Lord had a respect to that division which is called 'Hagiographa;' but I think without reason, as do Leusden and Wolfius, before cited. I place now in the bottom of the page another passage of Leusden,[c] in which he says, 'The Jews ascribe this threefold division of 'sacred books to the prophet Ezra.' But as this is affirmed without proof, it may be as easily denied. He thinks the inventor of this division to be unknown. He here observes also, that some learned Christians had supposed our Lord to have an eye to this division in Luke xxiv. 44; concerning which he had delivered his opinion in the place quoted above. I likewise transcribe below[d] some observations of that learned and laborious writer, I. Fr. Buddeus; who says, it is uncertain when and by whom this partition was first used. He also shews the impropriety and inconvenience of it, as generally used by the Jews. It seems to me to be altogether needless to shew that Josephus does not intend the Hagiographa, when he speaks of the 'four books of Hymns 'in Praise of God, and Excellent Rules of Life.' Finally, there appears not any notice taken of it, nor any regard had to it, in Melito, Origen, Cyril, or Athanasius.

(4.) Among those who have used this partition, there seems to have been a great variety of

[a] De Fide Orthodoxa, l. iv. c. 17.

[b] Παρ' αὐτοις γαρ πας ὁ νομος, και οἱ προφηται, και τα γραφεια λεγομενα, φημι δε τα στιχηρα, και αἱ βασιλειαι, και παραλειπομενα, και Λιβθηρ, και τ' αλλα πανια Ἑβραϊκως αναγινωσκεται. H. 29. n. 7.

[c] Tertio quæritur, Quis fuit primus auctor hujus triplicis divisionis Veteris Testamenti? Respondeo, Judæi Ezram prophetam hujus triplicis divisionis constituunt primum auctorem et inventorem. Sed quia hoc absque ullâ probatione illi adscribitur, ideo eâdem facilitate rejicitur quâ asseritur. Nos illam quæstionem non determinamus; nam non putamus primum auctorem hujus divisionis esse notum. Ut ut sit, hæc divisio, secundum sententiam Christianorum et Judæorum, est admodum antiqua; et ad minimum temporibus Christi putatur fuisse usitata. Christiani, qui antiquitatem hujus divisionis probant, in medium proferunt verba Christi ex evangelio Lucæ, cap. xxiv. 44. jam retro, sectione secundâ, allegata. Per Psalmos enim existimant Christum intellexisse omnes Hagiographos; tum quia liber Psalmorum est primus liber Hagiographorum, tum etiam quia est liber præcipuus et præstantissimus inter Hagiographos. Philol. Hebr. Diss. ii. p. 19.

[d] .... Distinctio codicis Ebræi in Legem, Prophetas, et Chethubhim seu Hagiographa, tantæ auctoritatis non est ut nos morari debeat. Quando enim, aut a quonam orta sit, non satis constat. Quod si enim vel maxime Servator ipse, provocatione suâ ad Mosen, Prophetas, et Psalmos, Luc. xxiv. 44. quæ quorumdam est sententia, huc respexit, inde tamen non sequitur, eo modo partitionem istam jam tum usitatam fuisse, quo in Codice Ebræo hodie conspicitur. Parum autem concilians esse, plurimisque laborare incommodis, aut si vel maxime ipsa classium constitutio tolerari queat, quorumdam tamen librorum ad hanc aut illam classem relationem minime probari posse, et res ipsa docet, et viri docti [illegible] sunt. Certe, cur Daniel ad Hagiographa potius quam Prophetas referendus sit, nulla, ne probabilis quidem, ratio dari potest. I. Fr. Buddei Hist. Ec. Vet. T. Tom. Poster. p. 828. 8vo. Halæ Magdeburg. 1719.

opinions concerning the books that should be called Hagiographa. In Jerom they are nine; namely, 'Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, Daniel, the Remains or Chronicles, Ezra, Esther.' In the catalogue of Epiphanius, in the treatise of Weights and Measures, they are all the historical books, except Ezra and Esther. In the other passage, concerning the sect of the Nazarenes, they comprise the books in verse, and a part of his historical books; or, as Hody would have it,[a] all of them.

(5.) There appears not any fitness in this division. The impropriety of it has been hinted already, and is shewn in some of the passages of the learned writers already quoted. I place below[b] another passage of Leusden, full to the purpose. I think it may be farther shewn, that there is not any fitness in this partition; for the word Hagiographa, or Grapheia, or Kethubhim, has nothing appropriating or distinctive in it; which may have been the ground of that difference of opinion among those who have made use of it, concerning the books that should be placed in that class. Certainly the distribution of books, as in Jerom, in the two divisions of Prophets and Hagiographa, must appear absurd and preposterous. The books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther, are separated from the books of Samuel and the Kings, and the other historical books; and Daniel is separated from the prophets. Upon the whole, understand by Hagiographa the historical books, or the metrical books, or the historical and metrical—still I cannot discern any suitableness or fitness in that denomination.

(6.) Every other partition of the sacred books of the Old Testament, with which we are acquainted, appears to be preferable to this of the Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa. Those denominations which we sometimes meet with in the New Testament, 'the Law,' or 'the 'Prophets,' denoting in general the ancient sacred writings, are very just. The dichotomy, 'the Law and the Prophets,' so common in the New Testament, is very proper. That likewise is the partition in the prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, if I understand it right. The tripartite division in Luke xxiv. and Josephus—'the Law, the Prophets, and Psalms, or Hymns,' is also very proper. All, I apprehend, must presently discern the propriety of the first and last class in this partition, 'Legal and Metrical.' The second also is very proper; for all those books are written by inspired men, or 'prophets,' as they are justly called by Josephus, and some of them are strictly prophecies. Another partition is that used by Cyril of Jerusalem, which is, Legal, Historical, Metrical, and Prophetical: and though this partition is not all expressed in Athanasius's catalogue, it may be argued from the order of the books that he had a regard to it. A regard seems to be had to it likewise in Origen's catalogue. The order of the books also in Melito's catalogue may afford, in my opinion, a very probable argument of a regard to this partition. And this appears to me, and I suppose to others likewise,[c] the most proper and commodious partition of the sacred books of the Old Testament.

(7.) I now add an observation of a different kind. The placing the books of the Old Testament, from the first to the last, in chronological order, is a thing of no importance, and might be inconvenient; but divide them into classes, and the order of time may be useful. In the first class, must be the five books of Moses; then the historical books, Joshua, the Judges with Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther: next the metrical books, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles; lastly, the prophetical books, the Twelve Prophets in one book, each of which might be placed according to the order of time, Isaiah, Jeremiah with the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel; or, first of all, the Four larger Prophets, and then the book of the Twelve lesser Prophets, as they are called: by which also we perceive that the present order of books in our Bibles, is in the main such as we have reason to be well satisfied with.—The same rule may be applied to the books of the New Testament. To place them all, from the first to the last, in chronological order, might be inconvenient, and create confusion: but having first separated the gospels and the Acts, St. Paul's epistles might be digested in the order of time; and, in like manner, the seven catholic epistles, and the Revelation.

[a] Ubi supra.

[b] Quarto quæritur, An hæc divisio est satis concinna? Respondeo, Non est satis concinna et congrua. Nam, 1. Libri Josuæ, Judicum, Samuelis, et Regum mere Historici vocantur, Prophetici, sive Prophetæ. 2. Quia liber Propheticus Danielis a Propheticis separatur, et Hagiographis annumeratur . . . . . Deinde, quod Daniel revera Prophetis sit annumerandus, patet ex ipsius libro, in quo et tempus adventûs Messiæ, et multæ aliæ prophetiæ, clarissime describuntur. Leusd. ib. p. 19.

[c] Ultima divisio Veteris Testamenti, quæ duabus antecedentibus multis parasangis est præferenda, a recentioribus Latinis doctoribus in quatuor partes, scil. in Legalem, in Historicam, in Poëticam sive Doctrinalem, et in Propheticam, digesta est. Leusden. ib. p. 19.

V. In the next place I shall make an extract from St. Jerom's letter Concerning the Study of the Scriptures,[a] written to Paulinus, supposed to be Paulinus of Nola.[b] It is concluded that this letter was written in 395, or 396, or 397, according to the different sentiments learned men. In it are enumerated all the books of the Old and New Testament in the following order: 'The first is Genesis,[c] which contains the history of the creation of the world, and of the 'origin of mankind, the division of the earth, the confusion of tongues, and other things, to the 'time of the Jewish exit out of Egypt:' in like manner of the rest, mentioning the principal subjects of each book; which I must omit, confining myself, for the most part, to the names of books only. 'Exodus; Leviticus; Numbers; Deuteronomy: these are the Pentateuch. Job 'the great example of patience; Joshua, the son of Nun; the book of the Judges; Ruth, the 'Moabitess; Samuel; the[d] Kings, that is, the third and fourth book of Kings; the[e] Twelve 'Prophets in one volume—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, 'Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi the last of the prophets;[f] Isaiah; Jeremiah; Ezekiel; 'Daniel, whom he calls a prophet,[g] and the fourth in that number, and highly extols his prophecy, 'as before observed; David,[h] the most excellent psalmist; Solomon,[i] who directs the manners 'of men, teacheth the vanity of the world, and marries Christ and the church; Esther; the[k] 'Chronicles, the usefulness and importance of which he enlarges upon; Ezra and Nehemiah, in 'one book.'[l]

He here afterwards names and describes all the writers of the New Testament, and their several works. 'The first[m] are the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, the chariot of 'the Lord, and the true cherubim, who go wherever the spirit leads them...The Apostle Paul 'writes to seven churches; for the eighth, that of the Hebrews, by many is not reckoned among 'them. He likewise instructs Timothy and Titus, and intercedes with Philemon for a runaway 'servant. The Acts of the apostles, another work of Luke the physician, 'whose praise is in the 'gospel' [2 Cor. viii. 18] contain the history of the infancy of the church. The apostles James, 'Peter, John, Jude, write seven epistles, of few words, but full of sense: the Revelation of John 'has as many mysteries as words.'—The reading these scriptures, Jerom recommends to his friend; and if he is conversant with them, he says, he will then live as it were in heaven.

None can forbear to observe how clean these catalogues of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are; for here is not the least notice taken of any other books beside those which have been now particularly mentioned. It affords good reason to believe, that though there were doubts about some of these, there were no others which were esteemed to be of authority, or that made any considerable claim to be parts of canonical scripture.

VI. There is another work of Jerom, from which a catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament may be collected; I mean his book of the interpretation of Hebrew Names, which contains a collection of all the names of men and places in the Bible, in alphabetical order,

[a] De studio Scripturarum, ad Paulinum. Ep. 50, al. 103. T. iv. P. ii. p. 568—575. ed. Bened.

[b] See St. Jerome, art. 72. Tillem. Mem. T. xii.

[c] Videlicet manifestissima est Genesis, in quâ de naturâ mundi, de exordio generis humani, de divisione terræ, de confusione linguarum et gentium, usque ad exitum scribitur Hebræorum. Patet Exodus cum decem plagis, cum decalogo, cum mysticis divinisque præceptis, &c. p. 571. F.

[d] Malachim, id est, Regum tertius et quartus liber. p. 252, M.

[e] Duodecim prophetæ in unius voluminis angustias coarctati. Ibid.

[f] Malachias aperte, et in fine omnium Prophetarum, de abjectione Israël, et vocatione gentium. p. 573.

[g] Isaïam, Jeremiam, Ezechielem, et Danielem, quis possit vel intelligere, vel extollere? . . . Quartus vero, qui et postremus inter quatuor Prophetas, temporum conscius, et totius mundi Philostoros, lapidem præcisum de monte sine manibus, et regna omnia subvertentem, claro sermone pronuntiat. Ibid.

[h] David, Simonides noster, Pindarus, et Alcæus, Flaccus quoque, Catullus, et Serenus. Ibid.

[i] Salomon, pacificus et amabilis Domini, mores corrigit, naturam docet, Ecclesiam jungit et Christum, sanctarumque nuptiarum dulce canit epithalamium. Ibid.

[k] Paralipomenôn liber, id est, Testamenti Veteris ἐπιτομή, tantus ac talis est, ut absque illo si quis scientiam Scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, seipsum irrideat. Per singula quippe nomina puncturasque verborum, et prætermissæ in Regum libris tanguntur historiæ, et innumerabiles, explicantur evangelii quæstiones. p. 574.

[l] Ezras et Neëmias, adjutor videlicet et consolator a Domino, in unum volumen coaretantur; instaurant templum, muros exstruunt civitatis, &c. Ibid.

[m] Tangam et Novum breviter Testamentum. Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes, quadriga Domini, et verum Cherubim, per totum corpus oculati sunt,. . et pergunt quocunque eos flatus Sancti Spiritûs perduxerit. . . Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit (octava enim, ad Hebræos, a pleriscque extra numerum ponitur); Timotheum instruit ac Titum; Philemonem pro fugitivo famulo deprecatur: super quo tacere melius puto, quam pauca scribere. Actus apostolorum nudam sonare videntur historiam, et nascentis Ecclesiæ infantiam texere. Sed si noverimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum, cujus laus est in evangelio, animadvertemus pariter omnia verba illius animæ languenti esse medicinam. Jacobus, Petrus, Johannes, Judas, apostoli, septem epistolas ediderunt, tam mysticas quam succinctas, et breves pariter et longas; breves in verbis, longas in sententiis, ut rarus sit qui non in earum lectione cœcutiat. Apocalypsis Johannis tot habet sacramenta, quot verba... Oro te, frater carissime, inter hæc vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nôsse, nihil quærere. Nonne tibi videtur jam hic in terris regni cœlestis habitaculum? Ibid. p. 574.

with their interpretations according to the Hebrew etymology. He[a] imitated Philo in that part which concerns the Old Testament, and Origen in that which relates to the New; and at first he intended to have translated them out of Greek into Latin; but the copies of their works which he met with were so different, and there was such confusion in the order of the words, that he judged it most advisable to make a new work of the like kind; observing, as he expressly says, the order of the books of scripture: so[b] that there were, in a manner, three authors of this work. Jerom's edition of it is supposed to have been made in 388.

1. The books from which these names are collected, are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of the Kings, the Psalter, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Job. Here is no particular notice taken of the books of the Chronicles, nor of Ezra and Nehemiah. The collections out of the books of the New Testament are in the following order: The gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; the Acts of the apostles; the seven Catholic epistles, though there is no notice taken of the second epistle of John, that not having in it any names of men or places; the fourteen epistles of Paul in this order—to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the Thessalonians, the Hebrews, to Timothy, Titus, Philemon; the Revelation of John; the epistle of Barnabas.

2. Here again we see that there is no notice taken of any books of the Old Testament, beside those of the Jewish canon. The books of the New Testament are the same with those now commonly received, and mentioned by Jerom as of authority in his other works, excepting only the epistle of Barnabas. The reason of Jerom's here taking in that epistle, Cotelerius[c] supposes to be, that he followed Origen, from whom the latter part of this work was borrowed, for in other places Jerom reckons the epistle of Barnabas among apocryphal scriptures.

3. The order of the books of the New Testament (not to say any thing of the Old), in this work, is here different from that in the letter to Paulinus, and in some other works of this author. Nevertheless[d] there is no good reason to doubt of the genuineness of this book: it is much more reasonable to suppose, that some alterations have been made in it since it was finished by Jerom. So the copies of this book, as published by Philo and Origen before our author set about it, were different, and the names were in great disorder. And indeed people are apt to take liberties with books of this kind, and to alter them according to their own fancy, and the prevailing sentiments of the times in which they live.

VII. Having now observed in Jerom three catalogues of the books of scripture, one of the Old, and two other of the Old and New Testament, the passage which next offers itself, relates to the four gospels, and is in the prologue to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, written about 398. It is long; but I take it for granted, that my readers are prepared for some such passages out of this learned and laborious author, and that they will not be disgusted by them, nor think them tedious.

1. 'That[e] there were many who wrote gospels, even Luke the evangelist witnesseth. [See

[a] Philo, vir disertissimus Judæorum, Origenis quoque testimonio comprobatur edidisse librum Hebraïcorum nominum, eorumque etymologias juxta ordinem literarum e latere copulasse. Qui quum vulgo habeatur a Græcis, et bibliothecas orbis impleverit, studii nostri fuit in Latinam linguam eum vertere. Verum tam dissona inter se exemplaria reperi, et sic confusum ordinem, ut tacere melius judicaverim, quam reprehensione quid dignum scribere. Itaque hortatu fratrum Lupuliani et Valeriani, qui me putant aliquid in Hebrææ linguæ notitiâ profecisse, et rei ipsius utilitate commotus, singula per ordinem Scripturarum volumina percucurri, et vetus ædificium novâ curâ instaurans .. Ac ne forte consummato ædificio quasi extrema deesset manus, Novi Testamenti verba et nomina interpretatus sum, finitari volens ex parte Origenem. . . Inter cætera enim ingenii sui monumenta, etiam in hoc elaboravit, ut quod Philo quasi Judæus omiserat, hoc ut Christianus impleret. Præf. in libr. de Interp. Nom. Hebr. T. ii. p. 1. 3.

[b] Vid. Martian. Comm. in libr. de Nom. Hebr. ib. p. 86.

[c] Denique sanctus Hieronymus in libro, quem de Interpretatione Nominum Hebraïcorum, imitatus Philonem et Origenem, composuit, inter Novi Testamenti libros non statuisset epistolam Barnabæ, sicut facit, quem ipse cum apocryphis scripturis legebat, nisi vidisset ita ab Origene fuisse actitatum. Coteler. Judic. de Ep. Barnab. ap. Patr. Apost. T. i.

[d] See Tillem. S. Jérome, art. 49. T. xii. Martian. Prolegom. 1. init. T. ii. Vid. et eund. ib. p. 178.

[e] Plures fuisse qui evangelia scripserunt, et Lucas evangelista testatur, dicens, 'Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt. . . Ecclesia autem, quæ supra petram Domini voce fundata est. . quatuor flumina Paradisi instar eructans, quatuor et angulos et annulos habet, per quos quasi arca Testamenti, et custos Legis Domini, lignis immobilibus vehitur.—Primus omnium Matthæus est publicanus, cognomento Levi, qui evangelium in Judæâ Hebræo sermone edidit, ob eorum maxime causam, qui in Jesum crediderant ex Judæis, et nequaquam legis umbram succedente evangelii veritate servabant. Secundus Marcus, interpres apostoli Petri, et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ primus episcopus; qui Dominum quidem Salvatorem ipse non vidit, sed ea quæ magistrum audierat prædicantem juxta fidem magis gestorum narravit quam ordinem. Tertius Lucas, medicus, natione Syrus, Antiochensis, cujus laus in evangelio,

'ch. i. 1.] But the church, which according to the word of the Lord, is built upon [illegible], pours 'out only the four rivers of Paradise,...and has four corners, and four rings, by which the ark of 'the covenant, and guardian of the law of God, is safely carried on immovable staves. [See Exod. xxv. 12....16.]

'The first is Matthew the publican, surnamed Levi, who wrote his gospel in Judea, in the 'Hebrew language, chiefly for the sake of the Jews that believed in Jesus, and did not join the 'shadow of the law with the truth of the gospel. The second is Mark, interpreter to the apostle 'Peter, and the first bishop of Alexandria; who never saw the Lord himself, but related things 'as he had heard them from his master, very truly, but not in the exact order in which they were 'done. The third is Luke the physician, a Syrian of Antioch, "whose praise is in the gospel" [See 2 Cor. viii. 18. and Col. iv. 14.]; who was a disciple of the apostle Paul, and published his 'gospel in the countries of Achaia and Bœotia; who likewise, as he also intimates in his preface, 'writes rather as a hearer, than as an eye-witness. The last is John the apostle and evangelist, 'whom Jesus loved most, who leaned on the Lord's breast, and from thence derived the purest 'doctrine; to whom alone it was said by the Lord, when on the cross, "Behold thy mother." '[John xix. 27.] When he was in Asia, and the seeds sown by the heretics Cerinthus, Ebion, 'and others, who denied Christ to have come in the flesh, were now springing up, (whom also in 'his epistle he calls antichrists, and the apostle Paul often reprehends,) he was compelled by 'almost all the bishops of Asia, and by deputations from many churches, to write more fully of 'our Saviour's divinity: and ecclesiastical history informs us, that when he was thus requested 'by the brethren to write, he answered that he would, provided they would all join in fasting 'and prayer for him. Which being done, and he being fully inspired, he broke forth into that 'proem coming down from heaven, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with 'God, and the Word was God." These four gospels were foretold and prefigured in the vision 'of Ezekiel. [See ch. i. 5....10.] The first living creature, having the face of a man, denotes 'Matthew, who writes as of a man, beginning thus: "The book of the generation of Jesus 'Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The second denotes Mark, in whom is heard 'the voice of the lion roaring in the desert—"The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare 'ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." [ch. i. 3.] The third face of a calf [or ox] 'prefigures the evangelist Luke, who begins his gospel with the history of Zachariah the priest. 'The fourth denotes the evangelist John, who taking the wings of an eagle, ascends on high, and 'discourses of the word of God.' Jerom likewise brings in here, and applies to the same purpose, Rev. iv. 7, 8. 'By all which it appears, that four gospels only ought to be received, and that all 'the trash of apocryphal gospels ought to be left to dead heretics, and not to be minded by the 'living members of the church.'

2. Here is one thing which we cannot well forbear observing; I mean the public and general fasting and prayer, enjoined by St. John before he wrote his gospel. As there is nothing about it in Eusebius, or any other writer before Jerom, I think this circumstance deserves little regard. It is, probably, an invented story, owing its rise to the particular respect which some had for St. John's gospel, and especially the beginning of it. Divers learned men [a] suspect the truth of this particular.

qui et ipse discipulus apostoli Pauli, in Achaiæ Bœotiæque [al. Bithyniæque] partibus volumen condidit, quædam altius repetens, et, ut ipse in procœmio confitetur, audita magis quam visa describens. Ultimus Joannes apostolus et evangelista, quem Jesus amavit plurimum; qui supra pectus Domini recumbens, purissima doctrinarum fluenta potavit, et qui solus de cruce meruit audire, 'Ecce mater tua.' Is quum esset in Asiâ, et jam tunc hæreticorum semina pullularent, Cerinthi, Ebionis, et cæterorum, qui negant Christum in carne venisse, (quos et in epistolâ suâ antichristos vocat, et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit,) coactus est ab omnibus pene tunc Asiæ episcopis, et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus, de Divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere; et ad ipsum, ut ita dicam, Verbum, non tam audaci quam felici temeritate prorumpere. Et ecclesiastica narrat historia, quum a fratribus cogeretur ut scriberet, ita facturum respondisse, si indicto jejunio in commune omnes Deum precarentur. Quo expleto, revelatione saturatus, in illud procœmium cœlo veniens eructavit, 'In principio erat Verbum... Hæc igitur quatuor evangelia ante prædicta Ezechielis quoque volumen probat, in quo prima visio ita contexitur.... Prima hominis facies Matthæum significat, qui quasi de homine exorsus est scribere, 'Liber generationis Jesu Christi... filii 'David, filii Abraham.' Secunda Marcum, in quo vox leonis in eremo rugientis auditur... Tertia vituli, quæ evangelistam Lucam a Zachariâ sacerdote sumpsisse initium præfigurat. Quarta Joannem evangelistam, qui, assumptis pennis aquilæ, et ad altiora festinans, de Verbo Dei disputat... Unde et Apocalypsis Joannis.... Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur, quatuor tantum evangelia debere suscipi, et omnes apocryphorum nænias mortuis magis hæreticis, quam ecclesiasticis vivis, canendas. Prol. in Comment. super Matth. T. iv. init.

[a] Nos id in medio relinquimus, et multo magis aliam circumstantiam, quam illico subjungit Hieronymus, de jejunio quod præcesserit. Lamp. Prolegom. in Johan. l. ii. c. 2. p. 178.—St. Jérome ajoûte, qu' avant que de commencer son ouvrage, il ordonna un jeûne, et des prières publiques.... Cela a l' air d'un conte, qui est d'autant plus suspect, qu' on ne le produit, que plus de quatre [trois] cens ans après l'évènement. Ja. Basnag. Hist. de l' Eglise, l. viii. ch. 2. p. 418.

3. This passage is a very ample testimony to our four gospels. That there are four gospels only, even those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, he shews, as elsewhere, so particularly in the preface to his Latin edition of the New Testament,[a] written near the end of the year 384; where he also says, that all the books of the New Testament were written in Greek, except the gospel of the apostle Matthew, who first wrote in Judea in the Hebrew language.

VIII. Having alleged these general testimonies to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the four gospels, I shall now take Jerom's histories of the several writers of the books of the New Testament commonly received; which are at the beginning of his book of Illustrious Men, or Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, so often quoted by me in this work, in my accounts of ancient Christian writers.

In Jerom the order is this: Simon Peter, James the Lord's brother, Matthew, Jude brother of James, Paul, Luke, Mark, John. I shall place them in the order of the writings of the New Testament, now generally in use. Nor shall I make many remarks, supposing it to be needless; and that they who have read the former parts of this work, and particularly the chapter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, of whose Ecclesiastical History Jerom made great use in composing his Catalogue, will be able to make for themselves all proper observations.

1. 'Matthew,[b] called also Levi, of a publican made an apostle, first of all wrote a gospel in 'Judea, in the Hebrew language, and in Hebrew letters, for the sake of those of the circumcision 'who believed: who afterwards translated it into Greek, is uncertain. Moreover, the very 'Hebrew [gospel] is in the library at Cæsarea, which was collected with great care by the 'martyr Pamphilus; and with the leave of the Nazarenes who live at Beræa in Syria, and use 'that volume, I transcribed a copy. It is observable, that whenever this evangelist, in his own 'person, or in the person of our Saviour, quotes any passages of the ancient scripture, he does 'not follow the version of the Seventy, but the Hebrew original. Among which these two 'deserve notice: "Out of Egypt have I called my son" [Matth. ii. 15. from Hos. xi. 1.]; and, '"He shall be called a Nazarene." [Matth. ii. 23. see Isa. xi. 1.]'

When Jerom here says that the evangelist Matthew, in quoting the Old Testament, follows not the version of the Seventy, but the Hebrew original, Hody[c] understands him to speak of St. Matthew's Hebrew gospel; for which I can see no reason. Jerom is speaking of this gospel in general; and the two texts in which he instances, are in our Greek gospel, and are agreeable to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. And elsewhere,[d] plainly speaking of St. Matthew's Greek gospel, he says, that in his quotations of the Old Testament he does not follow the Greek version, but the Hebrew original. More passages to the same purpose may be taken notice of hereafter. I might add, that in this very place Jerom plainly speaks of St. Matthew's Greek gospel; for if he meant his Hebrew gospel, what occasion could there be to say, that in quoting the ancient scriptures, he did not follow the version of the Seventy?

2. 'Mark,[e] disciple and interpreter of Peter, at the desire of the brethren at Rome, wrote a

[a] De Novo nunc loquor Testamento, quod Græcum esse non dubium est, excepto apostolo Matthæo, qui primus in Judæâ Evangelium Christi Hebraïcis literis edidit. . . . Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia, quorum ordo est iste: Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, Joannes. Præf. in Quat. Evangel. T. i. p. 1426.

[b] Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judæâ, propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraïcis literis verbisque composuit. Quod qui postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraïcum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis qui in Beroeâ, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. In quo animadvertendum, quod ubicumque evangelista, sive ex personâ suâ, sive ex personâ Domini Salvatoris, veteris scripturæ testimoniis abutitur, non sequatur septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraïcam, e quibus illa duo sunt: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi Filium meum,' et 'Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur.' De V. I. cap. 3.

[c] Meminit alibi Hieronymus, vidisse se Matthæi exemplar Hebraïcum, in eoque omnia juxta textum Heb. invenisse probata. Catalog. Scriptor. Ecc. Hod. l. iii. P. i. cap. 2. p. 248, 249.

[d] Ex quo apparet, Matthæum evangelistam, non veteris interpretationis auctoritate constrictum, dimisisse Hebraïcam veritatem: sed quasi Hebræum ex Hebræis, et in lege Domini doctissimum, ea gentibus protulisse, quæ in Hebræo legerat. . . . Quod beatum Matthæum non solum in hoc testimonio, sed in alio fecisse legimus: 'Ex Egypto vocavi Filium meum.' Pro quo Septuaginta transtulerunt, 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filios meos.' &c. Ad Algas. Qu. 2. T. iv. P. i. p. 190. al. ep. 151.

[e] Marcus, discipulus et interpres Petri, juxta, quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus, breve scripsit evangelium. Quod quum Petrus audisset, probavit, et ecclesiis legendum suâ auctoritate edidit; sicut Clemens in sexto Τποτυπωσεων scribit, et Papias Hierapolitanus episcopus. Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in epistolâ primâ, sub nomine Babylonis Romam significans: 'Salutat vos quæ in Babylone 'est coëlecta, et Marcus filius meus.' Assumpto igitur evangelio quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians, constituit ecclesiam, tantâ doctrinâ, et vitæ continentiâ, ut omnes sectatores Christi ad exemplum sui cogeret. . . . Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis

'short gospel, according to what he had heard related by Peter; which when Peter saw, he 'approved of it, and authorized it to be read in the churches; as Clement writes in the sixth 'book of his Institutions, and also Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. Peter also makes mention of 'his Mark in his first epistle, written at Rome, which he figuratively calls Babylon. "The 'church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth Mark, my 'son." [1 Pet. v. 13]. Taking the gospel which himself had composed, he went to Egypt, and 'at Alexandria founded a church of great note.....He died in the eighth year of Nero, and was 'buried at Alexandria; where he was succeeded, as bishop, by Anianus.'

(1.) In the beginning of this article, as we have seen, Jerom styles Mark, 'Peter's disciple 'and interpreter.' He calls Mark Peter's disciple elsewhere;[a] and his interpeter, in the prologue to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, transcribed not long ago.[b]

(2.) In his Commentary upon the epistle to Philemon, ver. 24, he says, 'he[c] thinks that Mark, there mentioned, is the writer of the gospel.' It is very probable that Mark, there mentioned by Paul, is the same who is often spoken of in the Acts, and is styled 'nephew to Bar-'nabas.' Col. iv. 10. Of him Jerom here says, 'he thinks' he was the evangelist; which manner of expression seems to imply, that he was not positive, and that there were some of a different opinion.

3. 'Luke,[d] a physician of Antioch, not unskilful in the Greek language, as his writings shew, 'a disciple of the apostle Paul, and the constant companion of his travels, wrote a gospel, of 'whom, [or of which] Paul makes mention, saying, "And we have sent with him the brother 'whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches. [2 Cor. viii. 18.] And to the Colos-'sians, "Luke, the beloved physician, greets you. [Col. iv. 14.] And to Timothy, "Only Luke 'is with me." [2 Tim. iv. 11.] He published also another excellent volume, intitled The Acts 'of the apostles; the history of which comprehends Paul's two years dwelling at Rome, and 'reaches therefore to the fourth year of Nero; from whence we perceive that this last book was 'written in that city. Here Jerom censures and rejects the Travels of Paul and Thecla, of 'which we spake formerly.[e] Some have supposed, that whenever Paul, in his epistles, makes 'use of this expression, "according to my gospel," he intends Luke's writing. And it 'supposed that Luke did not learn his gospel from the apostle Paul only, who had not conversed 'with the Lord in the flesh, but also from other apostles; which likewise he owns at the beginning 'of his volume, saying, "Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Therefore he wrote the gospel from the information 'of others; but the Acts he composed from his own knowledge.'

(1.) The evangelist Luke is several times mentioned by Jerom in other works, and spoken of as a physician,[f] and having little knowledge of the Hebrew, but being well skilled in the Greek language; insomuch that there is a good deal of neatness in the style of both his works.

(2.) I place below[g] another passage, where is mention again made of his gospel and the Acts, and of his becoming, of a physician of the body, a physician of souls.

anno, et sepultus Alexandriæ, succedente sibi Aniano. De V. I. cap. 8.

[a] Marcus, discipulus Petri, ita suum orditur evangelium... Ad Pamm. de Optimo Gen. Interpr. ep. 33, al. 101. T. iv. P. ii. p. 253. [b] See p. 550.

[c] Cæterum cooperatores evangelii et vinculorum suorum, quum ad Philemonem epistolam scriberet, Marcum ponit, quem puto evangelii conditorem, et Aristarchum, &c. In Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 454.

[d] Lucas, medicus Antiochensis, ut ejus scripta indicant, Græci sermonis non ignarus, sectator apostoli Pauli, et omnis peregrinationis ejus comes, scripsit evangelium; de quo idem Paulus, 'Misimus,' inquit, 'cum illo fratrem, cujus laus 'est in evangelio' per omnes ecclesias. Et ad Colossenses, 'Salutat vos Lucas, medicus carissimus; et ad Timotheum, 'Lucas est mecum solus.' Aliud quoque edidit volumen egregium, quod titulo Apostolicarum Praxeôn prænotatur; cujus historia usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est, usque ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus, in eâdem urbe librum esse compositum..... Quidam suspicantur, quotiescunque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, 'juxta evangelium meum,' de Lucæ significare volumine; et Lucam non solum ab apostolo Paulo didicisse evangelium, qui cum Domino in carne non fuerat, sed et a cæteris apostolis. Quod ipse quoque in principio sui voluminis declarat, dicens, 'Sicut tradiderunt nobis qui a principio ipsi 'viderunt, et ministri fuerunt sermonis.' Igitur evangelium sicut audierat, scripsit. Acta vero apostolorum, sicut viderat, composuit. Ibid. cap. 7.

[e] See vol. i. ch. xxvii. p. 435; and ch. xxix. p. 448, 449.

[f] Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres ecclesiæ tractatores medicinæ artis fuisse scientissimum, et magis Græcas literas scisse quam Hebræas. Unde et sermo ejus tam in Evangelio, quam in Actibus apostolorum, id est, in utroque volumine, comtior est, et secularem redolet scientiam; magisque testimoniis Græcis (ex versione lxx interpretum) utitur, quam Hebræis. Matthæus autem et Johannes, quorum alter Hebræo, alter Græco sermone, evangelia texuerunt, testimonia de Hebræo proferunt.... Comm. in Is. cap. vi. T. iii. p. 63, 64. Conf. et in Is. cap. xxviii. p. 237, F.

[g] Et Lucam medicum, qui Evangelium, et Actus apostolorum ecclesiis derelinquens, quomodo apostoli, de piscatoribus piscium, piscatores hominum facti sunt, ita, de medico corpo-

(3.) He is also spoken of as [a] having been a proselyte to Judaism before his conversion to Christianity.

(4.) I transcribe in the margin some other passages, where he says, that [b] of all the evangelists Luke was best skilled in the Greek language, and that he wrote his gospel more especially for Gentiles; and he [c] wrote the history of Paul in the Acts, in a compendious manner.

4. 'John [d] the apostle, whom Jesus loved most, son of Zebedee, brother of the apostle James, 'whom Herod beheaded after the Lord's passion, last of all wrote a gospel at the desire of the 'bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus, and other heretics, and especially against the doctrine of the 'Ebionites, then springing up, who affirm that Christ did not exist before his birth of Mary; for 'which reason he was obliged to declare his divine nativity. Another reason of his writing 'is also mentioned; which is, that after having read the volumes of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, 'he expressed his approbation of their history, as true; but observed, that they had recorded an 'account of but one year of our Lord's ministry, even the last, after the imprisonment of John, 'in which year also he suffered. Omitting therefore [very much] that year, the history of 'which had been written by the other three, he related the acts of the preceding time, before 'John was shut up in prison, as may appear to those who read the volumes of the four evange-'lists; which may serve to account for the seeming difference between John and the rest. He 'also wrote one epistle, the beginning of which is, "That which was from the beginning, which 'we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,.....and our hands have handled, of the 'word of life;" which is received by all learned and catholic men in general, without exception. 'The other two—the beginning of one of which is, "The elder to the elect lady, and her 'children; and of the other, "The elder to the beloved Caius"—are said to have been written 'by John the presbyter, whose sepulchre is to this day shewn at Ephesus; though some think 'that both the monuments are of John the evangelist. Domitian, in the fourteenth year of his 'reign, raising the second persecution after Nero, John was banished into the island Patmos; 'where he wrote the Revelation, which Justin Martyr and Irenæus explain [or, perhaps, 'speak 'of, and bear witness to']. When Domitian had been killed, and his edicts had been repealed 'by the senate, because of their excessive cruelty, he returned to Ephesus in the time of the 'emperor Nerva; and living there to the time of the emperor Trajan, he established and 'governed all the churches of Asia: and dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year of our 'Lord's passion, he was buried near the same city.'

(1.) In his books against Jovinian, written in 393 or 394, Jerom observes, 'that [c] John was

rum, in medicum versus est animarum. ... Cujus liber, quoties legitur in ecclesiis, toties ejus medicina non cessat. Com. in Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 454.

[a] Licet plerique tradunt Lucam evangelistam, ut proselytum, Hebræas literas ignorâsse. Lib. Qu. Hebr. in Gen. T. ii. p. 544. in. Conf. p. 543.

[b] Lucas igitur, qui inter omnes evangelistas Græci sermonis eruditissimus fuit, quippe ut medicus, et qui evangelium Græcis scripsit, &c. Ad Damas. T. iv. P. i. p. 148. in. al. ep. 145.

[c] Quum autem venisset Jerusalem, tentabat jungere se discipulis. [Vid. Act. ix. 26.] Lucam vero idcirco de Arabiâ præterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabiâ perpetrârat; et ea potius compendiosâ narratione dixisse, quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. In Gal. i. 17. T. iv. P. i. p. 235.—Nec mirum esse, si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, quum et alia multa, quæ Paulus sustinuisse se replicat, historiographi licentia pretermiserit. In Gall. ii. ib. p. 244.

[d] Johannes apostolus, quem Jesus amabat plurimum, filius Zebedæi, frater Jacobi apostoli, quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollavit, novissimus omnium scripsit evangelium, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliosque hæreticos, et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse; unde compulsus est divinam ejus nativitatem edicere. Sed et aliam causam hujus scripturæ ferunt: Quod, cum legisset Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ volumina, probavit quidem textum historiæ, et vera eos dixisse firmaverit; sed unius tantum anni, in quo et passus est, post carcerem Johannis, historiam texuisse. Prætermisso itaque anno cujus acta a tribus exposita fuerunt, superioris temporis, antequam Johannes clauderetur in carcerem, gesta narravit; sicut manifestum esse poterit his, qui diligenter quatuor evangeliorum volumina legerint: quæ res etiam διαφωνιαν, quæ videtur Johannis esse cum cæteris, tollit. Scripsit autem et unam epistolam, cujus exordium est.... quæ ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquæ autem duæ, quarum principium est, 'Senior'.. et sequentis, 'Senior Caio' .. Johannis presbyteri asseruntur, cujus et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur; etsi nonnulli putant duas memorias ejusdem Johannis evangelistæ esse. ... Quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmon insulam relegatus, scripsit Apocalypsim, quam interpretantur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus. Interfecto autem Domitiano, et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis, sub Nervâ principe redit Ephesum; ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans, totius Asiæ fundavit rexitque ecclesias. Et confectus senio, sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini anno mortuus, juxta eamdem urbem sepultus est. De V. I. cap. 9.

[c] Ut autem sciamus Johannem tunc fuisse puerum, manifestissime docent ecclesiasticæ historiæ quod usque ad Trajani vixerit imperium, id est, post passionem Domini sexagesimo octavo anno dormierit; quod et nos in libro de Viris Illustribus perstrinximus. Petrus apostolus est, et Johannes apostolus; maritus, et virgo. Sed Petrus apostolus tantum; Johannes et apostolus, et evangelista, et propheta: apostolus, quia scripsit ad ecclesias ut magister; evangelista quia librum evangelii condidit, quod, excepto Matthæo, alii ex duodecim apostoli non fecerunt; propheta, vidit enim in Patmo insulâ, in quam fuerat a Domitiano principe ob Domini martyrium relegatus,

'young when he was called by Christ to follow him: that ecclesiastical history assures us he lived 'to the time of Trajan, and died in the 68th year after our Lord's passion; that he was at once 'apostle, evangelist, and prophet: apostle, in that he wrote letters to the churches as a master; 'evangelist, as he wrote a book of the gospel, which no other of the twelve apostles did, except 'Matthew; prophet, as he saw the revelation in the island Patmos, where he was banished by 'Domitian. His gospel too differs from the rest. Like an eagle he ascends to the very throne 'of God, and says, "In the beginning was the Word."'

(2.) In his Commentary upon the book of Daniel, written between 407 and 410, he again takes notice that [a] St. John lived to the reign of Trajan. He there observes likewise, that [b] according to St. John's gospel, our Saviour's ministry consists of three years and six months.

(3.) In his Commentary upon St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, written about the year 388, Jerom tells this story: 'The blessed apostle John,[c] living at Ephesus to extreme old age, 'and being difficultly carried to church in the arms of the disciples, and being unable to make a 'long discourse, every time they assembled, was wont to say nothing but this: "Little children, 'love one another." At length the disciples and brethren who attended, tired with hearing so 'often the same thing, said, "Sir, why do you always say this?" Who then made this answer, 'worthy of himself: "Because," says he, "it is the Lord's command; and if that alone be done, 'it is sufficient."

(4.) Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the latter part of the second century, in his letter to Victor, written in the name of the bishops of Asia, about the time of keeping Easter, of which some account was given formerly,[d] says, as it is expressed in Eusebius: 'John also [e] was buried 'at Ephesus, who leaned on the Lord's breast, who was a priest bearing a plate, and martyr [or 'witness], and master.' Which Jerom, in his article of Polycrates, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, translates after this manner: 'Moreover [f] John also, who leaned on the Lord's 'breast, and was his high-priest, bearing on his forehead a golden plate, martyr, and master, fell 'asleep at Ephesus.' Where undoubtedly there is a reference to one part of the vestments of the Jewish high-priest, prescribed by the law of Moses, and spoken of in several places. See Exod. xxviii. 36. xxxix. 30. Lev. viii. 9. And Valesius supposes [g] that St. John actually wore such a plate; which [h] supposition is fully confuted, and ridiculed as it deserves, by E. S. Cyprian, in his notes upon that chapter of Jerom's Catalogue. He thinks that Polycrates speaks figuratively; not that St. John really wore a golden plate, as the Jewish high-priest did; but that he had a like authority among Christians; and that his rule or practice, about the time of keeping Easter, was decisive.

Indeed this passage of Polycrates has exercised the thoughts of many learned men; however I shall take notice of the sentiments of but a few more. By Witsius this story is considered as

Apocalypsim, infinita futurorum mysteria continentem. Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ missus in ferventis olei dolium, purior et vegetior exiverit quam intraverit. Sed et ipsum evangelium multum distat a cæteris. Matthæus quasi de homine incipit dicere;.... Lucas a sacerdotio Zachariæ; Marcus a prophetiâ Malachiæ prophetæ, et Isaïæ. Primus habet faciem hominis, propter genealogiam; secundus faciem vituli, propter sacerdotium; tertius faciem leonis, propter vocem clamantis in deserto.... Johannes vero noster, quasi aquila, ad superna volat, et ad ipsum Patrem pervenit, dicens, 'In Principio.'.... Adv. Jovin. l. i. T. iv. P. ii. p. 168, 169.

[a] In totum enim orbem per apostolos evangelium prædicatum est, qui usque ad illud tempus perseverârunt; traditionibus ecclesiasticis historiis, Johannem evangelistam usque ad tempora vixisse Trajani. In Dan. cap. ix. ver. 27. T. iii. p. 1114.

[b] ....qui tribus annis et sex mensibus, juxta evangelistam Johannem, evangelium prædicavit, et confirmavit veri Dei cultum multis. Ibid. p. 1113, fin.

[c] Beatus Johannes evangelista, quum Ephesi moraretur usque ad ultimam senectutem, et vix inter discipulorum manus ad ecclesiam deferretur; nec posset plura vocum verba contexere, nihil aliud per singulas solebat proferre collectas, nisi hoc: 'Filioli, diligite alterutrum.' Tandem discipuli et fratres qui aderant, tædio affecti, quod eadem semper audirent, dixerunt, 'Magister, quare semper hoc loqueris?' Qui respondit dignam Johanne sententiam: 'Quia præceptum Domini est; et si solum fiat, sufficit.' In Ep. ad Galat. cap. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 314, fin.

[d] See vol. i. p. 412.

[e] Ἓτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωαννες, ὁ ἐπι το στεθος τε Κυριε αναπεσων, ὃς ἐγενηθη ἱερευς το πέταλον πεφορηκως, καὶ μαρτυς καὶ διδασκαλος. Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 24. p. 191, C. Conf. l. iii. cap. 31.

[f] Sed et Johannes, qui super pectus Domini recubuit, et pontifex ejus fuit, auream laminam in fronte portans, martyr et doctor, in Epheso dormivit. De V. I. cap. 45.

[g] Quod autem de laminâ dicit Polycrates, credibile est primos illos Christianos pontifices, exemplo Judaïcorum pontificum, hoc honoris insigne gestâsse. Vales. ad Euseb. l. v. c. 24. p. 104, C.

[h] Quâ sententiâ haud scio an ineptior excogitari queat. Primo enim Judæi illico Johannem trucidâssent, tamquam summi sacerdotis jura involantem.... Gentilibus autem ludibrium risumque debuisset.... Christianis vero scandalum præbuisset. Sed ego hæc eo modo intelligenda opinor.... Eâdem ratione dicitur Johannes auream laminam summi pontificis gestâsse, tamquam insigne supremi sacerdotii; non quod reverâ ita ornatus fuerit, sed quod eam potestatem habuerit quam aurea lamina indicabat apud Judæos. Cypr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 45, ap. Fabric. Bib. Ec.

false,[a] without so much as the appearance of truth or probability. Le Clerc [b] was inclined to think, that Polycrates spoke allusively and figuratively. F. A. Lampe [c] approves of Solomon Cyprian's arguments, and calls this story a mere fable, and though the literal sense of the words be very absurd, yet he conceives it may be the true meaning of Polycrates. Dr. Heumann takes a quite different course, and proposes this ingenious observation: That [d] 'the priest bearing a plate, intended by Polycrates, is not John, but Jesus Christ; and that his Greek, as preserved in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, ought to be translated after this manner: 'And John, 'who leaned on the Lord's breast (who was made priest, bearing a plate), and was a witness, 'and master, or rather, "and John, that witness and master, who lay in the Lord's bosom, who 'was made priest, bearing a golden plate."'

(5.) Eusebius [e] tells a story from a work of Clement of Alexandria, of a young man in a city of Asia, not very far from Ephesus, who after having been instructed in the Christian religion, took to evil courses, and became quite profligate; but nevertheless was afterwards brought to repentance by our evangelist. This history, however, is liable to some difficulties, taken notice of by divers learned men, to whom I refer.[f]

(6.) Another thing said of St. John is, that going to bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus already in the bath, he came out again in haste, saying, 'Let us flee hence, lest the bath should 'fall, whilst Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.' Which story we had occasion to examine some while ago.[g]

(7.) Finally, not to mention any other things, it is said of this apostle, that he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil by order of Domitian, and that he came out again without suffering any harm. This story likewise, the truth of which relies chiefly upon the authority of Tertullian, has been particularly considered by us already.[h] Our author says nothing of it in this article of St. John, in his Catalogue; but he has elsewhere taken notice of it once or twice.[i]

(8.) We plainly perceive from this article in the Catalogue, as well as from many other passages which have passed before us, that Jerom received the Revelation as written by John the apostle and evangelist. I refer below [k] to a passage in Jerom's preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians, where he speaks of the seven churches to whom John writes in the book of the Revelation.

5. 'Paul,[l] before called Saul, an apostle beside the other twelve apostles, of the tribe of

[a] Cæterum omnes hæ narrationes, quantocumque consensu traditæ ab iis qui apostolorum ætate aliquanto fuerunt recentiores, ne speciem quidem ullam verisimilitudinis habent. Quo enim jure apostoli insignia Levitici pontificatûs gessissent? .... Wits. Miscell. Sacr. l. ii. Diss. 2. n. liv. Vid. et n. liii. p. 488, 489.

[b] Vero similius videtur, Polycratem tralatitio loquendi genere usum, atque hoc, aut simile quiddam, voluisse: Johannem, qui cæteris omnibus apostolis superstes fuit, apud Christianos instar pontificis maximi habitum fuisse. Sic certe malim Polycratis verba interpretari, quam ea dicentem, quæ fabulam redolent, inducere. Cleric. H. E. A. 99. n. iii. p. 519.

[c] Hoc si secundum literam intelligatur, multa absurda concurrent... Sunt tamen, qui, genium primævorum patrum probe callentes, nihil difficultatis in eo situm esse putant, ut talia reverâ credidisse ac tradidisse statuatur Polycrates. Lampe, Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. c. 3. n. iv. p. 41, 42.

[d] Scilicet peccavit Hieronymus, primus Polycratis verborum interpres; peccavit Henricus Valesius, interpres eorum alter. Traxerunt enim verbulum ad Johannem, quod ad Christum, pontificem utique verissimum, pertinere voluerat Polycrates, ejusque orationi hoc pacto sensum dederunt alienissimum. Hoc est:.. 'Johannes, qui super pectore Domini 'recubans (qui factus est sacerdos laminam auream gestans) 'et testis fuit et doctor.' Melius adhuc ita reddideris: 'Johannes, ille et testis et doctor, qui super pectore Domini 'recubuit, qui [Dominus] factus est sacerdos laminam ges-'tans auream.' Heuman. Diss. de fictitio Johannis Pontificatu Maximo. Ap. Primitias, Gotting. Hanov. 1738.

[e] H. E. l. iii. cap. 23.

[f] Vid. S. Basnag. Ann. 97. n. x. et Lamp. Prolegom. in Jo. l. i. cap. 5. n. iii. to x.

[g] See vol. i. ch. 6. p. 325. note [c].

[h] See vol. i. p. 426. note [b].

[i] Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ missus in fervent-tis olei dolium, purior et vegetior exiveritquam intraverit. Contr. Jovin. l. i. T. iv. P. ii. p. 169, in. Vid. eund. in Matth. cap. xx. 23. T. iv. P. i. p. 92, fin.

[k] Et quomodo beatus Johannes in Apocalypsi suâ ad septem scribens ecclesias, in unâquâque earum specialia vel vitia reprehendit, vel virtutes probat: ita et sanctus apostolus Paulus per singulas ecclesias vulneribus medetur illatis, &c. Præf. in Ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 319.

[l] Paulus apostolus, qui ante Saülus, extra numerum duodecim apostolorum, de tribu Benjamin, et oppido Judææ Giscalis, fuit; quo a Romanis capto, cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit. A quibus ob studia legis missus Hierosolymam, a Gamaliele, viro doctissimo, cujus Lucas meminit, eruditus est. ..Et quia in Actibus apostolorum plenissime de ejus conversatione scriptum est, hoc tantum dicam: Quod post passionem Domini vicesimo et quinto anno, id est, secundo Neronis, eo tempore quo Festus procurator Judææ successit Felici, Romam vinctus mittitur, et biennium in liberâ manens custodiâ, adversus Judæos de adventu Christi quotidie disputavit. Sciendum autem, in primâ satisfactione, necdum Neronis imperio roborato, nec in tanta erumpente scelera quanta de eo narrant historiæ, Paulum a Nerone dimissum, ut evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret; sicut ipse in secundâ epistolâ ad Timotheum, eo tempore quo et passus est, de vinculis dictans epistolam. 'In primâ meâ satisfactione.'.... Hic ergo xiv. Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus; sepultusque est in Viâ Ostiensi, anno post passionem Domini trigesimo septimo. Scripsit autem novem ad septem ecclesias epistolas..., Præterea ad

'Benjamin, and town of Judea, called Giscalis; which being taken by the Romans, he with his 'parents removed to Tarsus in Cilicia. By them, for the study of the law, he was sent to 'Jerusalem, and educated by Gamaliel, a man of great learning, mentioned by Luke.....As his 'history is fully related in the Acts of the apostles, I shall only add, that in the five-and-twentieth 'year after our Lord's passion, that is, in the second of Nero, when Festus, who succeeded Felix, 'was procurator of Judea, he was sent bound to Rome; where he remained two years in a kind 'of free custody, daily disputing with the Jews, and arguing that the Christ was come. It 'should be observed, that at the time of his first apology, Nero's government not being then 'yet quite degenerated, nor disgraced by the horrible wickedness which historians speak of, 'Paul was set at liberty, that he might preach the gospel in the western parts of the world; 'as he himself writes in the second epistle to Timothy, dictated by him in his bonds, at 'the time when he suffered: "In my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook 'me; I pray God, that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding, the Lord 'stood with me and strengthened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, 'and all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion:" by 'the lion manifestly denoting Nero, because of his cruelty. And immediately after: "And 'the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me to his heavenly 'kingdom" [2 Tim. iv. 16.....18.]; that is, because he now perceived his martyrdom 'to be nigh, according to what he had before said in the same epistle: "for I am now 'ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." In the fourteenth year 'therefore of Nero, he was beheaded at Rome for the name of Christ, on the same day with 'Peter, and was buried in the Ostian way; it being then the seven-and-thirtieth year after our 'Lord's passion. He wrote nine epistles to seven churches; to the Romans one, to the Corin-'thians two, to the Galatians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Ephesians 'one, to the Thessalonians two: and besides, to his disciples—to Timothy two, to Titus one, to 'Philemon one. But the epistle, called 'to the Hebrews,' is not thought to be his, because of 'the difference of the argument and style; but either Barnabas's, as Tertullian thought; or the 'evangelist Luke's, according to some others; or Clement's, afterwards bishop of Rome, who, 'as some think, being much with him, clothed and adorned Paul's sense in his own language; 'or if it be Paul's, he might decline putting his name in the inscription, on account of the 'Hebrews being offended with him. Moreover he wrote, as a Hebrew to Hebrews, in pure 'Hebrew, it being his own language; whence it came to pass, that being translated, it has more 'elegance in the Greek than his other epistles; this, they say, is the reason of its differing from 'the rest of Paul's writings. There is also an epistle to the Loadiceans; but it is rejected by 'every body.'

1. Jerom seems to have supposed that Paul was not born at Tarsus, but at Giscalis; and that when young he was removed with his parents to Tarsus, upon occasion of a conquest made of Judea by the Romans. He tells the same story again in his Commentary [a] upon the epistle to Philemon; but there, as it seems to me, he treats it as an uncertain rumour or tradition. Indeed it is not easy to guess what conquest the Romans should make of Judea, in the time of Paul's early age. If there is any foundation for this story, perhaps it is this: That, upon occasion of the conquest of Judea by Pompey, or of some farther reduction of it afterwards by the Romans, Paul's ancestors were obliged, before he was born, as I apprehend, to leave Judea; when they went and settled at Tarsus.

I shall mention another thought. In another place Jerom supposeth [b] Paul to have learned

discipulos suos.... Epistola autem, quæ fertur ad Hebræos, non ejus creditur, propter styli sermonisque differentiam; sed vel Barnabæ, juxta Tertullianum; vel Lucæ evangelistæ, juxta quosdam; vel Clementis, Romanæ postea ecclesiæ episcopi, quem aiunt ipsi adjunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinâsse et ornâsse sermone. Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat, scripserat, ut Hebræus Hebræis, Hebraïce, id est, suo eloquio disertissime; ut ea quæ eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebræo, eloquentius verterentur in Græcum: et hanc esse causam, quod a cæteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur. Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses; sed ab omnibus exploditur. De V. I. cap. 5.

[a] Quis sit Epaphras, concaptivus Pauli, talem fabulam accepimus. Aiunt, parentes apostoli Pauli de Giscalis regione fuisse Judææ; et eos, quum tota provincia Romanâ vastaretur manu, et dispergerentur in orbe Judæi, in Tarsum, urbem Ciliciæ, fuisse translatos; parentum conditionem Paulum sequutum, et sic posse stare illud quod de se ipse testatur: 'Hebræi sunt? et ego.'.... Et rursum alibi: 'Hebræus ex 'Hebræis,' et cætera, quæ illum Judæum magis indicant quam Tarsensem, &c. In Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 454, M.

[b] Quem [sermonem] quum in vernaculâ linguâ habeat disertissimum (quippe Hebræus ex Hebræis), &c. Ad Algas. Qu. 2. T. iv. P. i. p. 204.

Greek learning in his early age at Tarsus; and yet he calls the Hebrew his mother tongue. Possibly, because Paul says he was a 'Hebrew,' and a 'Hebrew of Hebrews,' some thought he was born in Judea; though he really meant no more than that he was born of Jewish ancestors. This conjecture is also strengthened by the passage of the Commentary upon Philemon just cited; where having related that story of Paul's parents, that they dwelt at Giscalis, and were obliged by a Roman conquest to remove to Tarsus, he adds, 'In this way may be made out the truth of 'what he says of himself: "Are they Hebrews? So am I;" and in another place, "a Hebrew 'of Hebrews:" which expressions shew him rather to be a Jew, than a native of Tarsus.' Thereupon the story was invented of the removal of Paul's parents, and of him with them, upon occasion of some conquest or invasion of Judea by the Romans, they knew not when.

The learned Photius was not unacquainted with this story. He understood the case to be thus: That [a] St. Paul's ancestors dwelt at Giscalis, or Giscala, a small town in the tribe of Benjamin; and that when the Romans invaded Judea, they were taken captive, and transported to Tarsus, where Paul was born. He [b] always considers Tarsus as the native place of the apostle.

(2.) We before saw an enumeration of the apostle Paul's epistles in Jerom's letter to Paulinus. In his Commentary upon the prophet Zechariah, he again mentions [c] the seven churches to whom Paul wrote, and his epistles to them.

(3.) In his Commentary upon the epistle to Philemon he says, that [d] not only that epistle, but likewise the epistles to the Philippians, to the Ephesians, and the Colossians, were written by the apostle, when he was prisoner at Rome. He speaks to the like purpose [e] in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians.

(4.) My readers doubtless observe, that Jerom always calls the epistle to the Ephesians as we do. In one place he observes, that [f] the apostle never blames the Ephesians. We saw a like observation in a very early Christian writer long ago.[g]

That [h] he thought this epistle to have been sent to the church at Ephesus, appears abundantly from the preface to his Commentary upon it, and from many places of his Commentary.

(5.) It seems from Jerom's Commentary upon the epistle to Philemon, that [i] there were some in his time who either rejected that epistle, or made objections to it. They argued, that it was below the apostle to recommend a servant, and to write about preparing a lodging for himself. If it was the apostle's, it was only a familiar epistle, written upon a private occasion, and not designed for general instruction. In answer to which Jerom says, there is nothing in it unbecoming the apostle; and that it had been received, in all times, by all the churches all over the world: and that there were things of a like kind in some other of the apostle's epistles, the authority of which those very persons did not dispute.

[a] Vid. ep. 246. p. 377, 378.

[b] Vid. ep. 102. p. 145.

[c] Quæ igitur ibi septem mulieres appellantur, id est, ecclesiæ, quarum numerus et in Paulo apostolo continetur. Ad septem enim scribit ecclesias; ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, et ad Thessalonicenses. In Zach. viii. [et conf. Is. iv. 1.] T. iii. p. 1754.

[d] Scribit igitur ad Philemonem, vinctus in carcere, quo tempore mihi videntur ad Philippenses, Colossenses, et Ephesios epistolæ esse dictatæ. In Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 445.

[e] Quod Romæ in vincula conjectus, hanc epistolam miserit eo tempore quo ad Philemonem, et ad Colossenses, et ad Philippenses, in alio loco scriptas esse monstravimus. In Eph. cap. iii. T. iv. P. i. p. 347.

[f] Corinthii, in quibus audiebatur fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, lacte pascuntur, quia necdum poterant solidum cibum capere. Ephesii autem, in quibus nullum crimen arguitur, ab ipso Domino cœlesti vescuntur pane, et sacramentum, quod a seculis absconditum fuerat, agnoscunt. Ad Marcellam, T. ii. p. 624. ed. Bened. aliter ep. 133.

[g] See vol. i. p. 316.

[h] Quid rursum in Novo Testamento Romani, Corinthii, Galatæ, Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Hebræi, Colossenses; et quam nunc ad Ephesios epistolam habemus in manibus. . . . Nunc ad Ephesios transeundum est, mediam apostoli epistolam, ut ordine, ita et sensibus. . . . Scribebat ad Ephesios Dianam colentes; non hanc venatricem, quæ arcum tenet et succincta est, sed illam multimammiam, quem Græci πολυμάσθον vocant. . . . Scribebat autem ad metropolim Asiæ civitatem. . . . Pr. in Ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 319. &c.

[i] . . . . volunt aut epistolam non esse Pauli, quæ ad Philemonem scribitur; aut etiam, si Pauli sit, nihil habere quod ædificare nos possit; et a plerisque veterum repudiatam, dum commendandi tantum scribatur officio, non docendi. At e contrario, qui germanæ auctoritatis eam esse defendunt, dicunt nunquam in toto orbe a cunctis ecclesiis fuisse susceptam, nisi Pauli apostoli crederetur; et hac lege nec secundam quidem ad Timotheum, et ad Galatas, eos debere suscipere, de quibus et ipsi humanæ imbecilitatis exempla protulerunt. 'Penulam, quam reliqui Troade apud Carpum, veniens tecum 'affer.' . . . . Quas et ipsas, quia aliquid tale habent, aut Pauli epistolas non putandas; aut si istæ recipiuntur, recipiendum esse et ad Philemonem, ex præjudicio similium receptarum. Valde autem eos et simpliciter errare, si putent cibum emere, hospitium præparare, vestimenta conquirere, esse peccatum; et asserere a se refugari Spiritum Sanctum, si corpusculi paulisper necessitatibus serviamus. . . . Et quoniam Marcionis fecimus mentionem, Pauli esse epistolam ad Philemonem saltem Marcione auctore doceantur. Pr. in Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. p. 442.

(6.) From what has been alleged we plainly perceive, that there were among the ancients different opinions concerning the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews: and that there were several objections against its being Paul's, which offered themselves to their minds: which shews that there were in those times Christians, who read the scriptures with diligence, and made judicious observations. One difficulty was the difference of style, or the superior elegance of this above the other epistles ascribed to Paul: which, I apprehend, is still obvious to careful readers. And moreover, in his Commentary upon Isaiah, Jerom informs us,[a] that some objected to this epistle, because the writer seems rather to quote the Greek version of the Seventy than the Hebrew original.

(7.) Jerom himself, as we have seen, receives this epistle, and[b] readily quotes it, as the apostle Paul's: but he has, in several places, spoken of the different opinions of men about it. Some of which places I would now take notice of, beside those which we have already seen.

(8.) In his Commentary upon Isaiah, quoting this epistle, he takes notice, that[c] it was not received by the Latins among the canonical scriptures.

(9.) In his Commentary upon Amos: 'And[d] whoever wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, he 'says in his argument: "Because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself." Ch. vi. 13. Perhaps that passage is not altogether Jerom's own, but partly the words of another author there inserted by him: which was an usual thing in writing commentaries.

(10.) In his Commentary upon Zechariah he intimates, that[e] the epistle to the Hebrews was generally received by the Greeks, and not so received by the Christians who used the Latin tongue.

(11.) In his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians he says, it[f] was thought by some that Paul did not prefix his name, nor call himself apostle, at the beginning of the epistle to the Hebrews, according to his usual method, because he should afterwards say, 'The apostle and high-priest of our profession Christ Jesus.' [Hebr. iii. 1.] And it was not fit, that where Christ is called apostle, there Paul should be so called likewise.

(12.) In his letter to Evangelius, written in 398, he says, that[g] all the Greeks and some of the Latins received this epistle.

(12.) In his letter to Dardanus, written about the year 414, he speaks more largely to the like purpose: 'that[h] it was not only received as Paul's by all the churches of the East in his time, 'but by all the ecclesiastical [or catholic] Greek writers in general of former times; though many 'ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement. He also says, that it was daily read in the churches; and, 'if the Latins did not receive this epistle, as the Greeks in like manner rejected the Revelation 'of John, he received both; not being so much influenced by present times, as by the judgment 'of ancient writers, who quote both; and that not as they sometimes quote apochryphal books, 'and even heathen writings, but as canonical and ecclesiastical.'

Upon this passage I make a few observations, leaving others to the reader's consideration.

1. There is ambiguity in those words, 'though many ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement:' and

[a] Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebræos epistola contradicitur, quod, ad Hebræos scribens, utatur testimoniis, quæ in Hebræis voluminibus non habentur. In Is. vi. T. iii. p. 64. in.

[b] Vas electionis loquitur ad Hebræos. Ad Dardan. T. ii. p. 608. M. al ep. 129.—Melchisedec autem beatus apostolus ad Hebræos, sine patre et matre commemorans, ad Christum refert. Qu. in Gen. T. ii. p. 520. M.

[c] Cæterum beatus apostolus in epistolâ, quæ ad Hebræos scribitur, docet; licet eam Latina consuetudo inter canonicas scripturas non recipiat. In Is. viii. T. iii. p. 80.

[d] Quod, quicumque est ille qui ad Hebræos scripsit epistolam, disserens, ait. In Amos. viii. T. iii. p. 1444. fin.

[e] De hoc monte, et de hac civitate, et apostolus Paulus (si tamen in suscipiendâ epistolâ Græcorum auctoritatem Latina lingua non respuit) sacrata oratione disputans, ait: 'Accessistis ad montem Sion.' [Hebr. xii. 22.] In Zach. viii. T. iii. p. 1744.

[f] Et in epistolâ ad Hebræos propterea Paulum solitâ consuetudine nec nomen suum, nec apostoli vocabulum præposuisse, quia de Christo erat dicturus: 'Habemus ergo prin-'cipem sacerdotum, et apostolum professionis nostræ Jesum;' nec fuisse congruum, ut, ubi Christus apostolus dicendus esset, ibi etiam Paulus apostolus diceretur. In Gal. cap. i. T. iv. P. i. p. 225. in.

[g] Præterea plenius esse tractatum in epistolâ ad Hebræos, quam omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum. Ad Evangel. T. ii. p. 571. al. ep. 126.

[h] Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli apostoli, suscipi; licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse cujus sit, quum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur.—Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eâdem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequâquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum auctoritatem, sequentes; qui plerumque utriusque utuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent (quippe qui et Gentilium literarum non raro utuntur exemplis,) sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis. Ad Dardan. T. ii. p. 608. al ep. 129.

it is such an ambiguity as I am not able to remove; for I cannot tell whether Jerom intends to say, 'though many now, that is, among the Latins, ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement;' or whether he means, 'that it was not only received as Paul's, for the sense, by all the churches of 'the East in his time, but likewise by all the catholic writers in general of former times, though 'many even of them esteemed it Barnabas's, or Clement's, for the style and language:' or, in other words, they reckoned Paul the author of the epistle, though they ascribed it to Barnabas, or Clement, as writers or scribes. This point I must leave to be determined by others, if they are able.

(2.) Many Latins in Jerom's time did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's; and many Greek churches rejected the book of the Revelation.

(3.) Jerom supposeth that most ancient Greek writers received both the epistle to the Hebrews and the book of the Revelation; and by their judgment he abides.

(4.) Here is an useful observation relating to the quotations of ancient Christian writers, that they made a distinction between books; some they quoted as of authority, others not. This is what we have supposed all along; and I apprehend it has been made evident, beyond question, upon many occasions. Nevertheless it affords some satisfaction to find this observation in Jerom, and to see that he was of the same opinion.

6. 'James[a] called the Lord's brother, surnamed Justus, as some think, son of Joseph by a 'former wife; but, as I rather think, son of Mary, sister to our Lord's mother, mentioned by 'John in his gospel [xix. 25.] soon after our Lord's passion ordained by the apostles bishop of 'Jerusalem, wrote but one epistle, which is among the seven catholic epistles; which too is said 'to have been published by another in his name [that is, even that one epistle is said by some to 'be spurious, and not really written by James, though it bears his name]; but gradually, in pro-'cess of time, it has gained authority. This is he, of whom Paul writes in his epistle to the 'Galatians; and he is often mentioned in[b] the Acts of the Apostles; and also several times in 'the gospel called according to the Hebrews, lately translated by me into Greek and Latin. ... '[Here Jerom inserts three short passages from that gospel.] He governed the church of Jeru-'salem thirty years, to the seventh of Nero, and was buried near the temple, from whence he had 'been thrown down and killed. Some of our people have supposed that he was buried on mount 'Olivet: but that is a false opinion.'

(1.) In that chapter there are several things relating to James, taken from Hegesippus, and Clement of Alexandria, and Josephus, which I have omitted, and do not think it needful for me to take notice of at present, though they are likewise in[c] Eusebius. Possibly some other opportunity may offer for examining the truth of them. Jerom's translations of the gospel according to the Hebrews may also be considered upon another occasion.

(2.) I only observe farther at present; Jerom here says, he thinks that James, called the Lord's brother, was the son of Mary, sister to our Lord's mother: and in his book against Helvidius he maintains, that[d] James, the son of Alpheus, one of the twelve apostles, and James the less, and James the Lord's brother, are all one; but in[e] his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, he does not seem to insist upon it. In his Commentary upon Isaiah[f] he reckons

[a] Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex aliâ uxore; ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro suo meminit, filius; post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est. Quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur; licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem. Hic est, de quo Paulus scribit ad Galatas: alium autem apostolum vidi neminem, nisi Jacobum, fratrem Domini. Et apostolorum super hoc crebrius Acta testantur. Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes sæpe utitur, post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert.... Triginta itaque annos Hierosolymorum rexit ecclesiam, id est, usque ad septimum Neronis annum. Et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, sepultus est... Quidam e nostris in monte Oliveti eum putaverunt conditum. Sed falsa eorum opinio est. De V. I. cap. ii.

[b] Acts i. 13. xii. 17. xv. 13. xxi. 18.

[c] H. E. l. ii. cap. 23.

[d] Nulli dubium est, duos fuisse apostolos, Jacobi vocabulo nuncupatos; Jacobum Zebedæi, et Jacobum Alphæi. Istum, nescio quem minorem Jacobum, quem Mariæ filium, nec tamen matris Domini, scriptura commemorat, apostolum vis esse, an non? Si apostolus fuit, Alphæi filius erit.... Si non est apostolus, sed tertius nescio quis Jacobus, quomodo est frater Domini putandus?... Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista, quæ Jacobi Minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi, et soror Mariæ matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophæ Johannes evangelista cognominat. Advers. Helvid. T. iv. P. ii. p. 137, 138.

[e] In Gal. i. 16. T. 4. P. i. p. 236.

[f] Duas olivas, et tres, et quatuor, et quinque, quatuordecim apostolos interpretantur, id est, duodecim qui electi sunt, et tertium-decimum Jacobum, qui appellatur frater Domini, Paulum quoque apostolum, vas electionis. In Is. liv. v. T. iii. p. 123.

James the Lord's brother, an additional apostle, with Paul, consequently not one of the twelve. Afterwards, in his Commentary upon the same prophet he reckons[a] Barnabas the fourteenth apostle; all which seems to shew, that it was not then a clear point, whether James, called the Lord's brother, was an apostle in the highest sense of that word.

(3.) St. Jerom, however, received the epistle ascribed to him. It appears from this chapter that he did so. Moreover, we before saw in his letter to Paulinus, that he received all the seven catholic epistles; he also quotes this epistle[b] as written by an apostle.

(4.) I shall add here, that in his Commentary upon Gal. i. 19. he says, 'This[c] Jerom was 'the first bishop of Jerusalem, surnamed the Just; a man of so great piety, and such reputation 'among the people, that with much eagerness they sought to touch the hem of his garment: who 'afterwards was thrown down from the temple by the Jews, and was succeeded by Simon, who 'also is said to have been crucified for the Lord.'

7. 'Simon Peter,[d] son of John [or Jonas,] of the country of Galilee, and town of Bethsaida, 'brother of the apostle Andrew, and chief of the apostles, after having been bishop of Antioch, 'and after preaching to the Jews of the dispersion, which believed, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappa-'docia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of the emperor Claudius went to Rome to oppose 'Simon Magus, and there for five and twenty years he filled the sacerdotal [or episcopal] chair, 'until the last, that is, the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, by whom he was crucified, and thus 'was crowned with martyrdom, his head downwards, and his feet lifted up, saying: he was 'unworthy to be so crucified, as his Lord was. He wrote two epistles, called catholic; the second 'of which is denied by many to be his, because of the difference of style from the former. The 'gospel according to Mark, who was his hearer and interpreter, is also called his: but other books, 'one of which is called his Acts, another his Gospel, a third his Preaching, a fourth his Revela-'tion, a fifth his judgment, are ranked among apocryphal scriptures, and are rejected. He was buried 'at Rome, in the Vatican, near the Triumphal Way, and is in veneration all over the world.'

(1.) That is Jerom's whole chapter concerning the apostle Peter. It will not be expected that I should particularly consider what Jerom here says of St. Peter's being bishop of Antioch, and afterwards going to Rome to oppose Simon Magus, or of his residing at Rome five and twenty years, as bishop of that city. The apocryphal books here spoken of were all taken notice of in the chapter of Eusebius, except that called the Judgment of Peter, of which some account will be given in the chapter of Rufinus.

(2.) The second, as well as the first epistle of St. Peter, was received by Jerom; for, as we saw before, he received all the seven catholic epistles.

(3.) In another place he says, that[e] the reason of the difference of style observable in St. Peter's epistles was this, that he had not the same interpreter at writing of the second epistle, whom he had when he wrote the first. In the same place he says, that Titus was Paul's interpreter, and that Peter dictated the gospel which Mark wrote.

(4.) At the beginning of this article Jerom speaks of St. Peter's having 'preached to the 'Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and other countries thereabout;

[a] Quando enim venit percussio populi Judæorum, oliva illa populi Israël. . . vix paucos fructus offerre potuit Domino Salvatori, duas olivas, Paulum et Barnabam; et tres olivas, Petrum, et Jacobum, et Johannem. . . Quatuor autem et quinque olivæ reliquos faciunt apostolos. . . In Is. lib. vii. T. iii. p. 176.

[b] Jacobus apostolus: 'Si quis,' ait, servaverit totam legem, 'offenderit autem in uno, reus est omnium factus.' [Cap. ii. 10.] Adv. Pelag. l. ii. T. iv. p. 522. fin.

[c] Hic autem Jacobus episcopus Ierosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus; vir tantæ sanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut fimbriam ejus certatim cuperent attingere. Qui et ipse postea de templo a Judæis præcipitatus, successorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipsum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum. In Gal. T. iv. p. 237. in.

[d] Simon Petrus, filius Johannis, provinciæ Galilææ, e vico Bethsaïda, frater Andreæ apostoli, et princeps apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiæ, et prædicationem dispersionis eorum, qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto, Galatiâ, Cappadociâ, Asiâ et Bithyniâ, secundo Claudii imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum Romam pergit; ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit, usque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id est, decimum quartum. A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso, et in sublime pedibus elevatis; asserens, se indignum, qui sic crucifigeretur, ut Dominus suus. Scripsit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam. Sed et evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor et interpres ejus fuit, hujus dicitur. Libri autem, e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur. Sepultus Romæ in Vaticano, juxta Viam Triumphalem, totius orbis veneratione celebratur. De V. I. cap. i.

[e] Habebat ergo Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum. Cujus Evangelium, Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant, structurâque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus. Ad Hedib. Qu. xi. T. iv. P. i. p. 183.

which might induce us to think he supposed St. Peter's epistles, particularly the first, to have been written to Jewish believers in those parts: nevertheless, in another work he supposeth that [a] apostle to speak of the calling of the Gentiles in the words of 1 Pet. i. 3...5.

8. 'Jude,[b] brother of James, left a short epistle, which is one of the seven called catholic; 'but because of the quotation from a book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by 'many. However, at length it has obtained authority, and is reckoned among the sacred scrip-'tures.'

Thus we have now gone over those eight articles of Jerom's catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, and therein we have seen, beside what was before transcribed from the letter to Paulinus and some other of his works, a farther proof of his receiving all the books of the New Testament, which we now generally receive, and no other.

IX. We will now take some notice of apocryphal books mentioned by Jerom, in the several parts of his works.

1. And it may be of use to determine the meaning of the word 'apocryphal.' As used by Jerom, I think apocryphal books are such as by their title, or otherwise, make some claim to be a part of sacred scripture, but are destitute of a right to be so esteemed; and generally, or oftentimes, they are spurious.

I say, apocryphal books appear to make a claim to be a part of sacred scripture, but without good reason. St. Jerom having enumerated the books of the Jewish canon, adds, that 'all others 'are to be reckoned apocryphal.' Nevertheless that declaration must not be understood absolutely, without exception: he would not call the writings of Josephus, or Philo, or Cyprian, or Athanasius, or Eusebius of Cæsarea, apocryphal. Apocryphal writings therefore are such as make claim to be a part of the canon, but are not so, nor have any good right to it; and moreover, perhaps they were by some too much esteemed, as if they had been canonical. This was the case of divers books of the Old Testament above mentioned, called by Jerom apocryphal. So also in the New Testament a book entitled Acts of Peter, or Revelation of Peter, or Preaching of Peter, makes a claim to be a part of the canon; for if they had been written by Peter, or if they contained faithful accounts of his Acts, or his Preaching, or of Revelations vouchsafed to him, and were drawn up by a disciple of his (as perhaps they pretended) they would have been reckoned canonical by all Christians in general, and on account of their titles were probably too highly valued by some.

Another particular in the description of apocryphal books is, that 'oftentimes they are 'spurious, or falsely inscribed.' So Jerom said, that the book called the Wisdom of Solomon was 'pseudepigraphical,' inasmuch as it was not his. So likewise the story of Susanna, and other things, inserted in the book of Daniel, or added to it, were interpolations, and spurious. The third and fourth books of Ezra also are spurious. If they had been written by him whose name they bear, they would have been received among sacred scriptures. But I need not enlarge here. I suppose that what has been now said will be confirmed by the particulars which I am going to allege; and this, which I take to be Jerom's meaning of the word 'apocryphal,' I apprehend to be the most general acceptation of the word. This may be confirmed by an instance formerly [c] taken notice of. When Salvian of Marseilles, in the fifth century, published his books against covetousness without his own name, and with an epistolary address 'to the catholic church spread 'all over the world,' in the name of Timothy, Salonius a Gallican bishop soon wrote to him about it, and told him, that 'unless he clearly shewed the reason of that title, those books ought to be 'reckoned apocryphal.' Those books of Salvian bore the name of an apostolical man, and therefore appeared to make a claim to be esteemed canonical; but since they were not written by such an one, they ought to be reckoned apocryphal. And though it is said that many of those books, which are called apocryphal, were written by heretics, yet it can make little difference whether they are written by heretics or catholics, if they carry the name and title of apostles, or apostolical men, and are not really theirs.

2. We before saw an enumeration of several apocryphal books of the Old Testament, such as

[a] Petrus quoque quid de vocatione Gentium sentiat, contemplemur. 'Benedictus,' inquit, 'Deus et Pater Domini 'nostri Jesu Christi,... quæ servatur in cœlis,... in salutem quæ præparata est revelari in tempore novissimo.' Adv. Jovinian. l. i. T. iv. p. 182. m.

[b] Judas, frater Jacobi, parvam, quæ de septem Catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. [illegible] de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in eâ assumitur testimonium, atque sæpe rejicitur. Tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, et inter sanctas scripturas computatur. De V. I. c. iv.

[c] See Vol. I. ch. xxix. p. 470.

Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees; which the church did not receive among canonical scriptures, though they were allowed to be read for the edification of the people. We likewise saw how Jerom rejected as apocryphal some books of Ezra, not in the canon. I now propose to take notice of divers others.

3. Jerom has [a] twice mentioned an apocryphal book, called 'The Little Genesis.' I have transcribed in the margin both the passages, to which I refer the curious, without translating them. From those passages of our author, Fabricius concludes that [b] this book was written in Hebrew. This book is also mentioned by [c] Epiphanius. Fabricius [d] has collected all the passages of later writers who have mentioned it.

4. An apocryphal book of Enoch was mentioned not long ago, supposed to be referred to by St. Jude in his epistle. Jerom mentions it again in [e] his Commentary upon Titus.

5. In a letter to Damasus, bishop of Rome, Jerom tells a story of Lamech which seems to be founded upon Gen. iv. 24. He says he [f] had it from a Jew, who told him it was in their apocryphal writings; but he does not name any book in particular. It is probably the same book to which he had before referred in the same letter, calling [g] it a certain Hebrew volume.

6. Upon Matth. xxvii. 9, 10, he mentions [h] an apocryphal book of Jeremiah, written in Hebrew, which was shewn him by a man of the sect of the Nazarenes, as he says.

7. In his Commentary upon Isaiah he mentions [i] the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Apocalypse of Elijah. This last [k] is mentioned by him in another place.

These are Apocryphal books of the Old Testament; but some of them may have been composed by Christians.

We will now proceed to such like books of the New Testament.

8. In the preface to his Commentary upon St. Matthew's gospel, having taken notice of St. Luke's introduction, who says, that 'many had undertaken to write histories of Christ,' he [l] mentions the gospels of the Egyptians and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, and the Twelve Apostles, and also of Basilides, and Apelles, and others, whom he does not name: he says, they were occasions of many heresies; and he intimates that they were, some of them at least, then in being.

9. He does not at the beginning of his prologue call them 'apocryphal;' but that is the character which they must be supposed to bear with him. And afterwards, having spoken largely of the four gospels, which alone were received by the church, he adds, that [m] 'the trash 'of all apocryphal gospels should be left to dead heretics.'

[a] Hoc verbum [Ressa], quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi [Vid. Num. xxxiii. 21, 22.] in scripturis sanctis apud Hebræos invenisse me novi, absque libro apocrypho, qui a Græcis Λεπτη, id est, Parva Genesis appellatur. Ibi in ædificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletæ, et cursorum velocitas comprobatur. Ad Fabiolam. Mans. 18. de 42. Mansionibus. T. ii. p. 596. al. ep. 127.—Hoc eodem vocabulo [Thareh. Num. xxxiii. 27.] et iisdem literis scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. Mans. 23. ib. p. 597.

[b] Vid. Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 851.

[c] H. 39. cap. vi. p. 287. Conf. Fabr. ubi supra. p. 849. in notis. [d] Fabr. ib. p. 851. . . . 865.

[e] Qui autem putant totum librum debere sequi eum qui libri parte usus sit, videntur mihi et apocryphum Enochi, de quo apostolus Judas in epistolâ suâ testimonium posuit, inter ecclesiæ scripturas recipere. In Tit. cap. i. T. iv. P. 1. p. 421.

[f] Referebat mihi quidam Hebræus, in apocryphorum libris septuaginta septem animas ex Lamech progenie reperiri, quæ diluvio deletæ sint: in hoc numero de Lamech factam esse vindictam, quod genus ipsius usque ad cataclysmum perseveraverit. Ad Damas. T. ii. p. 566. al. ep. 126.

[g] Mathusalo genuit Lamech, qui septimus ab Adam non ponitur (ut in quodam Hebræo volumine scribitur) interfecit Cain. Ib. p. 601. fin.

[h] Hoc testimonium in Jeremiâ non invenitur. In Zachariâ vero, qui pene ultimus est duodecim prophetarum, quædam multitudo fertur. Et quamquam sensus non multum discrepet, tamen et ordo et verba diversa sunt. Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Jeremiæ apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi. Sed tamen mihi videtur magis de Zachariâ sumtum testimonium, evangelistarum et apostolorum more vulgato, qui verborum ordine prætermisso, sensum tantum de veteri testamento proferunt in exemplum. In Matth. T. iv. P. i. p. 134, 135.

[i] Ascensio enim Isaïæ et Apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habent testimonium. In Is. cap. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473.

[k] Scribit ad Corinthios: . . . 'Sed sicut scriptum est; quod 'oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, 'quæ præparavit Deus diligentibus se.' [1 Cor. ii. 9.] Solent in hoc loco apocryphorum quidam deliramenta sectari, et dicere quod de Apocalypsi Eliæ testimonium desumtum sit. &c. Ad Pammach. ep. 33. al. 101. T. iv. p. 244.

[l] Plures fuisse qui evangelia scripserunt, et Lucas evangelista testatur dicens: 'Quoniam multi conati sunt ordinare 'narrationem rerum,' . . . . et perseverantia usque ad præsens 'tempus monumenta declarant: quæ a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæreseôn fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, et Bartholomæum, duodecim, quoque apostolorum, et Basilidis, atque Apellis, ac reliquorum quos enumerare longissimum est. Proleg. in Comm. super Matth. T. iv. in.

[m] Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur, quatuor tantum evangelia debere suscipi; et omnes apocryphorum nænias mortuis magis hæreticis, quam ecclesiasticis viris cavendas. Ibid. col. 3, 4. fin.

10. Though Jerom here alleges St. Luke's introduction as a proof that many had written gospels; it is not, I think, a clear point that St. Luke refers to any of those here mentioned by Jerom, or that any of them were written before his gospel; for certain, some here mentioned by Jerom were not written till afterwards.

11. In the seventh chapter of the book of Illustrious Men, where he treats of St. Luke, he reckons [a] the Travels or Acts of Paul and Thecla among apocryphal scriptures. In the chapter concerning St. Paul, as we have seen, he said there was an epistle to the Laodiceans; but it was rejected by every body: however, as he has not expressly called it 'apocryphal,' I do but just mention it here.

12. In the article of St. Peter we lately saw five books with his name, said to be ranked with apocryphal scriptures, and rejected; of which I take no farther notice here, because they have been examined in the chapter of Eusebius.

13. In the sixth chapter of the book of Illustrious Men, that is, the next after the apostle Paul, he writes the history of Barnabas in this manner.

(1.) 'Barnabas [b] of Cyprus, called also Joseph, a Levite, was ordained with Paul an apostle of 'the Gentiles: he wrote an epistle for the edification of the church, which is read among the 'apocryphal scriptures: he was afterwards separated from Paul on account of John, called also 'Mark; nevertheless he continued to discharge the office of preaching the gospel, which had 'been assigned to him.'

(2.) In his Commentary upon the prophecies of Ezekiel, he [c] quotes the epistle of Barnabas, which, he says, is among the apocryphal scriptures.

(3.) In another place Jerom quotes, [d] as words of Ignatius, a passage cited by [e] Origen from the epistle usually ascribed to Barnabas.

St. Jerom's account of Barnabas requires some remarks.

(1.) He seems to allow the genuineness of the epistle ascribed to him; for he says, that 'he 'wrote an epistle for the edification of the church.' So [f] Cotelerius understood our author.

(2.) Nevertheless it was apocryphal. It was upon the whole a useful work, and sometimes at least, and in some churches, was publicly read; but it was not canonical; it could not be alleged as of authority, and by way of proof of any doctrine.

(3.) This justifies the description above given of an apocryphal book. It seems to make a claim to be a book of canonical scripture, but has not such a right. An epistle written by Barnabas, companion of Paul, and sometimes called an apostle, bids fair to be a part of canonical scripture, and perhaps was so esteemed by some; nevertheless by most Christians it was rejected; because it was not allowed to be certainly known to be written by Barnabas, or because Barnabas was not acknowledged to be an apostle in the highest sense of that word, or for some other reason, it was generally reckoned apocryphal, not canonical. But to proceed.

14. In his book against Helvidius, he refers to [g] some apocryphal book or books concerning our Saviour's nativity: and expresseth his dislike of them.

15. In his Commentary upon Ezekiel: 'So [h] our Lord left no written volume of his doctrine: 'whatever the mad inventions of apocryphal books may pretend.' Fabricius supposeth, that [i] here is a reference to apocryphal books that were published with Christ's name.

[a] Igitur Περιοδους Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. De V. I. cap. 7.

[b] Barnabas, Cyprius, qui et Joseph, Levites, cum Paulo Gentium apostolus ordinatus, unam ad ædificationem ecclesiæ pertinentem epistolam composuit, quæ inter apocryphas scripturas legitur. Hic postea propter Johannem discipulum, qui et Marcus vocabatur, separatus a Paulo, nihilominus evangelicæ prædicationis injunctum sibi opus exercuit. De V. I. cap. vi.

[c] Vitulum autem, qui pro nobis immolatus est, et multa scripturarum loca, et præcipue Barnabæ epistola, quæ habetur inter scripturas apocryphas, nominat. In Ezech. cap. xliii. T. iii. p. 1019. fin.

[d] Ignatius, vir apostolicus, et martyr, scribit audacter: 'Elegit Dominus apostolos, qui super omnes homines peccatores erant.' Adv. Pelag. l. iii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 533.

[e] Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 49. Cantabr. p. 378. ed. Bened.

[f] Dubitatur an sit genuinus fetus, an suppositus. Existimatum quidem Clementi Alexandrino, Origeni, ac Hieronymo, summis viris, quibus propterea fides facile abrogari non debet, nihil hic fraudi delitescere. . . . Sed et Hieronymus, supra citatus de notione vocis *apocryphum*, pro opere falsi tituli, tamen in locis a me relatis inter veterum testimonia, epistolam *apocryphan*, non *pseudepigraphan* vult. Cotel. Judic. de S. Barnab. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[g] Nulla ibi obstetrix. . . ipsa pannis involvit infantem. Ipsa mater et obstetrix fuit. 'Et collocavit eum,' inquit, 'in 'præsepio, quia non erat ei locus in diversorio.' [Luc. ii. 7.] Quæ sententia et apocryphorum deliramenta convincit, dum Maria ipsa pannis involvit infantem. Adv. Helvid. T. 4. P. ii. p. 135.

[h] Unde et Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt. In Ezech. cap. xliv. T. iii. p. 1034.

[i] Hieronymus quoque ad Ezech. xliv. 29. testis est, apocryphis nonnullis Christi nomen fuisse præfixum. Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. i. p. 303.

16. Jerom supposeth, that some apocryphal books were composed with a design to confirm, or explain some things in the New Testament: and yet he is extremely angry with them, as thereby drawing men's regards to them. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. ii. 9, "But as it is written: Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that love him." The [a] apostle, he says, refers to Isa. lxiv. 4: but his quotation does not exactly suit the Greek version of the Seventy, nor the Latin translation of it, then generally in use. This occasioned a difficulty: and the words, as cited by the apostle being found in the apocryphal writings, called the Ascension of Isaiah and the Revelation of Elijah, some were induced to think, that the apostle referred to them. Jerom says, there is no reason to recur to such apocryphal books, to verify St. Paul's quotation. The text intended by him is in the prophet Isaiah, the Hebrew of which the apostle had an eye to, but quotes paraphrastically, a literal version not being necessary.

17. There are several such things in Jerom. In the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew, written about 394, he says, there are [b] not a few quotations of the Old Testament in the evangelists, and the epistles of the apostles, which are not to be found in the Septuagint version, nor in the Latin translation made from it: but may be found, he says, in the Hebrew original. So that there is no need to have recourse to apocryphal books, to make good their quotations.

18. That passage may be seen again in his [c] Apology against Rufinus, written in 401 or 402. And to the like purpose again, in the same work, I mean the Apology: for [d] certain, says he, what our Saviour and his apostles declare 'to be written,' is written. The Seventy have it not: and the church does not receive apocryphal writings. We must therefore look into the Hebrew, which indeed the evangelists and apostles quoted.

19. And in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians, he lays it down as a rule, that [e] when in the New Testament there is a quotation of the ancient scriptures, and the quotation is not to be found in the common Latin translation, made from the Seventy, we should not immediately search apocryphal writings, but look into the Hebrew; where they will be found, if not in express words, yet in sense: forasmuch as the sacred writers of the New Testament do not always so quote the Old Testament, but in a freer manner.

20. Finally, in his letter to Læta concerning the education of her daughter, having recommended the reading of the scripture, and shewn the proper order and method of so doing; he

[a] Paraphrasin hujus testimonii, quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis, assumit Paulus de authenticis libris in epistolâ, quam scribit ad Corinthios; non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, sed sensuum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum. Unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant, quæ ex occasione hujus testimonii ingeruntur ecclesiis Christi. De quibus vere dici potest, quod 'sedeat Diabolus in insidiis cum divitibus in apocryphis, ut 'interficiat innocentem.' [Ps. x. 8.] Et iterum: 'Insidiatur 'in apocrypho, quasi leo in speluncâ suâ. Insidiatur, ut inter-'ficiat innocentem.' [Ib. v. 8, 9:] Ascensio enim Isaïæ et apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habent testimonium. In Is. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473.

[b] '... maxime quæ evangelistarum et apostolorum auctoritas promulgavit; in quibus multa de Veteri Testamento legimus, quæ in nostris codicibus [LXX interpretum] non habentur, ut est illud: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum.' [Mat. ii. 15.] et, 'Quoniam Nazarenus vocabitur.' [v. 23.] et 'Videbunt in quem compunxerunt.' [Joh. xix. 37.] et, 'Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ.' [Joh. vii. 38.] et, 'Quæ nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt, quæ præparavit Deus diligentibus se. (1 Cor. ii. 9.] et multa alia, quæ proprium συνταγμα desiderant. Interrogemus eos, ubi hæc scripta sint; et cum dicere non potuerint, de libris Hebraïcis proferamus. Primum testimonium est in Osee [xi. 1.]; secundum in Isaïâ [xi. 1.]; tertium in Zachariâ [xii. 10.]; quartum in Proverbiis [xviii. 4.]; quintum æque in Isaïâ [lxiv. 4.]: quod multi ignorantes apocryphorum deliramenta sectantur, et Iberas nænias libris authenticis præferunt. Proleg. in Gen. T. i. init.

[c] Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 423.

[d] Scripsi nuperum librum de optimo genere interpretandi, ostendens illa de evangelio: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,' ... cæteraque his similia, in Hebræorum libris inveniri. Certe apostolus et evangelistæ Septuaginta interpretes noverant. Et unde eis hoc dicere, quod in Septuaginta non habetur? Et Christus Dominus noster, utriusque Testamenti conditor, in evangelio secundum Johannem: 'Qui credit,' inquit, 'in me, sicut dicit scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ.' [Joh. vii. 38.] Utique scriptum est quod Salvator scriptum esse testatur. Ubi scriptum est? Septuaginta non habent. Apocrypha nescit ecclesia. Ad Hebræos igitur revertendum. Unde et Dominus loquitur, et discipuli exempla præsumunt. Ibid. p. 425. et Conf. ad Pammach. de Opt. Gen. Interpret. ep. 33. al. 101. T. iv. p. 251.... 254.

[e] 'Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne unâ.' [Eph. v 31.]. Quod frequenter admotavimus, apostolos et evangelistas non eisdem verbis nos esse testamenti veteris exemplis, quibus in propriis voluminibus continentur, hoc et hic probamus: siquidem testimonium istud ita in Genesi scriptum est.... Hoc autem totum nec idcirco observavimus, ut etiam in cæteris locis, sicuti testimonia quasi de prophetis, et de Veteri Testamento ab apostolis usurpata sunt, et in nostris codicibus non inveniuntur, nequâquam statim ad apocryphorum inepias et deliramenta curramus: sed sciamus, scripta quidem ea esse in Veteri Testamento; sed non ita ab apostolis edita, et sensum quasi usurpatum; nec facile nisi a studiosis posse, ubi scripta sint, inveniri. In Eph. vi. 31. T. iv. P. i. p 392.

directs, that [a] all apocryphal books should be shunned. But if at any time she looks into them for her entertainment, and not for proving any doctrine; she should remember, that they were not written by those whose names they bear: and that it requires great prudence to separate gold where it is mixed with dirt.

21. I need not insist upon a passage [b] of Theophilus of Alexandria, relating to apocryphal books: though it be in a work translated by Jerom.

X. It is not easy to forbear taking some particular notice of Jerom's labours concerning the scriptures.

1. He put out a correct Latin translation of the books of the New Testament, amending the Latin version before in use by the Greek original.

2. He corrected the Latin version of the Old Testament, which had been made from the Greek of the Seventy: which was before in use in the churches that spake the Latin tongue.

3. He made a Latin translation of all the books of the Jewish scriptures from the Hebrew. The late learned and judicious John Le Clerc, though not over friendly to the merit of our author, has [c] readily acknowledged the high praises due to him on account of this last performance.

4. Jerom speaks of both his translations of the Old Testament, that is, of the Greek of the Seventy, and of the Hebrew original, in [d] his preface to his translation of Job from the Hebrew.

5. Of his edition of the Seventy, or his translation from them, he speaks in his prefaces to [e] his translation of the Psalms, and [f] the books of Solomon, and [g] the Chronicles, from the Hebrew.

6. In the last chapter of the book of Illustrious Men, written in 392, reckoning up his own works to that time, he says; 'I [h] have published the New Testament agreeably to the Greek 'original: the Old Testament I have translated according to the Hebrew.' Nevertheless it has been observed by learned moderns, that his translation of the Old Testament was not then finished. There is therefore a difficulty in reconciling what he here says with the supposed dates of his translations of the several books of the Old Testament from Hebrew. Hody says, that [i] those translations were then made, but not published.

7. In a letter to Lucinius, supposed to have been written about the year 397, he speaks [k] of his having some good while before published an exact edition of the Old Testament in Latin, from the Greek version of the Seventy; and of having finished his Latin edition of the New Testament; and of his being then employed in translating from Hebrew the Octateuch, or first eight books of the Old Testament, the rest having been translated before.

8. The order of these three works, in the main, is this. The first, that is, an [l] edition of the New Testament in Latin, corrected by the Greek copies, and those ancient, as he says, was published in the latter part of the year 384.

[a] Caveat omnia apocrypha. Et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat, non eorum esse, quorum titulis prænotantur, multaque his admixta vitiosa, et grandis esse prudentiæ aurum in luto quærere. Ad Læt. op. 57. al. 7. T. iv. p. 596.

[b] Abjectis itaque Origenis malis, et scripturarum, quæ vocantur apocrypha, id est, abscondita, decipulis prætermissis. Theoph. Alex. Lib. Pasch. 2. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 715. f.

[c] Non possumus hic dissimulare, summam laudem ei deberi, vel ob id solum, quod primus Occidentalium, et propemodum unus (nam perpauci eum imitati sunt), viderit necessitatem linguæ Hebraïcæ ad intelligendum accuratius Vetus Testamentum; et quod solus aggressus sit id denuo ex authenticis libris convertere; quomodocumque res ei cesserit, de quâ antea egimus. Attamen hoc in negotio et acuti ingenii et constantiæ eximiæ virum eum se præstitisse, nemo negaverit. Multum erat, primum et solum, cœcutientibus omnibus, quidpiam videre; rarum eo ævo sucipere opus tantum, quantum suscepit; nec male absolvit; ferme inauditum, invidiam theologorum plane spernere, iisque invitis benefacere. Quæstion. Hieronym. viii. p. 230, 231.

[d] Utraque editio, et Septuaginta juxta Græcos, et juxta Hebræos, in Latinum meo labore translata est. Eligat unusquisque quod vult. Pr. in Job. T. i. p. 798.

[e] . . . quorum translationem diligentissime emendatam olim meæ linguæ hominibus dederim. Pr. in Ps. T. i. p. 838.

[f] Si cui sane Septuaginta Interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a me emendatam. Pr. in libr. Salom. T. i. p. 939.

[g] Cæterum memini editionem Septuaginta translatorum olim de Græco emendatam tribuisse me nostris. Pr. in Paral. T. i. p. 1023.

[h] Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. Vetus juxta Hebraïcam transtuli. De V. I. cap. 135.

[i] In Catalogo Scr. Ec. dicit: 'Novum Testamentum Græ-'cæ fidei reddidi. Vetus juxta Hebraïcum transtuli.' Catalogum autem scripsit an. 14 Theodosii Imp. h. e. Chr. 392, vel 393. Hoc quomodo convenire potest cum illis, quæ diximus de tempore, quo editi sunt scripturarum libri varii? Dicendum, illum ante ann. Theodosii 14. Chr. 392, transtulisse quidem libros omnes, sed omnes in publicum non edidisse, nisi multis post annis. Hod. de Text. p. 358.

[k] Canonem Hebraïcæ veritatis, excepto Octateucho, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. Septuaginta Interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito; et ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatam studiosis tradidi. Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati. Ad Lucin. ep. 52. al. 28. T. iv. p. 579.

[l] Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia. . . . codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum. Ad Dámas. Pr. in iv. Evang. T. i. p. 1402.

The edition of the Latin translation from the Seventy was made not long after.

The [a] translations of the books of the Old Testament from Hebrew, were not published all at once, nor in the order in which those books are usually placed. He first translated the four books of the Kings, that is, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of the Kings. For this reason the general preface to all the books of the Old Testament, of which a distinct account was given above, was prefixed to those books: the translation of which was made in 392, or before. After that, he translated from Hebrew all the prophets, the four larger and the three lesser prophets, and the three books of Solomon, and the book of Job, and the Psalms. The translations of all which books are computed to have been made in the year 392, or thereabout. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah also were translated in 392, or not long after. The books of the Chronicles about 396. The book of Genesis is supposed to have been translated in 394; the four following books of Moses about 404; the rest completing the Octateuch, that is, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which are reckoned one book, and Esther, in 404 or 405.

9. Beside correct editions and translations of the books of scripture, Jerom published divers other works helpful to the right understanding of them. Among these must be mentioned in the first place his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names, another [b] book of the Situation and Names of Hebrew places, and a book of Hebrew questions upon Genesis. All which are mentioned by him among his works in the last chapter of his book of Illustrious Men, and [c] are still extant, supposed to have been published about the year of our Lord 388. Of the second of these some account was given by us [d] among the works of Eusebius of Cesarea.

10. Jerom also wrote Commentaries [e] upon the book of Ecclesiastes, upon [f] Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve lesser prophets; upon [g] the gospel of St. Matthew, and upon the epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon. All which Commentaries are still extant: not now to refer to his epistles, in many of which are useful observations for understanding the scriptures. Divers of those Commentaries, just mentioned, are rehearsed by him [h] in the last chapter of his book of Illustrious Men. The rest were published afterwards; and some of them were in hand when he wrote that book: in which he gave a general account of his own as well as other men's labours. A character of his Commentaries and remarks upon them may be seen in divers [i] modern writers. Tillemont [k] was much pleased with his Commentary upon the prophet Haggai.

XI. Jerom's respect for the scriptures appears from the editions and translations which he made of them, and from the Commentaries, which he wrote to explain them, and from many expressions of his, which my readers cannot but have observed in the passages above cited. I add here, therefore, little more upon this head.

1. He says, that [l] the scriptures, being all written by one Spirit, are one book.

2. He concludes his letter, written in 414, to Demetrias, a noble young Roman lady, who had resolved upon a single life, saying: 'Love [m] the holy scriptures: and wisdom will love you.'

3. In his letter to Læta, written about the year 398, giving her instructions concerning the education of her daughter, young Paula, he adviseth, that [n] she should read the scriptures, and in

[a] Vid. Hody de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. iii. P. ii. c. 2. p. 350.... 358. Tillem. St. Jérome art. 54. &c. Mem. T. 12. et Opp. S. Hieron. edit. Bened.

[b] Quæstionum Hebraïcarum in Genesim librum unum; De Locis librum unum; Hebraïcorum nominum librum unum. De V. I. cap. 135.

[c] Ap. Hieron Opp. T. ii. edit. Benedictin.

[d] See p. 359.

[e] Ap. S. Hieron. Opp. T. ii. p. 713.... 788.

[f] Ibid. T. iii. [g] Ibid. T. iv. p. i.

[h] In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas commentariorum libros tres; item in epistolam ad Ephesios libros tres; in epistolam ad Titum librum unum; in epistolam ad Philemonem librum unum .... Scripsi præterea in Michæam explanationum libros duos: in Sophoniam librum unum; multaque alia de opere prophetali, quæ nunc habeo in manibus, et necdum expleta sunt. De V. I. cap. 135.

[i] See Dallæus Right Use of the Fathers. B. i. ch. vi. R. Simon Hist. Crit. des Commentat. du N. T. ch. xiv. xv. Hist. Crit. de V. T. l. iii. ch. ix. et Hist Crit. des Vers. du N. T. ch. iii. iv. J. Cleric. Qu. Hieronym. Qu. xv. p. 492, &c. Bib. Ch. T. viii. p. 304. &c. et T. xvii. p. 1. &c.

[k] Le plus beau de tous ces commentaires est, ce me semble, celui d'Aggée. S. Jérome, art. 57.

[l] .... sed omnium scripturarum, quæ uno scriptæ sunt spiritu, et propterea unus liber appellantur. In Is. cap. xxix. T. iii. p. 246. fin.

[m] Ama scripturas sanctas, et amabit te sapientia. Ad Demetr. ap. 97. al. 8. T. 4. P. ii. p. 796.

[n] Pro gemmis et serico divinos codices amet .... Discat primo Psalterium. His se Canticis avocet. Et in Proverbiis Salomonis erudiatur ad vitam. In Ecclesiaste consuescat, quæ mundi sunt, calcare. In Job virtutis et sapientiæ exempla sectetur. Ad Evangelia transeat, numquam ea positura de manibus. Apostolorum Acta, et Epistolas, totâ cordis imbibat voluntate. Quumque pectoris sui cellarium his opibus locupletaverit, mandet memoriæ Prophetas, Heptateuchum, et Regum et Paralipomenôn libros: Ezræ quoque et Esther volumina. Ad ultimum, sine periculo discat Canticum Canticorum.... Caveat omnia apocrypha.... Cypriani opuscula

this order: first the Psalms, next the Proverbs of Solomon, and his Ecclesiastes, and Job; the gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of the apostles. Afterwards she may read the prophets, the Heptateuch, the Kings and Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, and lastly the Canticles, but no apocryphal books. Or, if she does, she should first, by way of caution, be informed of their true character. After that he recommends the reading of Cyprian, and some of the works of Athanasius, and Hilary. This shews, that Jerom did not desire, that any part of scripture should be hid from any people.

4. In his letter to Nepotian, which might be entitled Advice to a young Clergyman, or to a Candidate for the Ministry, he directs in this manner: 'Be [a] much in reading the divine scriptures, or rather let them never be out of your hands.'

5. In another letter he makes a difference [b] between the apostles, and the rest of the writers of sacred scriptures, and other writers: they always speak truth; these as men may err.

6. In the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians he says: Nothing is [c] so likely to entertain a wise man, and enable him to bear with moderation the troubles of this life, as the meditation and study of the scriptures. And since by these divine books we may know God, and learn the end of our creation, he wonders that any should be backward to study them, or hinder those who would.

7. The letter to Paulinus, from which we made large extracts some while ago, contains [d] a long and earnest exhortation to diligent reading of the scriptures, and expressions [e] of Jerom's sincere and ardent affection for them. He moreover says there: All [f] men talk of the scriptures, and pretend to understand them, and explain them; but he adviseth his friend to seek proper helps, and take due care to obtain the right meaning of them.

XII. Let us now observe a few various readings in this writer.

1. Jerom says, that [g] the latter part of the 16th chapter of St. Mark's gospel, from ver. 9, to the end, was generally wanting in the Greek copies. But it may be thought, and not without reason, that [h] Jerom here expresseth himself rather too strongly.

2. After verse 14, of Mark xvi. in some, and especially Greek copies, was inserted a passage, which [i] I transcribe below. Probably it was taken out of some apocryphal gospel.

3. Luke ii. 33. "And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him." In [k] Jerom's Greek copies this seems to have been written in this manner: 'And

semper in manu teneat ... Ad Læt. ep. 57. al. 7. T. iv. p. 596.

[a] Divinas scripturas sæpius lege; imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur. Ad Nepotianum de Vitâ Clericorum et Monachorum. Ep. 34. al. 2. T. 4. p. 261. m.

[b] Numquid ego in turbam mitto Origenem? Numquid cæteros tractatores? Scio me aliter habere apostolos, aliter reliquos tractatores. Illos semper vera dicere, istos in quibusdam, ut homines, aberrare. Ad Theoph. ep. 39. al. 62. T. iv. p. 337. M.

[c] Si quidquam est, Paula et Eustochium, quod in hac vitâ sapientem virum teneat, et inter pressuras et turbines æquo animo manere persuadeat, id esse vel primum reor, meditationem et scientiam scripturarum. Quum enim a cæteris animantibus hoc vel maxime differamus, quod rationale animal sumus, et loqui possumus; ratio autem omnis et sermo divinis libris contineatur, per quos et Deum discimus, et quare creati sumus, non ignoramus; miror quosdam exstitisse, qui aut ipsi se inertiæ et somno dantes, nolint quæ præclara sunt discere, aut cæteros, qui id studii habent, reprehendendos putent. Pr. in Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 319.

[d] Paulus apostolus ad pedes Gamalielis legem Domini et prophetas didicisse se gloriatur.... Ad Timotheum scribit ab infantiâ sacris literis eruditum, et hortatur ad studium lectionis, ne negligat gratiam, quæ data sit ei per impositionem manûs presbyterii. Tito præcipit, ut, inter cæteras virtutes episcopi, quam brevi sermone depinxit, scientiam quoque eligat scripturarum.... Cur dicitur Paulus apostolus vas electionis? Nempe quia legis et sanctarum scripturarum armarium est. Ad Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103. T. iv. p. 569, 570.

[e] Cernis me scripturarum amore raptum excessisse modum epistolæ, et tamen non implêsse quod volui. Ib. p. 574.

[f] Hæc a me perstricta sunt breviter.... ut intelligeres, te in scripturis sanctis, sine prævio et monstrante semitam, non posse ingredi.... Quod medicorum est, promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri. Sola scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes vindicant.... Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant, &c. Ibid. p. 571. m.

[g] Hujus quæstionis duplex solutio est. Aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur evangeliis; omnibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus; præsertim quum diversa atque contraria evangelistis cæteris narrare videatur. Ad Hedib. Qu. iii. T. iv. P. i. p. 172. al. ep. 150.

[h] Verum hic, ut sæpe, alibi, nimium ὑπερβολικῶς forte loquitur Hieronymus. I. Cleric. ep. de edit. N. T. Milliar.

[i] In quibusdam exemplaribus, et maxime in Græcis codicibus, juxta Marcam, in fine ejus evangelii scribitur: 'Postea 'quum accubuissent undecim, apparuit eis Jesus, et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum, quia his qui 'viderant eum resurgentem non crediderunt. Et illi satisfaciebant, dicentes: Seculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est; quæ non sinit per immundos spiritus 'veram Dei apprehendi virtutem. Idcirco jam nunc revela 'justitiam tuam.' Adv. Pelag. Dial. 2. T. iv. P. ii. p. 520. Vid. Mill. ad Marc. xvi. 14. et Prolegom. n. 724.

[k] 'Et certe Maria conservabat omnia verba hæc, conferens in corde suo.' [Luc. ii. 19.] Ac ne impudenter neges ista ignorâsse Joseph: 'Et erant,' inquit Lucas, 'pater illius et mater admirantes super his quæ dicebantur de eo:' licet tu mirâ impudentiâ hæc in Græcis codicibus falsata contendas, quæ non solum omnes pene Græciæ tractatores in suis voluminibus reliquerunt, sed nonnulli quoque e Latinis, ita ut in

'his father and mother marvelled.' The same reading was then in some Latin copies, particularly [a] Augustine's, and is still in the Latin Vulgate, and some other versions. See Mill upon the place.

4. The words of Luke xxii. 43, 44, were [b] in some Greek and Latin copies in Jerom's time.

5. In many [c] Greek and Latin copies was the history of the woman taken in adultery, which we have at the beginning of the 8th chapter of St. John's gospel, and with that particular of our Lord's 'writing with his finger on the ground.' Concerning which may be seen Mill, and other editors of the New Testament, with various readings, and also [d] Dr. Heumann's Dissertation upon it, who with great care and diligence has considered the objections against the genuineness of this paragraph.

6. In one place [e] he quotes Acts viii. 39, as if it were written: and when they were come up 'out of the water, the Spirit came upon the eunuch.' But in his Latin edition of the New Testament, as published by Martianay, there is only our common reading.

7. St. Jerom, as is [f] allowed, does no where cite the passage concerning the heavenly witnesses, now found in most editions of the New Testament, in the fifth chapter of St. John's first epistle. There is indeed in his works a preface to the seven Catholic Epistles: the design of which is to shew the genuineness of that clause. But that prologue is now universally rejected, not only by [g] R. Simon, but also by [h] Mill, and [i] Martianay, the Benedictine editor of St. Jerom's works. I need not mention any others.

XIII. I shall now transcribe some observations of our author relating to the scriptures.

1. In his letter to Paulinus he says of Isaiah, that [k] his book is rather a gospel than a prophecy. He speaks to the like purpose [l] elsewhere.

2. In the same letter he says, that among [m] the Jews the beginning and end of Ezekiel, and the beginning of Genesis were not to be read by any before they were thirty years of age.

3. Jerom often says, that the writers of the New Testament, when they take passages from the Old, do not quote from the Greek version of the Seventy, but from the original Hebrew; so he says, particularly, of [n] John the evangelist.

4. So he says likewise of the evangelist Matthew, in a passage, which [o] I place below somewhat at length: and it is plain, that he speaks of Matthew's Greek gospel. And having spoken of him, he adds, that generally, when the evangelists and apostles allege passages of the Old

Græcis habentur, assumserint, &c. Adv. Helvid. T. iv. P. ii. p. 134. f.

[a] Vid. De Consens. Evang. l. ii. cap. 1. n. 3. T. iii.

[b] In quibusdam exemplaribus, tam Græcis quam Latinis, invenitur, scribente Lucâ: 'Apparuit illi angelus de cœlo, confortans eum:' haud dubium, quin Dominum Salvatorem. 'Et factus in agoniâ, prolixius orabat, factusque est sudor ejus sicut guttæ sanguinis decurrentis in terram.' Adv. Pelag. l. ii. T. iv. p. 521.

[c] In evangelio secundum Johannem, in multis et Græcis et Latinis codicibus, invenitur de adulterâ mulière, quæ accusata est apud Dominum. Accusabant autem et vehementer urgebant Scribæ et Pharisæi, juxta legem eam lapidare cupientes. 'At Jesus inclinans digito scribebat in terrâ.' Ibid. p. 521, 522.

[d] Vid. Diss. v. in Nova Sylloge Dissertationum, Part i. p. 173, &c. Rostochii, 1752.

[e] . . . . De quo scriptura ita loquitur: 'Et descenderunt 'ambo in aquam, et baptizavit eum Philippus. Et quum 'abscederet ab aqua, Spiritus Sanctus venit in eunuchum.' Adv. Lucif. T. iv. p. 295. Et Conf. Mill. in Loc.

[f] Hieronymus, qui in operibus indubitate genuinis, loci hujus nusquam meminit. Mill. ad 1 Joh. v. p. 581. a.

[g] Hist. Crit. du N. T. ch. xviii.

[h] Mill. ubi supra, p. 582. b.

[i] Vid. Opp. S. Hieron. T. i. p. 1670, &c.

[k] Quorum primus non prophetiam mihi texere videtur, sed evangelium. Ad Paulin. T. iv. p. 573.

[l] Veniam ad Isaïam, ... Quem quum magis evangelistam quam prophetam dicerem, eo quod universa Christi ecclesiæ mysteria sic ad liquidum persecutus esset, ut non de futuro vaticinari, sed de præteritis historiam texere crederetur. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 431.

[m] Tertius principia et finem tantis habet obscuritatibus involuta, ut apud Hebræos istæ partes cum exordio Geneseos ante annos triginta non legantur. Ad. Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103. p. 573.

[n] Johannes autem evangelista, qui de pectore Domini hausit sapientiam, Hebræus ex Hebræis, quem Salvator amabat plurimum, non magnopere curavit, quid Græcæ literæ continerent; sed verbum e verbo interpretatus est, ut in Hebræo legerat. Et tempore dominicæ passionis dixit esse completum. In Zach. xii. 10. T. iii. p. 1784. Conf. Joh. xix. 37.

[o] Ex quo apparet, Matthæum evangelistam, non veteris interpretationis auctoritate constrictum, dimisisse Hebraïcam veritatem; sed quasi Hebræum ex Hebræis, et in lege Domini doctissimum, ea Gentibus protulisse, quæ in Hebræo legerat . . . . . Quod beatum Matthæum non solum in hoc testimonio, sed in alio loco, fecisse legimus: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium 'meum.' [Mat. ii. 15.] Pro quo Septuaginta transtulerunt: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filios ejus,' [Ose. xi. 1.] Quod utique, nisi sequamur Hebraïcam veritatem, ad Dominum Salvatorem non pertinere manifestum est. . . . Illud itaque quod apud Hebræos legitur: 'Et in lege ejus sperabunt insulæ,' [Is. xlii. 4.] Matthæus, sensum potius quam verba interpretans, pro 'lege' et 'insulis,' 'nomen' posuit, et 'gentes.' [xii. 21.] Et hoc non solum in præsenti loco, sed ubicunque de veteri instrumento evangelistæ et apostoli testimonia protulerunt, non eos verba sequutos esse, sed sensum; et ubi Septuaginta ab Hebraïco discrepant, Hebræum sensum eos expressisse sermonibus. Ad Algas. Qu. 2. T. iv. P. i. p. 190. al. ep. 151.

Testament, they do not exactly follow the words, but the sense: and that where the Seventy differ from the Hebrew, they express the sense of the Hebrew in their own words.

5. In another place [a] he speaks again to the like purpose of the evangelists Matthew and John: but supposeth that Luke quotes the Seventy, sometimes at least. He also allows, that St. Paul's quotation of Isaiah, vi. 9, 10, in his discourse with the Jews, recorded Acts xxviii. 26, 27, is more agreeable to the Seventy, than to the Hebrew. He there also says, that the quotations of the Seventy in the epistle to the Hebrews, caused doubts in the minds of some, whether it was Paul's.

6. Again, he says, that [b] for the most part the writers of the New Testament, excepting St. Luke in some places, quote not according to the Seventy, but the Hebrew.

7. Sometimes he expresseth himself in this manner: That [c] the apostles in their citations of the scriptures of the Old Testament follow the Greek version of the Seventy, when it does not differ from the Hebrew.

8. Once more, with regard to this matter, he says, that [d] the writers of the New Testament, when they quote the ancient scriptures, follow no translation whatever; but as they speak, or write, translate from the Hebrew for themselves: and oftentimes express the sense only, instead of translating word for word.

9. In his preface to the Latin translation of the New Testament, which had been corrected by him, he says, 'It [e] is certain, that all the books of the New Testament were written in 'Greek, except the gospel of the apostle Matthew, who first wrote in Judea in the Hebrew 'language.'

9. In another place he says, that [f] as the versions of the Old Testament are to be corrected by the Hebrew, so those of the New Testament are to be compared with the Greek: and to the like purpose in another [g] letter.

10. So writes Jerom. And though he says, the gospel of St. Matthew was written in Hebrew; and he often speaks of the gospel according to the Hebrews, as thought by some to be St Matthew's authentic gospel; it does not appear that he consulted it, when he corrected the Latin version before in use. But in the account which he gives of that service among his other works, he says, he [h] had published the New Testament agreeably to the Greek: or, he had cor-

[a] Ac primum solvenda est illa quæstio, quæ nobis objici potest: quare apostolus Paulus, cum Hebræis disputans, non juxta Habraïcum, quod rectum esse cognoverat, sed juxta lxx. sit loquutus? Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres Ecclesiæ tractatores Medicinæ artis fuisse scientissimum, et magis Græcas literas scisse quam Hebræas. Unde. . . magisque testimoniis Græcis utitur quam Hebræis. Matthæus autem et Joannes, quorum alter Hebræo, alter Græco sermone, evangelium texuerunt, testimonia de Hebræo proferunt. Ut est illud: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum: et, Quoniam 'Nazaræus vocabitur:' et, 'Flumina de ventre ejus fluent 'aquæ vivæ,' et, 'Videbunt in quem compunxerunt:' et cætera his similia. Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebræos epistolæ contradicitur, quod, ad Hebræos scribens, utatur testimoniis, quæ in Hebraïcis voluminibus non habentur. In Is. cap. vi. T. iii. p. 63, 64.

[b] Legimus in Apostolo [1 Cor. xiv. 21.]: 'In aliis linguis, 'et in labiis aliis, loquar populo huic, et nec sic exaudient 'me, dicit Dominus.' Quod mihi videtur juxta Hebraïcum de præsenti sumtum capitulo [Is. xxviii. 11.] Et hoc in Novo observavimus Testamento (absque paucis testimoniis, quibus Lucas solus abutitur, qui magis Græcæ linguæ habuit scientiam:) ubicumque de Veteri Instrumento quid dicitur, non eos juxta Septuaginta, sed juxta Hebraïcum ponere, nullius sequentes interpretationem, sed sensum Hebraïcum suo sermone vertentes. In Is. cap. xxviii. T. iii. p. 237, 238.

[c] Longum est nunc revolvere, quanta Septuaginta de suo addiderint, quanta dimiserint;. . . . Et tamen jure Septuaginta Editio obtinuit in ecclesiis, vel quia prima est, et ante Christi facta adventum, vel quia ab apostolis (in quibus tamen ab Hebraïco non discrepat) usurpata. Ad Pamm. et 33. al. 101. p. 255, in.—Apostolici viri scripturis utuntur Hebraïcis. Ipsos apostolos et evangelistas hoc fecisse perspicuum est. Dominus atque Salvator ubicumque veteris scripturæ meminit, de Hebraïcis voluminibus ponit exempla. . . et multa his similia. Nec hoc dicimus, quod Septuaginta Interpretes fugillemus, sed quod apostolorum et Christi major sit auctoritas: et ubicumque Septuaginta ab Hebræo non discordant, ibi apostolos de interpretatione eorum exempla sumsisse: ubi vero discrepant, id posuisse in Græco quod ab Hebræis didicerant. &c. Adv. Rufin. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433.

[d] Paraphrasin hujus testimonii, quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis, assumit apostolus de authenticis libris in epistolâ ad Corinthios. [1 Cor. ii. 9.] non verbum verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, sed sensuum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandam. In Is. lxiv. 4. T. iii. p. 473. Vid. supr. not. [a], p. 564.

[e] De novo nunc loquor Testamento: quod Græcum esse non dubium est, excepto apostolo Matthæo, qui primus in Judæâ Evangelium Christi Hebraïcis literis edidit. Præf. in iv. Evang. T. i. p. 1426.

[f] Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati. Ut enim veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat. Ad Lucin. ep. 52. al. 28. T. iv. p. 579.

[g] Sicut autem in Novo Testamento, si quando apud Latinos quæstio exoritur, et est inter exemplaria varietas, recurrimus ad fontem Græci sermonis, quo Novum scriptum est Instrumentum: ita in Veteri Testamento, si quando inter Græcos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Hebraïcam confugimus veritatem. Ad Sun. et Fret. T. ii. p. 627. al. ep. 135.

[h] Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. De V. I. cap. 135. Vid. supr. not. [b], p. 565.

rected it by the Greek. Yea, he expressly says, somewhat lower in the preface before cited, that [a] he had corrected the Latin translation of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, by the Greek copies, and those ancient.

11. In [b] the same preface to the four gospels he speaks of a great disorder in the common editions of the Latin translation of the four gospels. He says, that the copies were very different from each other, and that there was great confusion in them: several passages of Luke and Matthew's gospels being inserted in Mark's, to make it more complete; and in Matthew's gospel many passages of John and Mark; and in like manner of the rest. Many things belonging to one gospel were inserted in the others. And it must be allowed that there was some ground for these complaints; otherwise Jerom would not have made them. At the same time it may be supposed, that he makes use of strong expressions, and aggravates beyond the truth.

12. St. Jerom says, that [c] the apostle Paul was a man of quick understanding and ready wit. He also says, that [d] Paul had some acquaintance with secular learning. This, he says, appears from his quoting divers Greek poets: Epimenides, Aratus, and Menander.

13. St. Paul's quotations of those Greek poets are taken notice of by Jerom [e] more than once.

14. He says, that [f] there appear in Paul's epistles several words peculiar to the dialect of his own city and country; meaning Tarsus and Cilicia. He mentions several instances: one intended by him, as it seems, is the word, rendered by us, "Let no man beguile you of your reward" [Col. ii. 18]. The Greek word for which, used by St. Paul, appears to me a very elegant word. If the Cilicians had such words in their dialect they might be used by any man without reproach.

15. Jerom says, moreover, that [g] the apostle makes use of low and trivial expressions. He instanceth in Gal. iii. 1. "Who has bewitched you?" And, if the Greek word exactly corresponds with the English, it must be owned to be a trivial expression. But still the apostle might have good reason for using it: which, I think, Jerom does not deny. And therefore he says,

[a] Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia; quorum ordo est Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes: codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum. Pr. in iv. Evang. T. i. p. 1426.

[b] Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant, quibus. Tot enim sunt exemplaria pene, quot codices. Sin autem veritas est quærenda de pluribus, cur non ad Græcam originem revertentes, ea quæ vel a vitiosis interpretibus male edita.... corrigimus?.... Magnus siquidem hic in nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eâdem re alius evangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. Vel dum eumdem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque æstimavit emendandos. Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucæ atque Matthæi: rursum in Matthæo plura Joannis et Marci: et in cæteris reliquorum quæ aliis propria sunt, inveniantur. Ibid.

[c] Paulus apostolus homo erat acuti et acris ingenii; et qui ad primos quosque disputationum conatus sagaci mente quæ erant inferenda prænosceret. In Ephes. cap. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 366.

[d] Quippe qui et seculares literas aliquâ ex parte contigerat.... Scisse autem Paulum licet non ad perfectum ipsius verba testantur: 'Dixit quidam ex eis, proprius eorum propheta: 'Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestiæ, ventres pigri.' [Tit. i. 12.] Hic versus heroïcus Epimenidis Poëtæ est, cujus et Plato, et cæteri scriptores veteres recordantur. Apud Athenienses quoque, quum in Areopago satisfaceret, hæc addidit: 'Sicut et quidam de vobis Poëtæ dixerunt: Ipsius 'enim et genus sumus.' [Acts xvii. 28.] Hoc hemistichium fertur in Arato, qui de cœlo stellisque conscripsit. Nec non et illud: 'Corrumpunt bonos mores confabulationes 'pessimæ.' [1 Cor. xv. 33.] Trimeter Iambicus de comœdia sumtus est Menandri. Ex quibus, et aliis, evidens est, Paulum non ignorâsse literas seculares. In ep. ad Galat. iv. 24. T. iv. P. i. p. 280.

[e] Sed et Paulus Apostolus Epimenidis Poëtæ abusus versiculo est, scribens ad Titum: 'Cretenses semper mendaces, 'malæ bestiæ, ventres pigri.' Cujus heroïci hemistichium postea Callimachus usurpavit.... In alia quoque epistolâ Menandri ponit senarium: 'Corrumpunt mores bonos confa-'bulationes pessimæ.' Et apud Athenienses in Martis Curiâ disputans, Aratum testem vocat: Ipsius enim et genus sumus.' Quod Græce dicimus: τϑ γαρ και γενος εσμεν. Et est clausula versus heroïci. Ac ne parum hoc esset, Ductor Christiani exercitûs, et orator invictus, pro Christo causam agens, etiam inscriptionem fortuitam arte torquet in argumentum fidei. Ad Magn. Orat. ep. 83. T. iv. P. ii. p. 654, 655. Vid. et Comm. in Tit. cap. i. v. 12... 14. T. 4. P. i. p. 420, 421.

[f] Conabimur itaque παραφραστικως sensus ejus evolvere, et tricas implicati eloquii suo ordini reddere et juncturæ.... 'Nemo vos superet.' Col. ii. 18.] id est nemo adversum vos bravium accipiat. Hoc enim Græce dicitur καταϑραβευειν· quando quis in certamine positus iniquitate Agonothetæ, vel insidiis Magistrorum, βραβειον et palmam sibi debitam perdit. Multaque sunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis et provinciæ suæ familiarius apostolus utitur. E quibus, exempli gratiâ, pauca ponenda sunt. Mihi autem parum est judicari ab humano die, hoc est, ανϑρωπινης ημερας. [1 Cor. iv. 3.] Et, 'humanum dico,' hoc est και ανϑρωπον λεγω. [Gal. iii. 15.] Et, ου καταναρκησα υμων, hoc est, 'non gravavi vos.' [2 Cor. xii. 13.].... Quibus, et multis aliis verbis usque hodie utuntur Cilices. Nec hoc miremur in apostolo, si utatur ejus linguæ consuetudine, in quâ natus et nutritus: quum Virgilius, alter Homerus apud nos, paene sequens consuetudinem, 'sceleratum frigus' appellat. Ad Galat. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 204. al. ep. 151.

[g] Quod autem sequitur: 'Quis vos fascinavit?' digne Paulo (qui etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ) debemus exponere; non quo scierit esse fascinum, qui vulgo putatur nocere; sed usus sermone sit trivii, et, ut in cæteris, ita et in hoc quoque loco verbum quotidianæ sermocinationis assumserit. In ep. ad Galat. iii. 1. T. iv. P. i. p. 248.

that we ought to understand it worthily of Paul; who, 'though he was rude in speech, yet certainly not in knowledge:' however, he again affirms, that [a] in his epistle to the Galatians the apostle willingly condescended to some vulgar, and almost trivial expressions.

16. Again, he says, the [b] apostle either despised the Greek eloquence, or chose not to avail himself of it; that the success of his preaching might not appear to depend upon human wisdom, but the power of God. See 1 Cor. ii.

17. And farther he says, that [c] the apostle was not able to express, especially in Greek, all the grandeur and sublimity of his sentiments: and that when he says, he was 'rude in speech though not in knowledge' [2 Cor. xi. 6,] he should not be understood to speak thus of himself by way of humility, but truly.

18. Finally he says, that [d] Paul, not being fully acquainted with the rules of grammar, has some expressions contrary to them. And he even says, that [e] there are some solecisms in his style; which, however, he does not say with a view of disparaging the apostle: for it affords a certain evidence of the wisdom given him from above, and of his preaching the gospel with the power of God; otherwise, it had been impossible for him to convert the world to the faith of Christ, without the ornaments of language, and the charms of eloquence.

19. Upon Gal. iv. 12, he [f] supposeth it likely, that when the apostle was first in Galatia, he had some sickness. Moreover, he says, there was a tradition, that Paul often had a violent head-ach: and that was the "thorn in the flesh, and messenger of Satan," which he speaks of 2 Cor. xii. 7.

XIV. 1. Jerom seems to have despised popular preaching, and advises Nepotian, in the letter cited some while ago, not [g] to aim to please men, and those mean and ignorant, but to teach them important truths out of the scriptures, and to endeavour to make them better. He speaks to the like purpose in another work. [h]

[a] 'Fratres secundum hominem dico.'... Apostolus, qui omnibus omnia factus,... Galatis quoque, quos paulo ante stultos dixerat, factus est stultus. Non enim ad eos his usus est argumentis, quibus ad Romanos, sed simplicioribus, et quæ stulti possent intelligere, et pene de trivio... Unde manifestum est, id fecisse apostolum quod promisit; nec reconditis ad Galatas usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis, et vilibus, et quæ possent, nisi præmisisset, 'secundum hominem dico,' prudentibus displicere. In Galat. iii. 15. T. iv. P. i. p. 261.

[b] Ille Hebræis literis eruditus, et ad pedes doctus Gamalielis, quem non erubescit, jam apostolicæ dignitatis, magistrum dicere. Græcam facundiam contemnebat, vel certe, quod erat humilitatis, dissimulabat; ut prædicatio ejus non in persuasione verborum, sed in signorum virtute consisteret. Adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 367.

[c] Illud quod crebro diximus: 'et si imperitus sermone, 'non tamen scientiâ:' nequâquam Paulum de humilitate, sed de conscientiæ veritate dixisse, etiam nunc approbamus. Profundos enim et reconditos sensus lingua non explicat. Et quum ipse sentiat quid loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre sermone. Ad Algas. Qu. x. T. iv. P. i. p. 204. M. —Qui putant, Paulum juxta humilitatem, et non vere dixisse, 'et si imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ;' defendant hujus loci consequentiam. Debuit quippe secundum ordinem dicere: 'Vos, qui spirituales estis, instruite hujusmodi in 'spiritu lenitatis, considerantes vosmet ipsos, ne et vos tente-'mini;' et non pluralí inferre numerum singularem. Hebræus igitur ex Hebræis, et qui esset in vernaculo sermone doctissimus, profundos sensus alienâ linguâ exprimere non valebat: Nec curaoat magnopere de verbis, quum sensum haberet in tuto. In Gal. cap. vi. 1. ibid p. 309.

[d] Sequitur: 'Quæ sunt rationem quidem habentia sapien-'tiæ' [Col. ii. 23.] Hoc loco 'quidem' conjunctio superflua est Quod in plerisque locis propter imperitiam artis Grammaticæ Apostolum fecisse reperimus, &c. Ad. Algas. Qu. x. T. 4. P. i. p. 207. al ep. 151.

[e] Puto autem, quod et vitiosa in hoc loco elocutio est... Si vero quis potest etiam juxta sermonis et eloquii contextum docere apostolum fuisse perfectum, et in artis Grammaticæ vitia non incurrisse, ille potius auscultandus est. Nos quotiescumque solœcismos, aut tale quid annotamus, non apostolum pulsamus, ut malevoli criminantur, sed magis apostoli assertores sumus, quod Hebræus ex Hebræis, absque rhetorici nitore sermonis, et verborum compositione, et eloquii venustate, nunquam ad fidem Christi totum mundum transducere valuisset, nisi evangelizâsset eum non in sapientiâ verbi, sed in virtute Dei. Nam et ipse ad Corinthios ait... [1 Cor. ii. 1.]... et rursum... [ib. ver. 4, 5] Iste igitur, qui solœcismos in verbis facit; qui non potest hyperbaton reddere, sententiamque concludere, audacter sibi vindicat sapientiam, et dicit: 'Quoniam secundum revelationem cognitum factum 'est mihi mysterium.' [Ephes. iii. 3.] In Eph. iii. T. iv. P. i. p. 348.

[f] Aut certe suspicari possumus, apostolum eo tempore, quo primum venit ad Galatas, ægrotâsse, et aliquâ corpusculi infirmitate detentum. Nam tradunt, eum gravissimum capitis dolorem sæpe perpessum, et hunc esse angelum Satanæ, qui appositus ei sit, ut eum colaphizaret in carne, ne extolleretur. In Gal. iv. T. iv. P. i. p 274.

[g] Docente te in ecclesiâ, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur. Lacrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint. Sermo Presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit. Nolo te declamatorem esse et rabulam, garrulumque, sine ratione, sed mysteriorum peritum, et sacramentorum Dei tui eruditissimum. Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est... Præceptor quondam meus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Lucâ δευτεροπρωτον, id est, secundo-primum, eleganter lusit, docebo te, inquiens, super hoc re in ecclesiâ; in quâ mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris scire quod nescis. Aut certe si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis. Nihil tam facile, quam vilem plebeculam et indoctam concionem linguæ volubilitate decipere, quæ quidquid non intelligit, plus miratur. Ad Nepot. ep. 34. al. 2. T. iv. P. ii. p. 262.

[h] Jam enim et in ecclesiis ista quæruntur. Omissâque apostolicorum simplicitate et puritate verborum, quasi ad Athenæum, et ad auditoria convenitur, ut plausus circumstantium exci-

2. Jerom[a] censures the superstition of some women, who wore about them pieces of the wood of the cross, and small gospels, or passages of them. He says it may be a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and that the faults of the Pharisees, who made broad their phylacteries, had descended to Christians.

3. He[b] complains of the excessive pride of some bishops in his time.

4. Jerom seems to allow, that[c] some of the Antenicene writers of the church had so expressed themselves, as to give countenance to the Arian doctrine.

5. He[d] triumphs in the progress of the Christian religion; which was become the religion of the emperors, and of many other great men, and of a large part of the city of Rome, and had spread all over the world, in Egypt, India, Persia, Armenia, Ethiopia, Scythia, and other parts.

CHAP. CXV.

RUFINUS.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Remarks upon it.*

I. Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, and contemporary with Jerom, according to Cave[e] flourished about the year 390. He died in 410. He[f] is supposed to have begun to publish writings about the year 397. For a farther account of him I refer to[g] others.

II. I proceed to transcribe immediately his catalogue of the books of scripture, which is in his[h] Explication of the Apostles Creed, a work highly commended by[i] Gennadius, and[k] Du Pin.

"This[l] then is the Holy Spirit, who in the Old Testament inspired the law and the prophets,

tentur; ut oratio, rhetoricæ artis fucata mendacio, quasi meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quæsitura. Pr. 3. in ep. ad. Galat. T. iv. P. i. p. 287.

[a] Væ nobis miseris, ad quos Pharisæorum vitia transierunt. . . . Hoc apud nos superstitiosæ mulierculæ in parvulis evangeliis, et in crucis ligno, et istiusmodi rebus, quæ habent zelum Dei, sed non juxta scientiam, usque hodie factitant. Ad Matt. xxiii. T. iv. P. i. p. 108, 109.

[b] Quæ quidem et nos ad humilitatem provocant, et supercilium decutiunt episcoporum, qui velut in aliquâ sublimi speculâ constituti, vix dignantur videre mortales, et alloqui conservos suos. In Gal. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 273.

[c] Vel certe antequam in Alexandriâ, quasi dæmonium meridianum, Arius nasceretur, innocenter quædam et minus caute loquuti sunt, et quæ non possint perversorum hominum calumniam declinare. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 411.

[d] Solitudinem patitur et in Urbe Gentilitas. Dii quondam nationum cum bubonibus et noctuis in solis culminibus remanserunt. Vexilla militum crucis insignia sunt. Regum purpuras, et ardentes diadematum gemmas, patibuli salutaris pictura condecorat. Jam Ægyptius Serapis factus est Christianus. Marnas Gazæ luget inclusus, et eversionem templi jugiter pertimescit. De Indiâ, de Perside, Æthiopiâ, monachorum quotidie turbas suscipimus. Deposuit pharetras Armenius. Hunni discunt Psalterium. Scythiæ frigora fervent calore fidei. Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria. Ad. Læt. ep. 57. al. 7. T. iv. P. ii. p. 591. M.

[e] Claruit præcipue circa ann. 390. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 186.

[f] See Tillem. Mem. T. xii. S. Jérom, art. 129. beginning.

[g] Du Pin. Bib. T. iii. p. 240, &c. Tillem. Mem. T. 12. S. Jérome, art. 12, 13. 125. . . . 130. Pagi ann. 395. n. xxi. 397. n. ii xviii. . . xiii. 399. vi. 410. xxvi. et alibi. Basnag. ann. 399. n xiii. et alibi.

[h] Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum. Apud S. Cyprian. Opp. in Append. ad S. Hieron. Opp. T. v. p. 127. . . 146.

[i] Proprio autem labore, imo gratiâ Dei et dono, exposuit idem Rufinus Symbolum, ut in ejus comparatione alii nec exposuisse credantur. Gennad. De V. I. cap. 17. al. 18.

[k] Et en effet, il seroit difficile de trouver un traité sur le Symbole plus parfait que celui-ci.

[l] Hic igitur Spiritus Sanctus est, qui in veteri testamento legem et prophetas, in novo evangelia et apostolos inspiravit. Unde apostolus dicit: Omnis scriptura inspirata utilis est ad docendum. Et ideo quia sunt novi ac veteris testamenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum Sanctum inspirata creduntur, et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur hoc in loco evidenti numero, sicut ex patrum monumentis accepimus, designare. Itaque veteris testamenti omnium primo Moysi quinque libri sunt traditi, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numerus, Deuteronomium. Post hæc Jesus Nave, et Judicum, simul cum Ruth. Quatuor post hæc regnorum libri, quos Hebræi dece numerant. Paralipomena, qui Dierum dicitur Liber, et Esdræ duo, quia apud illos singuli computantur, et Hester. Prophetarum vero Isaïas, Jeremias, Ezechiel, et Daniel. Præterea duodecim prophetarum liber unus. Job quoque, et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri. Salomon vero tres ecclesiæ tradidit, Proverbia Ecclesiasten, Cantica Canticorum. In his coneluserunt numerum librorum veteris testamenti. Novi vero quatuor evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Joannis: Actus Apos-

'and in the New the gospels and apostles. Wherefore the apostle says, that "all scripture is 'given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine." [2 Tim. iii. 16.] It will not there-'fore be improper to enumerate here the books of the New and the Old Testament, which we 'find by the monuments of the fathers to have been delivered to the churches as inspired by the 'Holy Spirit. And of the Old Testament, in the first place, are the five books of Moses, 'Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. After these are Joshua the son of Nun, 'and the Judges, together with Ruth. Next the four books of the Kingdoms, which the Hebrews 'reckon two: the book of thr Remains, which is called the Chronicles, and two books of Ezra, 'which by them are reckoned one, and Esther. The prophets are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and 'Daniel; and besides, one book of the twelve prophets. Job also, and the Psalms of David. 'Solomon has left three books to the churches, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of 'Songs: with these they conclude the number of the books of the Old Testament. Of the New 'there are the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the apostles by 'Luke; fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; two epistles of the apostle Peter; one of James, 'the brother of the Lord, and apostle; one of Jude; three of John; the Revelation of John. 'These are the volumes which the fathers have included in the canon, and out of which they 'would have us prove the doctrines of our faith.

'However, it ought to be observed, that there are also other books, which are not canonical, 'but have been called by our forefathers ecclesiastical: as the Wisdom of Solomon; and another, 'which is called the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach; and among the Latins is called by the general 'name of Ecclesiasticus: by which title is denoted not the author of the book, but the quality of 'the writing. In the same rank is the book of Tobit, and Judith, and the books of the Maccabees. 'In the New Testament is the book of the Shepherd, or of Hermas, which is called the Two 'Ways, or the Judgment of Peter. All which they would have to be read in the churches, but 'not to be alleged by way of authority, for proving articles of faith. Other scriptures they called 'apocryphal, which they would not have to be read in the churches.

'These things I have thought proper to put down here, as received from our ancestors, for 'the information of those who are learning the first elements of the church, and the faith; that 'they may know from what fountains they ought to fetch the word of God.'

That is Rufinus's catalogue of the books of scripture, which has been several times referred to in this work.

III. I need to add only a few remarks.

1. In this Exposition of the Creed Rufinus has more than once quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, as the apostle [b] Paul's. He also quotes expressly [c] the book of the Revelation; which shews, that he had no doubts about the genuineness, or authority of either. I scarce need to add, that [d] he quotes the epistle to the Ephesians with that title.

2. This catalogue plainly shews, what books of the Old and Testament were of authority with Christians; and that, when other books were quoted by them, it was for illustration only, and not as decisive in matters of controversy, or by way of authority. And with this particular enumeration of the several books or volumes of inspired, and canonical scripture, agree his general titles and divisions. One of these we saw at the beginning of the catalogue just transcribed: 'In the Old Testament the law and the prophets: in the New the gospels and apostles.'

tolorum, quos describit Lucas: Pauli apostoli epistolæ quatuordecim: Petri apostoli duæ, Jacobi fratris Domini et apostoli una, Judæ una, Joannis tres: Apocalypsis Joannis. Hæc sunt, quæ patres intra canonem concluserunt, et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.—Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non sunt canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt; ut est Sapientia Salomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur filii Sirach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur. Quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est: Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermas, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ, vel Judicium Petri. Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominârunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. Hæc nobis a patribus, ut dixi, tradita, opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare, ad instructionem eorum, qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sint pocula. Rufin. in Symb. ap. Cyprian. in App. p. 26, 27. et ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 141, 142.

[a] See vol. i. p. 551. and Vol. ii. p. 30.

[b] Sicut et Paulus apostolus, ad Hebræos scribens, dicit. In App. Cypr. p. 18. in.

[c] Ut in Apocalypsi Joannis de Seraphim scriptum est. Ib. p. 19. in.

[d] Sed et Paulus, ad Ephesios scribens. Ap. Cypr. p. 25. in ap. Hieron. p. 140. in.

In another place his expression is [a] the prophets, gospels, and apostles: and the testimony of Rufinus is very valuable. He was a learned man well acquainted both with the Greek and the Latin writers of the church: and he had travelled. He was born in the western part of the empire: but he was also acquainted with the churches in Egypt, and Palestine, where he had resided a good while.

3. Where Rufinus speaks of the 'Shepherd,' and 'Hermas,' and 'the Two Ways,' and 'the Judgment of Peter,' his meaning is not very obvious. I imagine, that we have not the true reading of the place. I have translated, agreeably to the edition at the end of bishop Fell's St. Cyprian; from which the copy in the Appendix to St. Jerom's works is very little [b] different. Fabricius thought, that [c] when Rufinus speaks of the 'Two Ways,' he might intend the latter part of the epistle of Barnabas. Grabe's conjecture is, that [d] by 'the Judgment of Peter' mentioned by no ecclesiastical writers, beside Rufinus and Jerom, is meant the preaching or doctrine of Peter; which seems not improbable: and, possibly, in Rufinus's original there were three books mentioned, 'the Shepherd of Hermas,' 'the Two Ways,' and 'the Judgment of Peter.' But we need not be very solicitous about the titles of books, which were not reckoned canonical or of authority.

CHAP. CXVI.

THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE.

1. In 397 assembled [e] the third, otherwise called the sixth council of Carthage; where were present [f] Aurelius bishop of Carthage, president, and Augustine then bishop of Hippo Regius, and others, in all forty-four.

2. The forty-seventh canon is to this purpose. 'Moreover [g] it is ordained, that nothing 'beside the canonical scriptures be read in the church under the name of divine scriptures; and the 'canonical scriptures are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua 'the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of the Kingdoms, two books of the Remains, Job, 'David's Psalter, five books of Solomon, the books of the twelve prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, 'Ezekiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, two books of Ezra, two books of the Maccabees. The books 'of the New Testament are these: The four books of the gospels, one book of the Acts of the

[a] Propterea ergo propheticis, et evangelicis, atque apostolicis vocibis nobis prænuntiatur hic error. Ib. p. 26. in.

[b] In novo autem testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermas, qui appellatur duæ viæ, vel judicium Petri. T. v. p. 142. in.

[c] At memorat etiam Rufinus in Symbolum 'Judicium 'Petri de duabus viis:' fortasse intelligens ea quæ de duabus viis leguntur in appendice epistolæ, quæ ad S. Barnabam apostolum referri solet. Fabr. in Hieron. de V. I. cap. 1. ap. Bib. Eccl.

[d] Quod enim attinet 'Judicium Petri,' cujus mentionem injicit Rufinus in Symbolum Apostolorum, quodque quatuor ante recensitis addit Hieronymus in Catalogo Scr. Ec. cap. i. de Petro, vereor sane, ne Rufinus κηρυγμα Petri, in Græcis libris contracte scriptum κρμα, legerit κριμα, idque Latine reddiderit 'Judicium' Petri, neve Rufinum secutus Hieronymus, re minus consideratâ, tamquam diversum a 'Prædicatione' enumeraverit, cum tamen idem fuerit opusculum. Atque licet hæc mea conjectura haud parum inde confirmetur, quod non modo Eusebius, dubia et apocrypha Petri scripta diligenter recensens, de isto libro ne verbum dixerit, sed et nullus alius Patrum Græcorum aut Latinorum, exceptis duobus modo dictis, illum nominaverit, vel citaverit; nolim tamen hac in re quidquam velut certum definire. &c. Grab. Spic. T. i. p. 56.

[e] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 368, 369. Pagi Ann. 397. n. xxiii... xxxiv. S. Basnag. An. 397. n. vii.... ix.

[f] Et subscripserunt Aurelius Episcopus ecclesiæ Carthaginensis... Epigonius Episcopus Bullensis Regionis.... Augustinus Episcopus plebis Hipponæ Regiensis. Similiter et omnes Episcopi, quadraginta quatuor numero, subscripserunt. Can. L. Ap. Labb. Concil. T. ii. p. 1178.

[g] Item placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesiâ legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ scripturæ: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenôn libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim prophetarum, Isaïas, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri duo. Novi autem Testamenti: Evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri apostoli duæ, Joannis apostoli tres, Judæ apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus. Can. 47. Ap. Labb. ibid. p. 1177.

'apostles, thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul, the epistle of the same to the Hebrews, two 'epistles of the apostle Peter, three of the apostle John, one of the apostle Jude, and one of 'James, the Revelation of John one book.'

3. There is a like canon in the decrees of the [a] sixth, otherwise fifteenth council of Carthage, held in 418; or, as others, in 419. It is reckoned the twenty-seventh canon of that council; and may be seen [b] in the authors to whom I refer. It differs little from the canon just transcribed at length, except that there are roundly mentioned, without hesitation, fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; and the epistle of James is placed just before that of Jude, which is the last.

4. Upon the canon, above transcribed, remarks may be seen in divers [c] modern writers. I shall make only these following: (1.) This was a provincial, or national council only, not general. (2.) The bishops of this council do not shew much learning or judgment, when they reckon five books of Solomon. (3.) This council, as S. Basnage [d] observes, 'placeth among 'canonical scriptures Tobit, Judith, and the two books of the Maccabees: which decree either 'contradicts antiquity, or, as we rather think, ought to be explained with a distinction. What 'was the opinion of the ancients concerning the canon of the Old Testament, may be learned 'from Melito in Eusebius, the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, from Epiphanius, and Cyril of 'Jerusalem; according to whom the books above named were not canonical. The word '"canonical" therefore may be supposed to be used here loosely, so as to comprehend not only 'those books which are admitted as the rule of faith, but those also which are esteemed useful, 'and may be publicly read for the edification of the people.' (4.) This council mentions but two books only of Ezra, meaning, I suppose, the book of Ezra, properly so called, and the book of Nehemiah. They say nothing of the other two, sometimes called the third and fourth books of Ezra: it is the same in the other council of Carthage, before referred to. There is not any notice taken of these two books. (5.) This council's canon of the New Testament is the same as that now received, without any other later writings as canonical. But the manner in which the epistle to the Hebrews is mentioned affords some reason to suspect it was not so generally received as the other thirteen epistles of Paul.

5. I add nothing farther: as it will be needful to shew largely the testimony of Augustine to the scriptures, who was one of the principal bishops present at this council; it is likely that all necessary remarks may then offer themselves to our minds.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 472, &c. Pagi Ann. 419. n. xxiv.

[b] Ap. Bevereg. Cod. Can. T. i. p. 549. Hod. de Bibl. Text. Orig. p. 652. Col. 63. Labb. ubi supr. p. 1002.

[c] Vid. S. Basnag. Ann 397. n ix. Ja. Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise. l. viii. ch. 83. n. iv. v

[d] Quibus Carthaginenses inserunt Tobiam, Judith, Maccabæorum libros duos. Quod decretum vel antiquitati pugnat, vel, quod verius esse putamus, distinctione est aliquâ explicandum. De libris canonicis quænam veterum opinio fuit, abunde testantur Melito ap. Eusebium, l. iv. c. 26. Epistola Festalis Athanasii, Epiphanius de Pond. et Mensuris, Cyrillus .... Itaque distinctione opus est, et cum Antiquitate Carthaginenses ineant concordiam: nempe, vox 'canonica' latius patet, et libros significat, non qui certam, fixamque morum fideique regulam constituunt, sed qui ædificandæ plebi leguntur in ecclesiâ. &c. Basn. Ann. 397. n. ix.

CHAP. CXVII.

AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO REGIUS IN AFRICA.

I. *His time, and character.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament with remarks.* III. *Books of the Old Testament received by him.* IV. *Apocryphal books cited by him.* V. *Books of the New Testament received by him, particularly the four gospels.* VI. *The Acts of the Apostles.* VII. *St. Paul's epistles.* VIII. *The catholic epistles.* IX. *The Revelation.* X. *General titles and divisions of the books of scripture.* XI. *Respect for them and their high authority.* XII. *Were publickly read in the assemblies of Christians.* XIII. *The integrity of the scriptures.* XIV. *Various readings.* XV. *Versions of the scriptures.* XVI. *Interpretation of texts.* XVII. *Select Passages.* 1. *Concerning the scriptures.* 2. *The truth of the Christian religion.* 3. *The subsistence and dispersion of the Jewish people.* 4. *The ends of Christ's ministry and death.* 5. *Divers other matters.*

I. AURELIUS Augustinus [a] or St. Augustine, son of Patricius and Monnica, was born at Tagaste, a small town of Africa, in the inland part of Numidia, in the year 354. He was ordained presbyter at Hippo Regius, a sea-port in the same country, about a hundred miles distant from Cirta the metropolis of Numidia, and more than two hundred miles from Carthage, in the year 391; and bishop of the same city in 395: he died in the year 430, in the thirty-fifth year of his episcopate, and the seventy-sixth of his age. I formerly [b] took some notice of the time, history and character of Augustine.

As I have not room for the history of Augustine, it is not easy to attempt his character. It is very likely that many may be led to make a comparison between him and Jerom, both eminent Latin writers, and contemporaries. Such [c] a comparison may be seen in Erasmus, who prefers Jerom in several respects: he says, 'he had a better education, and better masters; he understood both Greek and Hebrew; he applied himself early to the study of the scriptures, and had read the Greek commentators, of whom Augustine had little knowledge.' Nevertheless, I think, that though Jerom was superior in learning, Augustine was not inferior to him in good sense; and, in points that depended upon reasoning, he was as able to form a right judgment, as Jerom. As much is acknowledged by [d] Le Clerc, who cannot be suspected of partiality to Augustine. Erasmus [e] likewise ascribes to Augustine great acuteness, joined with amiable mildness of temper.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 290, &c. Du Pin. Bib. Ec. T. iii. p. 158, &c. Augustin. Vit. a Benedictin. conscript. Pagi Ann. A. 395. xvii. 430. n. xxviii. S. Basn. Ann. 384. n. vi. 430. n. iv. et alibi. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xiii.

[b] See vol. ii. p. 149.

[c] Nemo negabit, plurimum esse momenti situm in patriâ et educatione Hieronymus Stridone natus; quod oppidum sic Italiæ vicinum est, ut Itali sibi vindicent; Romæ educatus, in Italiâ, sub eruditissimis viris. Augustinus in Africâ, regione barbarâ, in quâ studia literarum mire frigebant; quod ipse non dissimulat in suis epistolis Augustinus. Hieronymus, Christianus e Christianis, una cum ipso lacte Christi philosophiam imbibit. Augustinus, pene triginti natus annos, nullo præceptore, Paulinas epistolas legere cœpit. Hieronymus, tali ingenio præditus, triginta quinque annos impendit studio sanctarum scripturarum. Augustinus statim ad episcopale munus pertractus est, et coactus docere quod ipse nondum didicerat. Jam fac, si libet, patriæ, ingeniorum, præceptorum, educationis, pares esse calculos: expendamus, quanto instructior Hieronymus ad hoc negotium accesserit. Nisi forte leve momentum esse putas Græcarum et Hebraïcarum literarum peritiam. Tota philosophia, tota theologia tum temporis Græcorum erat. Augustinus Græce nescit, aut, si quid attigit, non magnopere fuit usui, ad Græcorum commentarios evolvendos. . . . Quid aliis usu veniat, nescio. In me certe comperio, quod dicam: Plus me docet Christianæ Philosophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Augustini. Ad Joan. Eck. lib. ii. ep. 26.

[d] Cæteroqui, cum in iis, quæ examinerâ ratiocinatione pendent, Hieronymo inferior non esset Augustinus; in eo literarum ejus capite, quod spectat factum simuli, sine dubio meliorem partem defendit. Quod libenter [illegible] observamus, ne Hieronymo præter meritum favere, vel Augustino æquo facilius adversari videamur. Pherep. in Aug. ep. 28. T. xii.

[e] Ingenii felicitas prorsus erat incomparabilis, sive spectes acumen, vel obscurissima facile penetrans, sive capacis memoriæ fidem, sive vim quamdam mentis indefatigabilem. . . . Ad docendum semper erat paratus, non aliter quam avidus negotiator ad lucrum. Aderat interim miranda quædam animi lenitas, . . . quam Plato putat non *ita frequenter deprehendi in his, quibus contigit acrius ingenium.* Erasm. Ep. ad Alfons. Archiep. Toletan. Vid. præf. ad Augustin. opp.

What acquaintance Augustine had with the Greek language, may be best known from his own works. In his Confessions he speaks of his aversion to Greek learning in his early age. One reason of it seems to have been the compulsion made use of in teaching him: however, as his friends were very desirous to make him a good scholar, it may be reckoned probable, that they in part prevailed over his indolence, or obstinacy, to which soever that aversion was owing. In one of his works he says, he [b] had little or no knowledge of Greek; and yet shews at the same time, that he was not ignorant of it. And perhaps that expression is not so much his own acknowledgment, as a condescension to his adversary, who had too low an opinion of his skill in the Greek language: as if he had said; 'Be it so, that I have little or no knowledge of Greek; 'nevertheless, I may say, without vanity, that I understand very well the meaning of the Greek 'word in question.' In the preface to one of his books of the Trinity, he says, that [c] he was not so well skilled in the Greek language, as to read and understand the Greek authors, who had treated of that doctrine. In [d] a letter to Jerom he entreats him in his own name, and in the name of all studious Christians of Africa in general, to translate the best Greek commentators upon the scriptures into Latin: nevertheless we find him elsewhere [e] giving a literal translation of a passage of St. Basil. He often speaks of Epiphanius: it is undoubted, that [f] he was well acquainted with his work against heresies; that is, the Synopsis, or Recapitulation of it. Tillemont says, he [g] had read it, though it had not been translated into Latin. I place below [h] a passage, which shews that Augustine read his Greek Testament, or at least was wont to consult it, when he had any doubt about the propriety of the Latin translation then in use: and I shall transcribe below [i] some more passages, from which it may be argued, that Augustine frequently compared his copies of the Latin version with those of the Greek original. Mr. Le Clerc allows that [k] Augustine does sometimes very happily explain Greek words. But he suspects that possibly upon such occasions he had the assistance of another; which seems to me a suspicion without ground: for who was there in Africa more likely to understand Greek than Augustine? And if he had had any friends in his own country more skilful in Greek than himself, he needed not to have sent the request above mentioned to Jerom, to translate the Greek commentators for their use. Upon the whole, it seems to me, that Augustine understood Greek better than some have supposed: and I have enlarged the more because of Mr. Wetstein's brevity; to whom I might refer. But it requires no great pains to transcribe all he says: I therefore put it [l] below. I wish Mr. Wetstein had quoted the whole passage of Augustine; of which he has taken a part only, and thereby left his readers without an opportunity of forming a right judgment, unless they turn to the work itself.

[a] Cur ergo Græcam etiam grammaticam oderam talia cantantem?.... Videlicet difficultas omnino ediscendæ peregrinæ linguæ quasi felle aspergebat omnes suavitates Græcas fabulosarum narrationum. Nulla enim verba illa noveram, et sævis terroribus ac pœnis, ut nôssem, instabatur mihi vehementer. Conf. l. i. c. 14. Vid. et cap. 13. T. i.

[b] Et ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum assecutus sum, et prope nihil. Non tamen impudenter dico, me nôsse ὅλον non esse *unum* sed *totum*: et καθ' ὅλον, *secundum totum*. Unde catholica nomen accipit. Contr. Petil. l. ii. c. 38. T. ix.

[c] Quod si ea, quæ legimus de his rebus, sufficienter edita in Latino sermone aut non sunt, aut non inveniuntur, aut certe difficile a nobis inveniri queunt, Græcæ autem linguæ non sit nobis tantus habitus, ut talium rerum libris legendis et intelligendis ullo modo reperiamur idonei, quo genere literarum ex iis quæ nobis pauca interpretata sunt, non dubito cuncta quæ utiliter quærere possumus contineri. De Trinit. l. iii. Pr. T. viii.

[d] Petimus ergo, et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum ecclesiarum studiosa societas, ut in interpretandis eorum libris, qui Græce scripturas nostras quam optime tractaverunt, curam atque operam impendere non graveris. Ep. 65. al. 86. Ap. Hieron. T. iv. p 601.

[e] Audi, quod ad rem præsentem spectat, quid.. dicat sanctus sine ullâ ambiguitate Basilius. Quod etsi reperi interpretatum, tamen propter diligentiorem veri fidem, verbum e verbo malui transferre.... Contr. Julian. l. i. c. 5. n. xviii. T. x.

[f] Vid. August. de Hær. in Pr. et cap. 57. T. viii. Vid. et Ep. 222. T. ii.

[g] Il avoit lu S. Epiphane, au moins l' abrégé, quoiqu' il ne fût pas traduit en Latin. S. Aug. art. iii. T. iii. Mem. Ec.

[h] Quod itaque dicimus Deo, 'ne nos inferas in tentationem:' quid dicimus, nisi, ne nos inferri sinas. Unde sic orant nonnulli, et legitur in codicibus pluribus, et hoc sic posuit beatissimus Cyprianus: 'ne patiaris nos induci in tentationem.' In evangelio tamen Græco nusquam inveni, nisi: 'ne nos inferas 'in tentationem.' De Dono Perseverantiæ. Cap. 6. n. xii. T. x.

[i] Scio plerosque codices habere, 'Qui spiritu Deo servimus.' [Philip. iii. 3.] Quantum autem inspicere potuimus, plures Græci hoc habent, 'Qui spiritui Dei servimus.' Serm. 169. al. De Verb. Ap. 15. T. v.—... 'Spiritui Dei servientes,' quod est in Græco λατρευοντες. Plures enim codices etiam Latini sic habent, 'qui Spiritui Dei servimus:' Græci autem omnes, aut pene omnes, &c. De Trin. l. i. c. 6. n. xiii. T. viii.

[k] Est in Græco Matthæi contextu γεννηθεν generatum.' Quod obiter monitum opportuit ab Augustino. Sed forte neminem habebat ad manum, qui Græce sciret, cum hanc conscriberet epistolam. Alioquin interdum non male ex Græcâ linguâ quæstionibus respondet, ut infra, ep. cxcvii. ubi docet quodnam sit discrimen inter voces καιροι et χρονοι. Pherepon. Animadv. in Aug. Ep. clxxxvii. T. xii. p. 522.

[l] Augustinus: cujus de se ipso testimonium, lib. ii. c. 33. [l. 38.] contra Petilianum hoc est. Et ego quidem Græcæ Linguæ perparum assecutus sum, et prope nihil. Prolegom. ad N. T. G. T. i. p. 81.

II. I now proceed without farther delay to take Augustine's testimony to the scriptures.

I begin with citing a passage from a work of Augustine, entitled Of the Christian Doctrine, supposed to have been begun by him about the year 397, and to have been finished in 426. To be a little more particular concerning a work, which we shall have occasion to quote several times: it consists of four books; and it appears, from Augustine's Retractations, that the first two books, and a large part of the third, were written about 397; the remaining part of the third, and the whole fourth book, were composed afterwards, about [a] 426. The passage to be now cited, is in the second book of that work.

'In[b] receiving canonical scriptures let him who desires carefully to study them, follow the 'judgment of the greater number of catholic churches; among which they certainly ought to be 'reckoned, which are apostolical sees, and have had letters of apostles sent to them. This rule 'therefore he will observe, with regard to canonical scriptures; he will prefer such as are received 'by all catholic churches, to those which some do not receive: and with regard to such as are 'not received by all, he will prefer those, which are received by many and eminent churches, to 'those which are received by few churches, and of less authority. But if he should find some 'received by the greatest number of churches, others by the more eminent (which however will 'scarce happen;) I think such scriptures ought to be held by him as of equal authority.

'And the entire canon of scripture is comprised in these books. There are five of Moses, 'that is, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; one book of Joshua, the son of 'Nun; one of the Judges; one small book called Ruth, which seems rather to belong to the 'beginning of the Kingdoms; then the four books of the Kingdoms, and two of the Remains; 'not following one another, but proceeding as it were parallel, on the side of each other. These 'are historical books, which contain a succession of times in the order of events. There are 'others which do not observe the order of time, and are unconnected together: as Job, Tobit, 'Esther, and Judith, and the two books of the Maccabees, and the two books of Esdras; which '[last] do more observe the order of a regular succession of things, after that contained in the 'Kingdoms and Remains. Next are the Prophets; among which is one book of the Psalms of 'David, and three of Solomon, the Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. For those 'two books, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, are called Solomon's for no other reason but because 'they have a resemblance with his writings; for it is a very general opinion, that they were 'written by Jesus, the son of Sirach: which books, however, since they are admitted into autho-'rity, are to be reckoned among prophetical books. The rest are the books of those who are 'properly called prophets; as the several books of the twelve prophets, which being joined 'together, and never separated, are reckoned one book. The names of which prophets are these; 'Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, 'Malachi. After them are the four prophets, of larger volumes; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, 'Ezekiel. In these four-and-forty books is comprised all the authority of the Old Testament. 'Of the New there are the four books of the gospel, according to Matthew, according to Mark,

[a] The additional part begins with the words: Hujus igitur varietatis observatio duas habet formas. L. iii. cap. 24 n. xxxvi.

[b] In canonicis autem scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quam plurimum auctoritatem sequatur: ['divinarum scrip-'turarum solertissimus indagator:'] inter quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis, quas pauciores minorisve auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quamquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto.—Totus autem canon scripturarum, in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur: quinque Moseos, id est, Genesi, Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio: et uno libro Jesu Nave, uno Judicum, uno libello qui appellatur Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere: deinde quatuor Regnorum, et duobus Paralipomenôn non consequentibus, sed quasi a latere adjunctis, simulque pergentibus. Hæc est historia, quæ sibimet annexa tempora continet, atque ordinem rerum. Sunt aliæ, tamquam ex diverso ordine, quæ neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur: sicut est Job, et Tobias, et Esther, et Judith, et Macchabæorum libri duo, et Esdræ duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam usque ad Regnorum et Paralipomenôn terminatam. Deinde Prophetæ: in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres, Proverbiorum, Canticum Canticorum et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri, unus qui Sapientia, et alius qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur, de quâdam similitudine Salomonis dicuntur: nam Jesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur: qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, inter propheticos numerandi sunt. Reliqui sunt eorum libri, qui proprie prophetæ appellantur: duodecim prophetarum libri singuli, quoniam nunquam sejuncti sunt, pro uno habentur. Quorum prophetarum nomina sunt hæc.... Deinde quatuor prophetæ sunt majorum voluminum:... His quadraginta quatuor libris Testamenti veteris terminatur auctoritas. Novi autem, quatuor libris evangelii.... In his omnibus libris timentes Deum, et pietati mansueti, quærunt voluntatem Dei. ... De Doctr. Christ. l. 2. cap. 8. n. 12, 13, 14. Tom. iii. P. i. Bened.

, according to Luke, according to John; fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; to the Romans, ‘two to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians, two to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two epistles ‘of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; the Acts of the apostles in one book; ‘and the Revelation of John in one book. In these books they who fear God seek his will.’

Upon this passage we may make a few remarks;

1. There was not then any canon of scripture, settled by any authority, that was universally acknowledged by Christians: this, I think, is apparent from Augustine's preamble to his account of the books contained in the canon. There might be decrees of councils relating to this matter; but they were not esteemed decisive and of authority, every where, and by all. But still private and inquisitive Christians had a right to use their own judgment concerning this point.

2. In his Retractations, written in 426 or 427, Augustine, revising his books of Christian ‘doctrine, says, he[a] had understood, that it was probable, the book called by many the Wisdom ‘of Solomon, was not written by Jesus, son of Sirach, author of the book of Ecclesiasticus.’

3. Augustine says, that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus ought ‘to be reckoned among prophetical ‘books, because they had been received into authority.’ But there is no force in that observation: the right observation, in such a case as this, is; ‘Since they were not written by prophets, they ‘ought not to be received into authority:’ and it is generally, or universally allowed, and by Augustine himself, that no writings, but those of prophets, ought to be esteemed a part of the sacred scriptures of the Old Testament. And, I suppose, it must have appeared from the works of ancient Christian writers, which we have hitherto examined, that though they sometimes quote other books by way of illustration, as they also do heathen writings, yet they had a supreme regard for the Jewish canon, or those books which were received by the Jewish people, as sacred and divine. I think likewise, that Rufinus and Jerom, who were a little older than Augustine, must be allowed to bear a right testimony, and to declare truly what was the sentiment of most Christian churches when they say, ‘that[b] the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees, ‘were indeed allowed to be publicly read; but that nevertheless they were not canonical, and ‘that no doctrine of religion may be proved by their authority.’

4. None can forbear to observe, how clean a catalogue here is of the books of the New Testament. Here is no Shepherd, no Clement, no Constitutions, no Ignatius, no ‘Doctrine of Apostles,’ no ‘Judgment of Peter,’ no ‘Preaching of Peter,’ no ‘Sibylline ‘Oracles,’ nor any other ecclesiastical, or apocryphal writing. Nothing of that kind is here mentioned among books of authority; but only the well known writings of apostles, and apostolical men.

5. These general observations upon that passage may suffice for the present. I now proceed to take more particularly his testimony to the scriptures; first to the books of the Old, and then of the New Testament.

III. 1. Augustine says, ‘that[c] in all the time after their return from Babylon, till the days ‘of our Saviour, the Jews had no prophets after Malachi, Haggai, and Zechariah, who prophesied ‘at that time, and Ezra; except another Zacharias, father of John, and his wife Elizabeth, just ‘before the birth of Christ; and after his birth old Simeon, and Anna, a widow of a great age; ‘and John last of all. But the prophecy of these five, which is known from the gospel only, is ‘not received by them:’ and Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, are the last, which are ‘received into the canon by the unbelieving Jews.’

If that be so, which I think is universally acknowledged, they ought likewise to be the last Jewish sacred scriptures which are received by Christians: for to them, in ancient times, were committed the oracles of God; and they only could determine what writings should be received as sacred.

[a] In secundo sane libro de auctore libri, quam plures vocant Sapientiam Salomonis, quod etiam ipsum sicut Ecclesiasticum Jesus Sirach scripserit, non ita constare, sicut a me dictum est, postea didici: et omnino probabilius comperi, non esse hunc hujus libri auctorem. Retr. l. ii. c. 4.

[b] See this vol. p. 30. See also p. 541. 573.

[c] Toto autem illo tempore, ex quo redierunt de Babyloniâ, post Malachiam, Aggæum, et Zachariam, qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdram, non habuerunt prophetas, usque ad Salvatoris adventum, nisi alium Zachariam, patrem Joannis, et Elisabet ejus uxorem, Christi nativitate jam proxima: et, eo jam nato, Simeonem senem, et Annam viduam, jamque grandævam. . . Sed istorum quinque prophetatio ex evangelio nobis nota est. . . . Sed hanc istorum prophetiam Judæi non recipiunt. . . . Malachiam vero, Aggæum, Zachariam, et Esdram etiam, Judæi reprobi in auctoritatem canonicam receptos novissimos habent. De Civ. Dei. l. xvii. cap. 24.

2. I shall add some other passages, where [a] Augustine owns, that the Jews had no prophets after their settlement in Judea, upon their return from the Babylonish captivity: for which [b] reason, as he also observes, the books of the Maccabees were not received in the Jewish canon, those books containing the history of things in later times.

3. Again: 'From [c] Samuel the prophet to the Babylonish captivity, and then to their return 'from it, and the rebuilding the temple, after seventy years, according to the prophecy of 'Jeremiah, is the whole time of the prophets.'

4. Some Christians alleged the Sibylline poems as prophetical of Christ. 'But, says [d] Augus-'tine, it is much better to insist only upon the prophecies of the Old Testament, which the Jews 'our enemies receive: they are now dispersed all over the earth; and they bear witness, that 'the prophecies concerning Christ, therein contained, have not been forged by us.'

5. Again, to the like purpose: 'It [e] must be most prudent for us, to argue from those 'writings, which are received by the Jews. None can suspect, that they have been forged by 'us; whereas it may be pretended, that other predictions relating to the evangelical dispensa-'tion have been forged by us.'

6. Augustine has several times owned, that [f] there are but three books of Solomon really his; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles: and that the Jews have no more of his writings in their canon. He observes likewise, that, on account of some resemblance of style and design, the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus have been by some esteemed Solomon's: but the learned are satisfied they are not his. He also owns, that those two books were chiefly respected by the Christians who lived in the western part of the world.

7. Augustine owns particularly, that [g] the book of Judith was not in the Jewish canon.

8. Undoubtedly there are in Augustine many quotations of those books of the Old Testament, which we now generally call apocryphal; as Wisdom, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees: but then he frequently uses some expressions which shew they were not esteemed the books of the prophets, or of equal authority with the books of the Jewish canon.

9. Having quoted the book of Ecclesiasticus, he adds: 'But [h] if this be disputed, because 'that book is not in the Jewish canon; what shall we say to somewhat else found in Deutero-'nomy?' Which shews, that the book of Ecclesiasticus was not of unquestioned authority, or sufficient to decide a point in dispute.

10. In his Retractations he owns his mistake in [i] quoting the book of Ecclesiasticus as prophetical; when it was not certain that it was written by a prophet.

[a] ...usque ad hoc tempus prophetas habuit populus Israël; qui cum multi fuerint, paucorum et apud Judæos, et apud nos, canonica scripta retinentur. De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 26.

[b] Post hos tres prophetas, Aggæum, Zachariam, Malachiam, per idem tempus liberationis populi ex Babylonicâ servitute, scripsit etiam Esdras, qui magis rerum gestarum scriptor est, quam propheta: sicubi est et liber, qui appellatur Esther; cujus res gesta in laudem Dei non longe ab his temporibus invenitur... Ab hoc tempore apud Judæos restituto templo, non reges, sed principes fuerunt... quorum supputatio temporum non in scripturis sanctis, quæ canonicæ appellantur, sed in aliis inveniuntur. In quibus sunt et Macchabæorum libri, quos non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet, propter quorumdam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles.... De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 36.

[c] Hoc itaque tempus, ex quo sanctus Samuel prophetare cœpit, et deinceps, donec populus Israël captivus in Babyloniam duceretur, atque inde secundum sancti Jeremiæ, prophetiam post septuaginta annos reversis Israëlitis Dei domus instauraretur, totum tempus est prophetarum. De Civ. Dei. l. xvii. c. 1.

[d] Judæi autem, qui eum occiderunt, et in eum credere noluerunt,... eradicati, dispersique per terras, per scripturas testimonio sunt, prophetias nos non finxisse de Christo... Nobis quidem illæ sufficiunt, quæ de nostrorum inimicorum codicibus proferuntur. De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 46.

[e] Sed quæcumque aliorum prophetiæ de Dei per Christum gratiâ proferuntur, possunt putari a Christianis esse confictæ. Ideo nihil est firmius ad convincendos quoslibet alienos, si de hac re contenderint, nostrosque faciendos, si recte sapuerint, quam ut divina prædicta de Christo proferantur, quæ in Judæorum scripta sunt codicibus; quibus avulsis de sedibus propriis, et propter hoc testimonium toto orbe dispersis, Christi usquequaque crevit ecclesia. De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 47.

[f] Prophetâsse etiam ipse [Salomo] reperitur in suis libris, qui tres recepti sunt in auctoritatem canonicam, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, et Canticum canticorum. Alii vero duo, quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus, dicitur, propter eloquii similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicantur, obtinuit consuetudo: non autem esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores. Eos tamen in auctoritatem maxime occidentalis antiquitus recepit ecclesia: quorum in uno, qui appellatur Sapientia Salomonis, passio Christi apertissime prophetatur. Impii quippe interfectores ejus commemorantur dicentes. Circumveniamus justum.... [Sap. ii. 12 ... 20.] Et in Ecclesiastico autem fides gentium futura prædicitur isto modo: 'Miserere nostri, dominator Deus omnium... [Eccles. xxxvi. 1. 5.] Sed adversus contradictores non tantâ firmitate proferuntur, quæ scripta non sunt in canone Judæorum. In tribus vero illis, quos Salomonis esse constat, et Judæi canonicos habent, &c. De Civ. Dei. l. xvii. cap. 20.

[g] Per idem tempus [Darii] etiam illa sunt gesta, quæ conscripta sunt in libro Judith; quem sane in canone scripturarum Judæi non recepisse dicuntur. De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 36.

[h] Sed si huic libro, ex Hebræorum (quia in eorum non est) canone, contradicitur; quid de Möyse dicturi sumus...? De Curâ pro Mortuis. cap. XV. T. vi.

[i] Item videor non recte appellâsse verba prophetica... quia non in ejus libro legitur, quem certi sumus appellandum esse prophetam. Retr. l. i. cap. 20.

11. In another place of the same work he says of somewhat, which he had formerly advanced, that[a] he had not any proof of it, but from the book of Wisdom, which the Jews did not receive as of canonical authority.

12. In another work, written about the year 420, he says, 'The[b] Jews do not receive the 'scripture of the Maccabees as they do the law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which our 'Lord bears testimony. [Luke xxiv. 44.]...But it is received by the church not unprofitably, if 'it be read and heard soberly, especially for the sake of the history of the Maccabees, who 'suffered so much from the hand of persecutors for the sake of the law of God.' So that in the end Augustine I think differs not from Jerom and Rufinus; but is of the same opinion with them; that these books are received as useful, but not as of authority, so that any doctrine may be proved by them.

IV. I shall now observe a passage or two relating to books, which by all Christians in general are allowed to be apocryphal.

1. He quotes Numb. xxi. 13, 14...." wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord:" 'and then says, that[c] from such expressions in canonical books of scripture, men have taken 'occasion to forge books, called apocryphal.'

2. In his books of the City of God, Augustine has[d] a long observation upon fabulous apocryphal books of the Old and the New Testament, of which he speaks with contempt: he says, they are called 'apocryphal,' because their real original is secret or uncertain. He thinks that Enoch must have written something, because he is quoted by the apostle Jude: but what goes under his name has been justly reckoned not to be his; as have also other writings ascribed to other prophets, and since to the apostles. All which, upon careful examination, were rejected from being a part of canonical scripture, and are called apocryphal.

V. That Augustine received our four gospels, and them only, is apparent from the passage alleged at the beginning of this chapter; nevertheless it is very fit for us to take notice of several things concerning them, which are to be found in his writings.

1. In one of his sermons he says, 'There[e] are four evangelists, Matthew, John, Mark, and 'Luke. Of these Matthew and John were of the number of the twelve apostles. Mark and 'Luke were not apostles, but only companions of apostles: and he thinks, there was a fitness in 'this, that the history of Christ should be so written.'

2. He says there[f] are four gospels, because the world consists of four parts, and the whole world was called in the gospel.

3. In[g] the Old Testament the five books of Moses have the highest authority; in the New Testament the four gospels.

4. In another place he seems to say, that[h] the book of the gospels is the most excellent part of all the divine scriptures.

5. In one of his sermons upon John xx. 'To[i] day has been read the account of our Saviour's

[a] In primo autem quod de manna dixi.... Non mihi occurrit, unde possit probari, nisi ex libro Sapientiæ, quem Judæi non recipiunt in auctoritatem canonicam. Retr. l. ii. cap. 20.

[b] Et hanc scripturam, quæ appellatur Macchabæorum, non habent Judæi, sicut Legem et Prophetas et Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet... Sed recepta est ab ecclesiâ non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur et audiatur, maxime propter illos Macchabæos, qui pro Dei lege, sicut veri martyres, a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt, &c. Contr. Gaudent. Denat. l. i. cap. 31. n. 38. T. ix.

[c] ...In quo libro scriptum sit, non commemorant, neque ullus est in his, quos divinæ scripturæ canonicos appellamus. De talibus occasiones reperiunt, qui libros apocryphos incautorum auribus et curiosorum conantur inserere ad persuadendas fabulosas impietates, &c. Qu. in Numb. 42. libr. iv. T. iii.

[d] Omittamus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quæ apocryphæ nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissimâ et notissimâ successione pervenit... Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistolâ canonicâ Judas apostolus dicat. Sed non frustra non sunt in eo canone scripturarum, qui servabatur in templo Hebræi populi succedentium diligentiâ sacerdotum.... Unde illa, quæ sub ejus nomine proferuntur——recte a prudentibus judicantur non ipsius esse credenda; sicut multa sub nominibus et aliorum prophetarum, et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum ab hæreticis proferuntur, quæ omnia nomine apocryphorum ab auctoritate canonicâ diligenti examinatione remota sunt. De Civ. Dei. l. xv. cap. 23. T. 7.

[e] Nam cum sint quatuor evangelistæ, Matthæus, Johannes, Marcus, Lucas, duo sunt ex illis duodecim apostolis, id est, Matthæus et Johannes.... Marcus et Lucas apostolorum non pares, sed suppares fuerunt. Ideo namque voluit Spiritus Sanctus etiam ex his qui inter duodecim non fuerunt, eligere ad evangelium conscribendum duos, ne putaretur gratia evangelii usque ad apostolos pervenisse, et in illis fontem gratiæ defecisse. Serm. 239. n. 1. T. v.

[f] Quia enim quatuor sunt orbis partes, et totus orbis in evangelio vocabatur, unde quatuor evangelia conscripta sunt. In Ps. ciii. Enarr. Serm. 3. n. 2. T. iv.

[g] Vetus Testamentum in quinque libris Möysis excellit. Novum autem quatuor evangeliorum auctoritate præfulget. De Peccator. Merit. &c. l. ii. cap. 35. T. x.

[h] Inter omnes divinas auctoritates, quæ sanctis literis continentur, evangelium merito excellit. De Consens. Evang. l. i. in.

[i] Et hodie resurrectio Domini recitata est de sancto evan-

'resurrection in John; and in that, we have heard what was omitted in the other gospels. It is 'all one history of the truth; they all drink from the same fountain: but, as we have often 'observed to you, my brethren, some things are related by all, some by three, some by two, some 'by one only.'

6. At the beginning of another sermon: 'At[a] this season, according to custom, are read the 'accounts of our Lord's resurrection. None of the evangelists could omit to give the history of 'his passion and resurrection: and though there are some differences in their accounts, they are 'not contrary to each other. Our Lord's acts were very numerous, and could not be all related. 'Some therefore are related by one, some by another; but all with complete harmony, agreeably 'to the truth. Those things were done, which were proper to be done then: so many were 'written, as are proper to be read now.'

7. In his books of the City of God he says: 'For,[b] proving his divine authority, Christ 'wrought many miracles; some of which are recorded in the evangelical scripture, even so many 'as were judged sufficient to attest his authority to the world. The first of which is, that he was 'so wonderfully born; the last, that he ascended up to heaven, with his body raised from the 'dead.'

8. Augustine's introduction to his four books of the Consent of the Evangelists, written about the year 400, is very observable. I have not room for it all; and therefore refer my readers to it; however, I will transcribe a good part of it.

'The[c] first preachers of the gospel, he says, were the apostles, who had conversed with the 'Lord; who have related to the world not only what they themselves saw him do, or heard him 'say; but likewise divers other things, which happened before they were called to follow him, 'concerning his nativity, infancy, and youth; which things they might know from himself, or

gelio. Lectum est autem evangelium secundum Johannem. Audivimus quæ in aliis libris evangelii non audieramus. Omnibus quidem communis est prædicatio veritatis, et de uno fonte omnes biberunt. Sed in prædicatione evangelii, sicut sæpe commonui Caritatem Vestram, alia omnes, alia tres, alia duo, alia singuli posuerunt. Serm. 245. in. T. v.

[a] Per hos dies. . . sollemniter leguntur evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes. Omnes enim evangelistæ quatuor neque de passione, neque de resurrectione ejus tacere potuerunt. Nam quia multa fecit Dominus Jesus, non omnes omnia conscripserunt: Sed alius ista, alius illa: summa tamen concordia veritatis. Multa etiam commemorat Johannes evangelista facta esse a Domino . . quæ a nullo eorum conscripta sunt. Tanta facta sunt, quanta tunc fieri debuerunt: tanta scripta sunt, quanta nunc legi debuerunt. Serm. 240. in.

[b] Qui, ut in se commendaret Deum, miracula multa fecit; ex quibus quædam, quantum ad eum prædicandum satis esse visum est, scriptura evangelica continet. Quorum primum est, quod tam mirabiliter natus est. Ultimum autem, quod cum suo resuscitato a mortuis corpore adscendit in cœlum. De C. D. l. xviii. c. 46. T. vii.

[c] Cujus primi prædicatores apostoli fuerunt, qui Dominum ipsum et Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum etiam præsentem in carne viderunt. Qui non solum ea, quæ ex ore ejus audita, vel ab illo sub oculis suis operata, dicta, & facta meminerant: verum etiam quæ, prius quam illi per discipulatum adhæserant, in ejus nativitate, vel infantiâ, vel pueritiâ, divinitus gesta et digna memoriâ, sive ab ipso, sive a parentibus ejus, sive a quibuslibet aliis, certissimis indiciis et fidelissimis testimoniis requirere et cognoscere potuerunt, imposito sibi evangelizandi munere generi humano annuntiare curârunt. Quorum quidam, hoc est, Matthæus et Johannes, etiam scripta de illo, quæ scribenda visa sunt, libris singulis ediderunt.—Ac, ne putaretur, quod adtinet ad percipiendum et prædicandum evangelium, interesse aliquid, utrum illi annuntient, qui eumdem Dominum hic in carne apparentem discipulatu famulante secuti sint, an ii qui ex illis fideliter comperta crediderunt, divinâ providentiâ procuratum est per Spiritum Sanctum, ut quibusdam etiam ex illis, qui primos apostolos sequebantur non solum annuntiandi, verum etiam scribendi evangelium tribueretur auctoritas. Hi sunt Marcus et Lucas. Cæteri autem homines, qui de Domini vel apostolorum actibus aliqua scribere conati vel ausi sunt, non tales suis temporibus exstiterunt, ut eis fidem haberet ecclesia, atque in auctoritatem canonicam sanctorum librorum eorum scripta reciperet—— Isti igitur quatuor evangelistæ, universo terrarum orbe notissimi, et ob hoc fortasse quatuor, quoniam quatuor sunt partes orbis terræ, per cujus universitatem Christi Ecclesiam dilatari, ipso sui numeri sacramento quodammodo declarârunt. Hoc ordine scripsisse perhibentur. Primum Matthæus, deinde Marcus, tertio Lucas, ultimo Johannes. . .—Horum sane quatuor solus Matthæus Hebræo scripsisse perhibetur eloquio, cæteri Græco. Et quamvis singuli suum quemdam narrandi ordinem tenuisse videantur, non tamen unusquisque eorum velut alterius præcedentis ignarus voluisse scribere reperitur, vel ignorata prætermisisse quæ scripsisse alius invenitur: sed, sicut unicuique inspiratum est, non superfluam cooperationem sui laboris adjunxit. Nam Matthæus suscepisse intelligitur incarnationem Domini secundum stirpem regiam, et pleraque secundum hominum vitam facta et dicta ejus. Marcus, eum subsecutus, tamquam pedissequus et breviator ejus videtur. Cum solo Johanne nihil dixit. Solus ipse perpauca: cum solo Lucâ pauciora: cum Matthæo vero plurima; et multa pene totidem atque ipsis verbis, sive cum solo, sive cum cæteris consonante.—Non autem habuit breviatorem conjunctum Lucas, sicut Marcum Matthæus.—Tres autem isti evangelistæ in his rebus maxime diversati sunt, quas Christus per humanam carnem temporaliter gessit. Porro autem Johannes ipsam maxime Divinitatem Domini, quâ Patri est æqualis, intendit. . . Itaque longe a tribus istis superius fertur, ita ut hos videas in terrâ cum Christo homine conversari: illum autem transcendisse nebulam, quâ tegitur omnis terra, et pervenisse ad liquidum cœlum, unde acie mentis acutissimâ atque firmissimâ videret. In principio Verbum apud Deum, per quem facta sunt omnia. . .—Unde et mihi videntur, qui ex Apocalypsi illa quatuor animalia ad intelligendos quatuor evangelistas interpretati sunt, probabilius aliquid attendisse illi, qui leonem in Matthæo, hominem in Marco, vitulum in Lucâ, aquilam in Johanne intellexerunt, quam illi qui hominem Matthæo, aquilam Marco, leonem Johanni tribuerunt. De Cons. Evangelistarum, l. i. c. i. . . . vi. T. iii. P. ii.

'from his parents, or his friends and acquaintance, who were to be depended upon: and two of 'the evangelists were apostles, Matthew and John. Nevertheless it was wisely ordained by Divine 'Providence, that not only apostles, but some others besides should not only preach the Lord 'Jesus, but likewise write gospels: these are Mark and Luke, who were disciples of apostles. 'And though others may have attempted to write, or have actually published, histories of the 'actions of Christ, and his apostles, their writings have not been received.

'These four evangelists, therefore, are well known all over the world; and perhaps they are 'four, because there are so many parts of the world, in the whole of which extent the church of 'Christ was to be planted. They are said to have written in this order; first Matthew, next 'Mark, then Luke, and last of all John.

'Of these four, Matthew only is said to have written in Hebrew; the rest in Greek: and 'though all have an order of narration peculiar to themselves, they do not write as if they were 'totally ignorant of each other's labours.....Matthew writes of our Lord's nativity, and the 'history of his life as a man. Mark follows him close as his abridger; for he has nothing which 'is in John alone: he has very few things peculiar to himself; not many peculiar to Luke; but 'many things which are in Matthew, and almost in the same words. Luke had no abridger, as 'Matthew had in Mark.

'Moreover those three evangelists relate those things which were done by Christ here on 'earth in his human nature. But John speaks of the Lord's divinity, by which he is equal to 'the Father: therefore he riseth higher than the rest, and seems to ascend to heaven itself, and 'the throne of God, where he learned what is included in those words: "In the beginning was 'the Word, and the Word was with God."".....And whereas there are four living creatures 'mentioned in the Revelation [iv. 7.], which are understood of the evangelists, he thinks it 'probable, that Matthew is represented by a lion, Mark by a man, Luke by an ox, and John by 'an eagle.'

Having transcribed so largely that introduction, we will now take notice of some things in it.

(1.) Augustine here says, that of all the four evangelists Matthew only wrote in Hebrew. In another part of the same work, the Consent of the Evangelists, he says: It [a] was reported, that Matthew wrote in the Hebrew language.

(2.) Augustine, in what was above transcribed, gives the preference to John: in another place of the same work he says, the apostle [b] John is the most eminent of all the four evangelists.

(3.) 'He also [c] excels or differs from the other evangelists, in that he insists more upon our 'Lord's discourses than upon his miracles.'

(4.) In another work he gives the preference to John, because [d] he had more fully declared our Lord's divinity than the other evangelists.

(5.) In a sermon [e] he gives the preference to John not only above the other evangelists, but above Peter also, because John had written more of Christ's divinity than Peter had.

(6.) He has also [f] elsewhere and largely spoken of the symbols of the evangelists, in Ezekiel, and the Revelation.

(7.) There are two other things which require some particular consideration. One, is what Augustine says of the evangelists having seen each others works before they wrote: the other, is what he says of Mark being an abbreviator of Matthew.

[a] Cujus rei causa illa mihi videtur, quod Matthæus Hebræâ linguâ perhibetur evangelium conscripsisse. De Consens. Evang. l. i. cap. 66. n. 128.

[b] Johannes quoque apostolus in evangelistis eminentissimus. Ibid. cap. 6. n. 18.

[c] At vero Johannes, qui multum ab eis tribus evangelistis eo distat, quia magis in sermonibus quos Dominus habuit, immoratur, quam in factis quæ mirabiliter fecit. Ibid. cap. 45. n. 94. Conf. ib. l. i. cap. 5. n. 8.

[d] In quatuor evangeliis, vel potius quatuor libris unius evangelii, sanctus Johannes apostolus, non immerito aquilæ comparatus, altius multoque sublimius aliis tribus erexit prædicationem suam.... Nam cæteri tres evangelistæ, tamquam cum homine Domino in terrâ ambulabant, de divinitate ejus pauca dixerunt.... Iste autem.... erexit se.... et pervenit ad eum, per quem facta sunt omnia.... In Joh. Evang. Tr. 36. n. 1. Vid. ib. n. 5.

[e] Hoc mihi videtur intelligi: Quoniam Petrus scripsit de Domino. Scripserunt & alii. Sed scriptura eorum magis circa humanitatem Domini est occupata.... Sed de Divinitate Christi in literis Petri aliquid.... in evangelio autem Johannis multum eminet. 'In Principio erat Verbum,' ipse dixit. Transcendit nubes, et transcendit sidera: transcendit angelos, transcendit omnem creaturam. Pervenit ad Verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia. Serm. 253. cap. 4. T. v.

[f] Et apud Ezechielem prophetam, et in Apocalypsi ipsius Johannis, cujus est hoc evangelium commemoratur animal quadruplex, habens quatuor personas, hominis, vituli, leonis, aquilæ. Qui ante nos scripturarum sanctarum mysteria tractaverunt, plerique in hoc animali, vel potius in his animalibus quatuôr evangelistas intellexerunt, &c. In Johan. Evang. Tr. 36. n. 5. T. iii. P. ii.

Of both these things J. Le Clerc, under the borrowed name of Phereponus, observes to this purpose: 'We [a] can scarce doubt whether John had seen the other three gospels: for as he is 'said to have lived to a great age, so it appears, from his gospel itself, that he took care not to 'repeat things related by them, except a few only, and those necessary things. But I do not 'see how it can be reckoned certain, that Mark knew of Matthew's having written a gospel 'before him; or that Luke knew they two had written gospels before him. If Mark had seen the 'work of Matthew, it is likely that he would have remained satisfied with it, as being the work of 'an apostle of Christ, that is, an eye-witness, which he was not. Nor would Luke, who from the 'beginning of his gospel appears to have been acquainted with several memoirs of the words and 'works of Christ, have omitted to say, that one or more of them had been written by an apostle, 'as Matthew was. And [b] who can persuade himself to think, that he would have introduced a 'new genealogy of Christ, without saying a word of the genealogy already published by 'Matthew; especially, as no small difficulties would arise in reconciling them?.....They seem 'to think more justly who say, that the first three evangelists were unacquainted with each 'other's designs: in that way greater weight accrues to their testimony. When witnesses agree, 'who have first laid their heads together, they are suspected; but witnesses who testify the same 'thing separately, without knowing what others have said, are justly credited.'

With regard to what Augustine says of Mark's copying Matthew, the same learned writer adds: 'I [c] wonder that Augustine should speak thus of an inspired writer: there is no need of 'inspiration to abbreviate what has been already written by another. I rather assent to those, 'who say, that Mark received the evangelical history from Peter.'

These appear to me to be just observations. I may however have occasion to enlarge farther upon these points hereafter: at the present I observe only, that so far as I remember, Augustine is the first Christian writer who has considered Mark's gospel as an abbreviation of Matthew. The common account of the more ancient writer is, what is hinted by Le Clerc, that Mark wrote from Peter's mouth; or, that his gospel is the substance of Peter's preaching; or, that it was dictated by Peter, written and published by Mark: and, as some add, approved, or authorized by Peter, to be read in the churches. After this manner speak, as we have already seen, [d] Papias, [e] Clement of Alexandria, [f] Tertullian, [g] Origen: to whom might be added the accounts in [h] Eusebius, and [i] Jerom.

VI. We have already seen the Acts of the apostles reckoned by Augustine among the books of canonical scripture. Shall I, nevertheless, add a few other passages?

1. In the books of the Consent of the Evangelists, which we have already quoted several times, he ascribes [k] the Acts of the apostles to Luke.

2. In another place of the same work he does the like again, and also gives at large the design and contents of this book. He says, 'That [l] Luke after having written a gospel, even 'one of the four which are in so high esteem, containing a history of Christ's words and works 'to the time of his resurrection and ascension, wrote such an account of the acts of the apostles

[a] Vid. Opp. Augustin. T. xii. p. 532.

[b] Quis credat eum novam Christi genealogiam allaturum fuisse, ne verbo quidem memoratâ genealogiâ Matthæo antea editâ, cum præsertim, ad eos in concordiam redigendos, non levis difficultas exoritura esset?.... Multo rectius sentire videntur, qui evangelistas tres priores scripsisse suas historias censent, cum neuter aliorum consilii conscius esset. Unde etiam eorum testimonio majus accedit pondus. Cum enim consentiunt testes, qui inter se capita contulerunt, suspecti potius habentur. Sed testes, qui idem testantur seorsim, nescii aliorum testimonii, merito verum dicere videntur. Pherepon. Animadv. in libr. de Cons. Ev. Ap. Augustin. T. xii. p. 532.

[c] Miror ita loqui Augustinum de scriptore afflato. Neque enim inspiratione opus est, ut quispiam sit 'pedissequus et 'breviator' operis alieni. Crediderim potius iis, qui Marcum a Petro evangelicam historiam accepisse censent. Id. Ibid.

[d] See vol. i. p. 337. 339.

[e] Vol. i. p. 394—399.

[f] Vol. i. p. 420. 421. [g] Vol. i. p. 531.

[h] See this vol. p. 367, 368.

[i] Ibid. p. 550. 552.

[k] .... sicut Lucas in Apostolorum Actibus narrat. De Cons. Evang. l. iii. cap. 25. n. 74. T. iii. p. ii.

[l] Admonet autem, ut noverimus eumdem Lucam etiam illum librum scripsisse, qui Actus apostolorum vocatur, non solum quia Theophili nomen etiam illic inest.... Sed quia et ibi exorsus est ut diceret: Primum quidem sermonem feci de omnibus, o Theophile, quæ cœpit Jesus facere et docere.... Dedit intelligi, quod jam scripserit evangelii librum, unum ex quatuor quorum est in ecclesiâ sublimis auctoritas.... Iste autem non solum usque ad resurrectionem assumtionemque Domini perduxit orationem suam, ut in quatuor auctoribus evangelicæ scripturæ dignum labore suo haberet locum; verum etiam deinceps quæ per apostolos gesta sunt, quæ sufficere credidit ad ædificandam fidem legentium et audientium ita scripsit, ut solus ejus liber fide dignus haberetur de apostolorum actibus narrantis, reprobatis omnibus, qui non eâ fide quâ oportuit, facta dictaque apostolorum ausi sunt scribere. Eo quippe tempore scripserunt Marcus et Lucas, quo non solum ab ecclesiâ Christi, verum etiam ab ipsis adhuc in carne manentibus apostolis, probari potuerunt. De Cons. Ev. l. iv. c. 8. n. 9.

'as he judged to be sufficient for the edification of believers: and it is the only history of the 'apostles which has been received by the church; all other having been rejected, as not to be 'relied upon. Augustine there adds, Mark and Luke wrote at a time, when their writings 'might be approved, not only by the church, but also by apostles still living.'

3. The book of the Acts is quoted by Augustine in innumerable places. It was [a] publicly read in the Christian assemblies of worship, and then expounded, as appears from many sermons of Augustine. He says, it [b] was in the canon of scripture: and that it was usually begun to be read on the first Lord's day in Easter; and was read through, I suppose, before the feast of Pentecost. In another sermon: 'To day' [c] says he, 'the reading was that of the Acts of the 'apostles, where the apostle Paul of a persecutor is made a preacher of Christ.'

4. In a work written about the year 428, Augustine says, that [d] the beginning of Paul's faith [or his conversion] was well known, upon account of its being read in the churches.

VII. In the general passage at the beginning of the chapter, we saw that Augustine received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, which are also there named. I shall however take farther notice of some particulars.

1. In his books against Cresconius the Donatist, he mentions these apostolical churches; the [e] 'church of the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Colossians, Philippians, to whom, as by name, Paul writes; the church of Jerusalem governed by the apostle James as bishop: the church of Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians; Smyrna, Thyatira, Sardis, Pergamos, Philadelphia, Laodicea, to which is sent the Revelation of the apostle John: and all the churches of Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, to which the apostle Peter writes.

2. There is a like passage in another book against the Donatists, a part of which [f] I place below.

3. There is no occasion for many remarks: however, it should be observed, that Augustine always calls the epistle to the Ephesians as we do; and supposeth that it was sent to the church at Ephesus.

4. The only epistle that requires consideration, is that called the fourteenth epistle of Paul, written to the Hebrews.

(1.) Tillemont's account of Augustine's opinion concerning that epistle is to this purpose: 'Augustine [g] often cites this epistle by the bare title of the epistle to the Hebrews, without 'ascribing it to any one; and he observes, that some doubted whether it was Paul's, or abso-'lutely denied it to be his, and feared to receive it into the canon of scripture, because the name 'of Paul was wanting. For himself he declares, that he was inclined to follow the judgment of 'the churches of the east, which esteemed it canonical, as well as the other epistles of Paul. In 'one place he says, it was received by the most; which may include the churches in the west.'

(2.) For clearing up this point fully, several things may be observed.

(3.) In the passage at the beginning of this chapter transcribed from that part of the books of Christian doctrine, which was written about the year 397, Augustine reckons up fourteen epistles of Paul, the last of which is that to the Hebrews.

[a] In Actibus apostolorum advertite, quando legitur: modo incipit liber ipse legi. Hodie cœpit liber, qui vocatur Actus apostolorum. Serm. 227. In die Paschæ iv. T. v.

[b] . . . . quia cum aliorum martyrum vix gesta inveniamus, quæ in solennitatibus eorum recitare possimus, hujus [Stephani] in canonico libro est. Actus apostolorum liber est de canone scripturarum. Ipse liber incipit legi a Dominico Paschæ, sicut se consuetudo habet ecclesiæ. Serm. 315. in.

[c] Hodie lectio de Actibus apostolorum pronuntiata est, ubi apostolus Paulus ex persecutore Christianorum annuntiator Christi factus est. Serm. 278. cap. 1.

[d] Nam scripta sunt etiam fidei ejus initia, suntque ecclesiasticâ celebri lectione notissima. De Prædest. Sanct. cap. 2. n. 4. T. x.

[e] Vos itaque secundum vestrum errorem, vel potius furorem, accusare cogimini non solum Cæcilianum et ordinatores ejus, verum etiam illas ecclesias, quas in scripturis apostolicis et canonicis pariter legimus, non solum Romanorum, quo ex Africâ ordinare paucis vestris soletis episcopum, verum etiam Corinthiorum, Galatarum, Ephesiorum, Thessalonicensium, Colossensium, Philippensium, ad quas apertissime scribit apostolus Paulus; Jerosolymitanam, quam primus apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit; Antiochensem, ubi primo appellati sunt discipuli Christiani; Smyrnensem, Thyatirensem, Sardensem, Pergamensem, Philadelphensem, Laodicensem, ad quas est Apocalypsis apostoli Johannis. Tot alias ecclesias Ponti, Cappadociæ, Asiæ, Bithyniæ, ad quas scribit apostolus Petrus. . . . Has certe ecclesias, quas ex literis divinis atque canonicis nominavi—accusare cogimini. Contr. Crescon. Donat. l. 2. cap. 37.

[f] Illæ ipsæ solæ, quas in sanctis literis, in Actibus, in epistolis apostolorum, et in Apocalypsi invenimus. . . . Ad Corinthios, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonicenses, ad Colossenses, &c. &c. De Unit. Ec. cap. 12. n. 31.

[g] Mem. Ec. T. i. note 72. sur St. Paul.

(4.) In an early work, supposed to have been begun near the end of the year 389: [illegible] the apostle to the Hebrews says:' there it is quoted as Paul's.

(5.) In his commentary upon the epistle to the Romans, an unfinished work, begun about 394, when he was yet presbyter, he says: 'Paul [b] has a like salutation at the beginning of his 'epistles, excepting that which he wrote to the Hebrews; where he is said designedly to have 'omitted his ordinary form of salutation, because of the prejudice which the Jews had against 'him; for which reason some have feared to receive that epistle into the canon of scripture: but 'whatever becomes of that question, excepting that epistle, all the rest, which are received as 'the apostle Paul's by all the churches in general without hesitation, have such a salutation.' Where, I think, Augustine quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's; though he owns that some, for the reason there mentioned, feared to receive it as his.

(6.) In a sermon: 'Which [c] opinion is confirmed not only by the epistle to the Hebrews, 'but likewise by what Stephen says in the Acts of the apostles.' Which manner of speaking certainly shews, that the book of the Acts was of greater, or more established authority, and more generally received, than the epistle to the Hebrews.

(7.) In a work written in 413: 'In [d] the epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, it 'is said.'

(8.) In another work, written in 412: 'So [e] also the epistle to the Hebrews, though with 'some it is of doubtful authority: however, I am inclined to follow the opinion of the churches 'in the east, who receive it among canonical scriptures.' I need not make any remarks upon this passage.

(9.) In the work of the City of God, begun in 413, and not finished before 426: 'In [f] the 'epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews.' Which [g] manner of expression, says Ludovicus Vives upon the place, shews, that the author of the epistle was not certainly known.

(10.) Again, in the same work: 'Of [h] whom [Melchisedec] it is said in the epistle, which is 'inscribed to the Hebrews, which many [or the most] affirm to be the apostle Paul's, though 'some deny it.'

(11.) He often quotes [i] the epistle to the Hebrews in the books of the City of God, without naming the writer.

(12.) 'As [k] it is read in the epistle to the Hebrews.' So he quotes it in his Retractations, a work, written in 426, or 427.

(13.) 'In [l] the epistle to the Hebrews, which has been quoted by illustrious defenders of the 'catholic doctrine, it is said: "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."' So in a book written about 241, or later.

(14.) In a work written about 419, he seems [m] purposely to decline calling it Paul's, or the apostle's, and only calls it 'the epistle to the Hebrews.'

(15.) In the Opus Imperfectum, written in the later years of his life, he quotes the epistle in this manner: 'The [n] writer of the epistle to the Hebrews.'

(16.) Julian, the Pelagian, against whom Augustine writes in that work, readily quotes the

[a] Sicut apostolus ad Hebræos dicit. De Qu. 83. Qu. 75. T. vi.

[b] Quod propterea maxime credo, quoniam, exceptâ epistolâ quam ad Hebræos scripsit, ubi principium salutatorium de industriâ dicitur omisisse, ne Judæi, qui adversus eum pertinaciter oblatrabant, nomine ejus offensi, vel inimico animo legerent, vel omnino legere non curarent, quod ad eorum salutem scripserat. Unde nonnulli eam in canonem scripturarum recipere timuerunt. Sed quoquo modo se habeat ista quæstio, exceptâ hac epistolâ cæteræ omnes, quæ, nullâ dubitante ecclesiâ, Pauli esse firmantur, talem continent salutationem. Expos. ep. ad Rom. inchoat. n. 11. T. 3. p. 2.

[c] Quam sententiam confirmat non solum epistola, quæ scribitur ad Hebræos. . . . sed etiam in Actibus apostolorum Stephanus dicit. Serm. 7. n. 6. T. v.

[d] Unde et in epistolâ, quæ ad Hebræos inscribitur. De Fid. et Operib. cap. 11. n. 17. T. vi.

[e] Ad Hebræos quoque epistola, quamquam nonnullis incerta sit. . . . Magisque me movet auctoritas ecclesiarum orientalium, quæ hanc etiam in canonicis habent. De Peccat. Merit. l. 1. cap. 27. n. 50. T. x.

[f] In epistolâ quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos. *De Civ. Dei. l.* 10. cap. 5. T. vii.

[g] Significat incertum esse auctorem. Lud. Viv. *Comm. in* loc.

[h] De quo, in epistolâ quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, quam plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant, multa et magna conscripta sunt. De Civ. Dei. l. 16. cap. 22.

[i] Unde scriptum est in epistolâ ad Hebræos. De C. D. l. 16. c. 28. Vid. ib. c. 29. et 32.

[k] Sicut in epistolâ legitur, quæ est ad Hebræos. Retr. l. ii. c. 22. n. 2. T. i.

[l] In epistolâ quippe ad Hebræos, quâ teste usi sunt illustres catholicæ regulæ defensores. Ench. cap. 8. T. vi.

[m] Tantum habet fides, de quâ dicit apostolus: omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est. [Rom. xiv. 23.] De quâ item scriptum est ad Hebræos: Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo. [Hebr. xi. 6.] De Nuptiis, cap. 4. T. x.

[n] Vid. Op. Imp. l. i. cap. 30. et 132. l. v. cap. 1. T. x.

epistle as Paul's: but Augustine only calls it [a] the epistle to the Hebrews. One would think that he there studiously declines to call it Paul's.

(17.) Upon the whole, we perceive from Augustine, that in his time, in Africa, and among other Latin Christians with whom he was acquainted, the epistle to the Hebrews was received by many; but some had doubts about it. Augustine quotes it sometimes as Paul's, and is inclined to receive it as his. At other times, and especially in his latter works, as I have observed in reading him, and it appears from the passages here alleged, he scruples to quote it in that manner: and indeed, according to the rule laid down by Augustine in the passage cited at the beginning of this chapter, he could not admit this epistle to be of equal authority with the other epistles, which, without hesitation, were received by all churches in general as the apostle Paul's.

VIII. Augustine received all the seven catholic epistles; we have already seen proof of it in the passage at the beginning of this chapter, and elsewhere: I shall nevertheless add a few particulars.

1. When he quotes the epistle of St. James, he calls him [b] apostle, and [c] one of Christ's apostle's.

2. He often quotes St. Peter's two epistles: he says, that [d] Peter has comforted us by his apostleship, his martyrdom, and his epistles.

3. He says, that [e] Peter wrote to Gentiles: he speaks to the like purpose in another [f] place: so that he has twice expressed himself after the same manner in his works. I would add here, that in a sermon ascribed to Augustine, the [g] epistles of Peter are supposed to be written to Gentiles; and though the author be not Augustine, it [h] may be reckoned not improbable that he was a disciple of his.

4. He received St. John's three epistles: the first he supposed to have been written to the Parthians. Possidius, in the catalogue of Augustine's works, mentions [i] ten sermons upon the epistle of John to the Parthians; which [k] are placed, by the Benedictines, in the second part of their third tome of Augustine's works. Augustine also quotes it by that title in another [l] place.

Concerning this inscription of the first epistle of St. John, may be seen Estius, Grotius,[m] Lampe, and [n] others.

In the seventh of the forementioned sermons upon this epistle, Augustine calls it [o] a canonical epistle; and says, it was received every where, and read in all the churches of Christ in all nations.

5. When Augustine quotes the epistle of St. Jude, he [p] calls him apostle, and compares together some expressions of that epistle, and of the second of Peter, and also of the epistle of James.

6. Augustine seems to have supposed, that [q] the epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude,

[a] Quod scriptum est in epistolâ ad Hebræos. Op. Imp. l. vi. cap. 22. Sicut scriptum est. Ibid. cap. 32. sub fin.

[b] Denique, ut ait apostolus Jacobus: Et dæmones credunt, et contremiscunt. Ench. de Fid. &c. cap. 8. n. 2. T. vi.

[c] Quapropter etiam Jacobus, unus ex apostolis ejus, in epistolâ suâ. De Grat. N. T. ad Honorat. Ep. 140. cap. 10. n. 26. T. ii.

[d] Et plane nos confortavit Petrus per apostolatum, per martyrium, per epistolas suas. Serm. 210. cap. 5. n. 6. T. v.

[e] Unde et Petrus scribens ad Gentes. . . . 'Vos autem genus 'electum.' . . . [1 Pet. ii. 9. Vid. et Osee. cap. i. 10.] Cont. Faust. l. xxii. c. 89. T. viii.

[f] Ipsi sunt pulli corvorum, quibus Petrus dicit: 'Quia non 'corruptibili argento vel auro redemti estis de supervacuâ 'vestrâ consuetudine a parentibus vestris traditâ.' [1 Pet. i. 18.] Enarr. in PS. 146. al. 147. n. 9. T. iv.

[g] Et in suâ epistolâ ad gentes secundâ. De Catech. cap. v. p. 606. B. T. vi.

[h] Vid. Admon. in Sermones de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, in eod. Tom.

[i] De epistolâ Joannis ad Parthos sermones decem. Possid. sub fin. T. x. in Append.

[k] In epistolam Joannis ad Parthos tractatus decem. T. iii. p. 2.

[l] Secundum sententiam hanc etiam illud dictum est a Joanne in epistolâ ad Parthos: 'Dilectissimi, nunc filii Dei su-'mus, et nondum apparet, quid erimus.' [1 Jo. iii. 2.] Qu. Evan. l. ii. qu. 39. T. iii. p. 2.

[m] Lamp. Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. c. 7. sect. ii. p. 104. Conf. eund ib. lib. i. c. 3. n. 12 p. 47, 48.

[n] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. n. 150. et Wolf. Prolegom. in i. S. Joann. Epist.

[o] Si nos diceremus, 'Deus dilectio est,' forte scandalizaretur aliquis ex vobis, et diceret: Quid dixit? . . . Ecce habetis, fratres, scripturas Dei. Canonica est ista epistola. Per omnes gentes recitatur; orbis terræ auctoritate retinetur; orbem terrarum ipsa ædificavit. Audis hic ab spiritu Dei: Deus dilectio est: In Ep. Joann. Tr. vii. n. 5. ubi supra.

[p] De talibus quippe Judas apostolus loquens. . . . Quod enim Petrus ait: Coëpulantes vobiscum, oculos habentes plenos adulterii, hoc Judas: 'In dilectionibus vestris maculati coëpu-'lantur.' Et quod Petrus ait, 'fontes sicci,' hoc Judas, 'Nu-'bes sine aquâ:' hoc Jacobus, 'Fides mortua.' De Fid. et Opp. cap. 25. al. n. 46. T. 6.

[q] Nam etiam temporibus apostolorum, non intellectis quibusdam subobscuris sententiis apostoli Pauli, hoc eum arbitrati sunt dicere. . . . Non hoc agit, ut perceptâ et professâ fide opera justitiæ contemnantur: Sed ut sciat se quisque per fidem posse justificari, etiamsi legis opera non præcesserint. . . . Quoniam ergo hæc opinio tunc fuerat exorta, aliæ apostolicæ epistolæ, Petri, Johannis, Jacobi, Judæ, contra eam maxime dirigunt intentionem, ut vehementer adstruant fidem sine

were occasioned by the abuse which some made of Paul's doctrine, not rightly understood concerning justification by faith without works. By which, as our author says, Paul meant 'works of the law:' but he required 'a faith that produced works of righteousness.'

7. Some may be desirous to know the order in which these epistles were placed by [illegible]. It may be observed then, that in the catalogues of books of scripture alleged by us [illegible] books of Christian doctrine, near the beginning of this chapter, he mentions them in this manner: two epistles of Peter; three of John; one of Jude; and one of James. In another work, where he quotes the beginnings of all the seven epistles, the order is again exactly the same: the [a] first epistle of Peter; his second epistle; the first, second and third of John; the epistle of Jude; the epistle of James. In [b] the Speculum, the order of the quotations is, the two epistles of Peter; the epistle of James; the three epistles of John; the epistle of Jude.

IX. Augustine, as we have already seen, received the book of the Revelation; which indeed he quotes very frequently.

1. He supposeth it [c] to have been written by the same John who wrote the gospel and the first epistle.

2. We also perceive from him, that [d] this book was not universally received; at least there were doubts about it in the minds of some; and the passage which I refer to, is in a sermon, or discourse to the people.

X. I proceed, in the next place, to observe some general titles and divisions of the books of scripture.

1. 'We [e] read in the Acts of the apostles of some who believed, that "they searched the 'scriptures daily, whether those things were so." [ch. xvii. 11.] What scriptures I pray, 'except the canonical scriptures of the law and the prophets? To them have been since added 'the gospels, the epistles of apostles, the Acts of the apostles, and the Revelation of John. 'These do you search.'

2. In [f] the Old Testament the New is hid: in the New Testament the Old is revealed.

3. A common division, equivalent to Old and New Testament, is [g] of prophets and apostles; or [h] evangelic and prophetic writings.

4. In [i] the holy scriptures; that is, the legal, prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical scriptures, which are of canonical authority.

5. To the [k] two commandments, of loving God, and our neighbour, all the legal, and prophetical, and evangelical, and apostolical precepts may be reduced. I put [l] another like passage in the margin.

6. On these [m] two commandments hang all the law and the prophets: add; the gospel, and the apostles.

7. In [n] these two, the Old and New Testament, God himself, in his great goodness, has given us a rule of life.

8. 'In [o] the evangelical and apostolical writings, which properly belong to the revelation of 'the New Testament.' I put [p] another like passage below.

operibus non prodesse, &c. De Fid. et Opp. cap. 14. n. 21. T. vi.

[a] Nec aliæ apostolorum epistolæ, quas usus ecclesiasticus recipit, parum nos admonent de istâ trinitate in principiis suis. Nam Petrus ita dicit, &c. Epistolæ ad Rom. inchoat. Expos. n. 12. T. iii. p. 2.

[b] T. iii. P. i.

[c] Idem quippe Johannes, qui illud vidit, hoc dixit. De Virginitate, cap. 49. T. vi.

[d] Et si forte tu, qui ista sapis, hanc scripturam non accepisti. Serm. 299. n. 11. T. v.

[e] Legimus in Actibus apostolorum dictum de quibusdam credentibus, quod quotidie scrutarentur scripturas, an hæc ita se haberent. Quas utique scripturas, nisi canonicas legis et prophetarum? Huc accesserunt evangelia, apostolicæ epistolæ, Actus apostolorum, Apocalypsis Johannis. Scrutamini hæc omnia. De Unitate Eccl. cap. 19. n. 51. T. ix.

[f] Quapropter in Veteri Testamento est occultatio Novi: in Novo est manifestatio Veteris. De Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 4. n. 8. T. vi.

[g] . . labore prophetarum et apostolorum, qui utique Judæi fuerunt. In Job. cap. vi. sub in. T. iii.

[h] Non solum evangelicis, verum etiam propheticis libris demonstratur. Ep. 102. n. 21. T. ii.

[i] Quis ignorat, in scripturis sanctis, id est, legitimis, propheticis, evangelicis, et apostolicis, auctoritate canonicâ præditis? Speculi Præf. T. ii.

[k] Quamvis illic sint illa duo præcepta de dilectione Dei et proximi; quo rectissime omnia et legitima, et prophetica, et evangelica, et apostolica referuntur. Retr. l. i. c. 22. n. 2. T. i.

[l] Mirum est tamen, si ita appellatam [gratiam] in ullis legitimis, propheticis, evangelicis, apostolicisque literis legimus. Ep. 177. n. 8. T. ii.

[m] Et utique in his duobus præceptis tota lex pendet, et prophetæ. Adde evangelium; adde apostolos. Ench. cap. 121. al. n. 32. T. vi.

[n] In his duobus Deus ipse, cujus bonitate atque clementiâ fit, omnino ut aliquid simus, duobus Testamentis, Vetere et Novo, disciplinæ regulam nobis dedit. De Morib. Ec. Cath. l. i. cap. 28. n. 50. T. i.

[o] . . . in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, quæ ad Novi Testamenti revelationem proprie pertinent. Ad Casulan. ep. 36. cap. 14. n. 32. T. ii.

[p] Ego in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, totoque Novo In-

9. In an argument, in the books of the City of God: Here [a] says he, I shall allege passages from the holy scriptures; first from the books of the New Testament, as more excellent; then from those of the Old. In the Old, are the law and the prophets; in the New, are the gospel and the epistles of apostles.

10. That [b] is not to be reckoned of authority, which is not alleged from the law, or the prophet, or the psalm, or the apostle, or the gospel.

11. I [c] desire to hear the voice of the pastor. Let me hear him speaking in the prophet, in the psalm, in the law, in the gospel, in the apostle.

12. Our [d] faith is taught in the scriptures; in the prophets, in the gospel, in the apostle.

13. 'This [e] I prove by the scriptures of the Lord, and of the apostles;' meaning the gospels, and the epistles of the New Testament.

14. He says, 'that [f] some called all the canonical scriptures one book, on account of their 'wonderful harmony and unity of design.' It is likely that this way of speaking gradually brought in the general use of the word Bible, for the whole collection of the scriptures, or books of the Old and New Testament.

15. We observed, not long ago, the order of the catholic epistles: let us now observe the order of the books of the New Testament in general. In the catalogue of the books of scripture, transcribed near the beginning of this chapter, the books of the New Testament are mentioned in this order: the gospels; the epistles of Paul; the catholic epistles; the Acts of the apostles; and the Revelation of John. In the first passage alleged under this article of general titles and divisions, he mentions 'gospels, epistles of apostles,' [meaning Paul's epistles, and the catholic epistles] 'the Acts of the apostles, and the Revelation of John:' that may be supposed to have been the most common order in the time of Augustine. I shall take notice of some other places, though perhaps not very material.

In one of his books, after some reasons and arguments, he proceeds to allege [g] a number of texts of the books of the New Testament; first, from the gospels; next from the catholic epistles, where he quotes the first and second epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; then [h] almost all the epistles of Paul; after that [i] the Revelation; and last of all, [k] the Acts of the apostles.

In another work [l] he first takes notice of the prophetical writings of the Old Testament; after that of the epistles of apostles, then of their acts.

In the Speculum, [m] the books of the New Testament are quoted very much in our present order; the four gospels, the Acts, Paul's fourteen epistles, the catholic epistles, and the Revelation of John: but if the Speculum be Augustine's, it may have been since altered since it came out of his hands; and probably it has been altered in several respects.

XI. The great respect which Christians had for the holy scriptures appears in some passages already transcribed; it will be, however, very proper to observe divers others to the like purpose.

1. 'The [n] truth itself, God, the Son of God,' he says, 'is the author of the scriptures. First

strumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo revolvens, video præceptum esse jejunium: quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, et quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum non invenio definitum. Ib. cap. 11. n. 25.

[a] . . . testimonia de scripturis sanctis, quæ ponere instituì, prius eligenda sunt de libris Instrumenti Novi, postea de Veteri. Quamvis enim Vetera priora sunt tempore, Nova tamen anteponenda sunt dignitate. . . . In Veteribus habentur lex et prophetæ; in Novis evangelium et apostolicæ literæ. De Civ. Dei. l. 20. c. 4. T. vii.

[b] . . . Quod non de lege, non de prophetâ, non de psalmo, non de apostolo, non de evangelio, sed ex corde vestro. . . . recitatis. Ep. 105. cap. 1. n. 2.

[c] Ego vocem pastoris inquiro. Lege hoc mihi de prophetâ, lege mihi de psalmo, recita mihi de lege, recita de evangelio, recita de apostolo. Serm. 46. cap. 14. n. 32. T. v.

[d] Habet ergo fides ipsa quoddam lumen suum in scripturis: in prophetiâ, in evangelio, in apostolicis lectionibus. Serm. 126. cap. i. Vid. et Serm. 341. c. i. T. v.

[e] Sicut Dominicis et apostolicis literis probo. Ep. 35. n. 3 T. ii.

[f] Sunt etiam qui universas omnino scripturas canonicas unum librum vocant, quod valde mirabili et divinâ unitate concordent. Enarr. in PS. cl. n. 2. T. iv.

[g] Hæc ratiocinatio tunc erit fortior, cum ea quæ promisi testimonia multa congessero. De Peccat Merit. &c. l. i. c. 27. n. 40. T. x.

[h] Jam nunc attende in hanc rem Pauli apostoli testimonia, tanto utique plura, quanto plures epistolas scripsit. Ib. n. 43. &c.

[i] Ibid. n. 51. [k] N. 52.

[l] . . . . Apostoli verò in epistolis suis aliter locuti sunt, aliterque conscripti Actus apostolorum, jam videlicet revelato Novo Testamento. . . . Denique in tot epistolis apostolorum, atque in ipso tam grandi libro, in quo actus eorum canonicâ veritate narrantur, non invenitur talis aliquis mentiens. De Mendac. ad Consent. cap. 12. n. 26. T. vi.

[m] Tom. iii. P. i.

[n] . . . ipsa veritas Deus Dei filius, homine assumto, . . . eamdem constituit et fundavit fidem. . . . Hic prius per prophetas, deinde per seipsum, postea per apostolos, quantum satis esse judicavit, locutus, etiam scripturam condidit, quæ canonica nominatur, eminentissimæ auctoritatis, cui fidem habemus de his rebus, quas ignorare non expedit, nec per

'by prophets, then by himself, afterwards by his apostles, he spake what was s[illegible] then 'constituted that scripture which is called canonical, which is of the highest a[illegible] which 'we rely for the truth of those things which we ought not to be ignorant of, and [illegible] could 'not discover of ourselves.'

2. He [a] calls them the scriptures of our religion, which we esteem above all [illegible] writings whatever.

3. Having mentioned Hilary and Cyprian, he says, 'their [b] writings have [illegible] same 'authority with the canonical scriptures; and if they advance any thing contrary to truth, we 'have a right to reject it.' That observation of Augustine is much applauded by [c] Phereponus, that is, Le Clerc.

4. However, there are many other like passages, where Augustine speaks of the authority of the well known books of the Old and New Testament, as superior to that of bishops and councils, and all manner of determinations composed and written since the completing the canon of the New Testament. The [d] determinations of bishops, he says, may be corrected and altered, if found not to be right; whereas, it is past doubt and controversy, that whatever can be shewn to be in scripture is true and right.

5. In another book against the Donatists; 'Whether [e] they are of the church can be 'known no other way, but by the canonical books of the divine scriptures; neither do we claim 'to be of the church, because we have the testimony of Optatus of Milevi, or Ambrose of Milan, 'or any other bishops of our communion, be they ever so numerous; or because we have on our 'side decrees of the councils of our colleagues.'

6. In another work, against the same people: 'We [f] do no wrong to Cyprian in distinguish-'ing his epistles from the canonical authority of the divine scripture; for it is not without 'reason, that the canon of the church has been settled with so much caution and exactness, 'containing only certain books of prophets and apostles, which we cannot presume to judge; 'and by which we freely judge of the writings of all others, whether believers or unbelievers.'

7. Again, in the same work, soon after: 'I [g] am not bound by the authority of that epistle, 'because the writings of Cyprian are not canonical; but I examine them by the canonical 'scriptures, and whatever in them is agreeable to the authority of the divine scriptures I receive 'with applause; and what is not agreeable to it, with his good leave I reject. If you had 'recited somewhat from a canonical book of apostles or prophets, I should have nothing to 'object; but as your quotation is not canonical, I make use of that liberty to which the Lord 'has called us; and wherever Cyprian appears to differ from scripture, I receive it not, though he 'be above all my praises, though I compare not my writings to his, though I respect him as a 'man of excellent abilities, and a glorious martyr of Christ.'

nosmetipsos nôsse idonei sumus. De Civ. Dei, l. xi. c. 1, 2. T. vii.

[a] Sed scripturas religionis nostræ, quarum auctoritatem cæteris quibusque literis anteponimus. . . . De Civ. Dei, l. 14. cap. 7.

[b] . . . Quia hoc genus literarum ab auctoritate canonis distinguendum est. Non enim sic leguntur, tamquam ita ex eis testimonium proferatur, ut contra sentire non liceat, sicubi forte aliter sapuerunt, quam veritas postulat. Ad Vincent. Ep. 93. cap. x. n. 35. T. ii.

[c] Hæc aureis literis scribenda essent in fronte singulorum patrum, quæ eduntur, ne auctoritas eorum veritati præferatur. Pherep. August. T. xii. p. 495. *a*.

[d] Vos certe nobis objicere soletis Cypriani literas, Cypriani sententiam, Cypriani concilium. . . . Quis autem nesciat, sanctam scripturam canonicam, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illâ omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quidquid in eâ scriptum esse constiterit; episcorum autem literas, quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorem cujuslibet in eâ re peritioris, vel per aliorum episcoporum graviorem auctoritatem, doctioremque prudentiam, et per concilia licere reprehendi. De Baptism. cont. Donatist. l. 2. cap. iii. n. 4. T. ix.

[e] Sed utrum ipsi ecclesiam teneant, non nisi de divinarum scripturarum canonicis libris ostendant; quia nec nos propterea dicimus, nobis credi oportere quod in ecclesiâ Christi sumus, quia ipsam quam tenemus, commendavit Milevitanus Optatus, vel Mediolanensis Ambrosius, vel alii innumerabiles nostræ communionis episcopi; aut quia nostrorum collegarum conciliis ipsa prædicata est. De Unit. Ecc. cap. 19. n. 5.

[f] Nos enim nullam Cypriano facimus injuriam, cum ejus quaslibet literas a canonicâ divinarum scripturarum auctoritate distinguimus. Neque enim sine causâ, tam salubri cautione, canon ecclesiasticus constitutus est, ad quem certi prophetarum et apostolorum libri pertineant; quos omnino judicare non audeamus, et secundum quos de cæteris literis vel fidelium vel infidelium libere judicemus. Cont. Crescon. Donat. l. 2. c. 31. n. 39.

[g] Ego hujus epistolæ auctoritate non teneor; quia literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo; sed eas ex canonicis considero, et quod in eis divinarum scripturarum auctoritati congruit, cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respuo. Ac per hoc, si ea, quæ commemorasti ab illo ad Jubaianum scripta, de aliquo libro apostolorum et prophetarum canonico recitares, quid omnino contra ea [illegible] haberem. Nunc vero, quoniam canonicum non est quod recitas, eâ libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus, ejus viri, cujus laudes assequi non valeo, cujus multis literis mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus caritatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit, non accipio. Ib. cap. 32. n. 40.

8. In another place: "All [a] these things I have alleged from the writings of those who lived 'before us in the catholic church, whether Greeks or Latins, who have explained the divine 'oracles .....Nevertheless, we do not esteem the writings of any men, though catholic and much 'admired, as if they were canonical scriptures; but allowing them their due honour, we may still 'reject whatever in them is not agreeable to truth.'

9. I put in the margin [b] some other passages of Augustine, where he distinguisheth the books of sacred scripture from the writings of Cyprian and of other bishops and ecclesiastical writers of the best established reputation for learning and piety.

10. After having quoted passages of former catholic writers, he adds: 'These I do not cite, 'as if I bestowed canonical authority upon any men whatever; but only to shew the novelty of 'the opinion against which I am arguing.'

11. In a letter to Jerom: 'I [c] confess to you, my dear brother,' says Augustine, 'that I 'have learned to pay that honour and reverence to those books of scripture alone, which are now 'called canonical, as firmly to believe that the writers of them have not made any mistake..... 'Other authors I so read, that however distinguished they may be for learning and piety, I do 'not believe any thing to be true, because it was their opinion, but because they have been able 'to persuade me, either by the authority of the forementioned canonical writers, or by probable 'reason that it is agreeable to truth; nor do I think, my brother, that you are of a different sen- 'timent, or that you would have your books read with the same respect that we read the books 'of prophets and apostles; of whose writings it would be impious to doubt whether they are 'free from all mistake.'

12. In the same letter he says: 'When [d] I read the holy scripture, placed in the highest pitch 'of authority, I am certain, and fully satisfied of its truth.' Again: 'We [e] must by all means 'maintain, that the divine scriptures, delivered to us [that is, written] for the support of our 'faith, not by common persons, but by the apostles themselves, and therefore placed in the 'highest pitch of canonical authority, are in all things true and unquestionable.'

13. Afterwards, in the same letter: 'To [f] the canonical scriptures alone I owe this ingenuous 'subjection [or servitude], to follow them in all things; and firmly to believe, that the writers 'of them have not erred in any thing, nor said any thing fallaciously.'

14. I fear I should tire my readers if I transcribe any more passages of this kind; though still they would be but a small part of what might be alleged from this author.

15. 'I would not,' says [g] Augustine in a letter to Paulina, 'that you should follow my 'authority, or think that you ought to believe any thing, because it is my opinion; but only 'because it is agreeable to scripture or right reason.' In the same letter: 'If [h] any thing is 'clearly proved from the divine scripture, which the church calls canonical, it ought to be

[a] Hæc omnia de literis eorum, et Latinorum et Græcorum, qui priores nobis in catholicâ ecclesiâ divina eloquia tractaverunt, ideo commemoranda arbitratus sum . . . Neque enim quorumdam disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut scripturas canonicas habere debemus; ut nobis non liceat, salvâ honorificentiâ, quæ illis debetur hominibus, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare et respuere, si forte invenerimus, quod aliter senserint, quam veritas habet. Commonit. ad Fortunat. ep. 148. cap. iv. n. 15. T. ii.

[b] Noli ergo, frater, contra divina tam multa, tam indubitata testimonia colligere velle calumnias ex episcoporum scriptis, sicut Hilarii. . . . sicut Cypriani et Agrippini; primo, quia hoc genus literarum ab auctoritate canonis distinguendum est. Non enim sic leguntur, tamquam ita ex eis testimonium proferatur, ut contra sentire non liceat, sicubi forte aliter sapuerunt, quam veritas postulat. Ad Vincent. ep. 92. cap. x. n. 35. T. ii.—Deinde, si sancti Cypriani, episcopi, et gloriosi martyris, te delectat auctoritas; quam quidem, sicut dixi, a canonicâ auctoritate distinguimus. Ibid. n. 30.

[c] Ego enim fateor caritati tuæ, solis eis scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse, firmissime credam. . . . Alios autem ita lego, ut quantâlibet sanctitate, doctrinâque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliud existimo. Prorsus, inquam, non te errorem sic legi tuos libros velle, tamquam prophetarum et apostolorum; de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est. Ad Hieron. ep. 82. c. i. n. 3. T. ii.

[d] Imo vero sanctam scripturam in summo et cœlesti auctoritatis culmine collocatam de veritate ejus certus et securus legam. Ibid. n. 5.

[e] Non nunc inquiro, quid fecerit [Paulus aut Petrus]; quid scripserit, quæro. Hoc ad quæstionem, quam suscepi, maxime pertinet; ut veritas divinarum scripturarum, ad fidem nostram ædificandam memoriæ commendata, non a quibuslibet sed ab ipsis apostolis, ac per hoc in canonicum auctoritatis culmen recepta, ex omni parte verax atque indubitanda persistat. Ibid. n. 7.

[f] Quamquam, sicut paulo ante dixi, tantummodo scripturis canonicis hanc ingenuam debeam servitutem, quâ eas solas ita sequar, ut conscriptores earum nihil in eis omnibus errâsse, nihil fallaciter posuisse, non dubitem. Ibid. n. 24.

[g] Nolo auctoritatem meam sequaris, ut ideo putes tibi aliquid necesse esse credere, quoniam a me dicitur; sed aut scripturis canonicis credas, aut interius demonstranti veritati. Ad Paulin. ep. 147. n. 2.

[h] Sed si divinarum scripturarum, earum scilicet quæ canonicæ in ecclesiâ nominantur, perspicuâ firmatur auctoritate, sine ullâ dubitatione credendum est. Ibid. n. 4.

'believed without hesitation.' 'You [a] do not doubt that we ought to assent [illegible] truth of 'what is said in the divine scriptures, even where we do not yet understand [illegible] meaning.' Once more: 'These [b] passages of so many eminent men I have alleged, not that you should 'follow the opinion of any men, as you do the authority of canonical scripture: but [illegible] the 'judgments of so many interpreters of scripture, you may be excited to inquiry.'

16. Arguing with the Donatists: 'Let [c] us not bring false balances, where [illegible] weigh 'what we will, and as we will; and at our pleasure say, this is heavy; this is light: but let us 'bring the divine balance of the holy scriptures, as out of the Lord's treasury; and then let us 'weigh matters.'

17. Giving directions concerning the receiving of converts to Christianity, especially if they are men of learning, he [d] advises to apprize them of the superior authority of the scriptures to other Christian writings, however useful they may be.

18. 'This [e] the Holy Spirit teacheth, who says to us by the apostle,' meaning Paul.

19. He calls the sacred scriptures the [f] book of God, and the [g] scriptures of God.

20. Paul's [h] epistles, he says, were heard in the churches with the same respect as if Christ was heard speaking by him.

21. 'When [i] the apostle John was read just now we heard the Holy Spirit speaking in him.'

22. Nothing could be received as a doctrine of religion, unless proved by scripture; Augustine, therefore, explaining the Creed, says to his hearers, 'Whatever [k] you find in the Creed is 'contained in the divine scriptures.'

23. Arguing upon a point in one of his sermons, he takes the book of the gospel into his hands, and says, 'Hear, [l] therefore, from the book itself; for I now perform the office not of a 'disputant only, but of a reader, that our discourse may be founded upon the authority of sacred 'scripture, not upon human suppositions, which would be building upon the sand. Hear then 'the gospel of John. The Lord speaks.'

24. I put in the margin a passage where [m] Augustine calls upon men to inquire impartially, and to determine disputable points by reason and scripture, joining prayer therewith.

25. He says, 'The [n] books of the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament, 'established in the times of the apostles, and confirmed by the testimony of the successions of

[a] Divinis autem scripturis, etiam nondum perspicue intellectis, credendum esse, non dubitas. Ib. cap. 16. n. 40.

[b] Has sententias de re tantâ virorum tantorum non ob hoc interponere volui, ut cujusquam hominis sententiam, tamquam scripturæ canonicæ auctoritatem sequendam arbitreris; sed ut... Ibid. c. 23. p. 54.

[c] Non afferamus stateras dolosas, ubi appendamus quod volumus, et quomodo volumus, pro arbitrio nostro dicentes: hoc grave, hoc leve est. Sed afferamus divinam stateram de scripturis sanctis, tamquam de thesauris dominicis, et in illâ quid sit gravius appendamus. De Bapt. contr. Donat. l. 2. cap. 6. n. 9. T. ix.

[d] Sed illud plane non prætereundum est, ut si ad te quisquam catechizandus venerit liberalibus doctrinis excultus, qui jam decreverit esse Christianus. ... Nec ipse sane inutiliter rogatur, quibus rebus motus sit, ut velit esse Christianus: ut si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive canonicis, sive utilium tractatorum, de his aliquid in principio loquaris, collaudans eos pro diversitate meritorum canonicæ auctoritatis, et exponentium solertissimæ diligentiæ, &c. De Catechizand. Rudid. cap. 8. n. 12. T. vi.

[e] Sanctus spiritus docet, qui nobis ait per apostolum... Ep. 43. cap. i. T. ii.

[f] Non enim de libro Dei hoc recitaturus est. Ep. 54. cap. 4.

[g] ... Ut scripturam Dei, qui nobis hæc omnia futura pronuntiavit. Ep. 77. n. 1.—Utinam scripturæ Dei solicitâ mente intendentes.... Ep. 78. in.

[h] ... ita eum Domino commendante, meruit auctoritatem, ut verba illius hodie sic audiantur in ecclesiâ, tamquam illo Christus.... locutus audiretur. Contr. Faust. l. 28. c. 4.

[i] Quando Johannes apostolus legebatur, audivimus loquentem per eum Spiritum Sanctum. Serm. 182. in T. V.

[k] Quidquid enim in symbolo, in divinis sacrarum scripturarum literis continetur. Serm. 212.

[l] Sed ex ipso codice audite. Propterea enim non tantum disputatoris, sed etiam lectoris fungor officio, ut sermo iste noster sanctarum scripturarum auctoritate fulciatur, non humanis suspicionibus super arenam ædificetur. Audite ergo evangelium secundum Johannem. Dominus loquitur. Serm. 362. cap. 22. T. v.

[m] Cessabit a nostris partibus terror temporalium potestatum. Cesset etiam a vestris partibus terror congregatorum Circumcellionum. Re agamus, ratione agamus, divinarum scripturarum auctoritate agamus... quæramus, pulsemus, ut accipiamus, et inveniamus. Ep. 33. n. 7. T. ii.

[n] Quod genus literarum non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate legendum est... distincta est a posterioribus libris excellentia canonicæ auctoritatis Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ apostolorum confirmata temporibus, per successiones episcoporum, et propagationes ecclesiarum, tamquam in sede quâdam sublimiter constituta est, cui serviat omnis fidelis et pius intellectus. Ibi si quid velut absurdum moverit, non licet dicere; auctor hujus libri non tenuit veritatem; sed, aut codex mendosus est, aut interpres erravit, aut tu non intelligis. In opusculis autem posteriorum, quæ libris innumerabilibus continentur, sed nullo modo illæ sacratissimæ canonicarum scripturarum excellentiæ conquantur; etiam in quibuscumque eorum invenitur eadem veritas, longe tamen est impar auctoritas. Itaque in eis, si qua forte propterea dissonare putantur a vero... tamen liberum ibi habet lector auditorve judicium, quo vel approbet quod placuerit vel improbet quod offenderit.... In illâ vero canonicâ eminentiâ sacrarum literarum, etiamsi unus propheta, seu apostolus, aut evangelista aliquid in suis literis posuisse ipsâ canonis confirmatione declaratur, non licet dubitare quod verum sit. Contr. Faust. l. xi. cap. 5. T. viii.

'bishops and churches in all following times, are placed in a peculiar degree of authority, to 'which the judgment and understanding of all faithful and pious men are subject. In many 'books of later times the same truths may be found: but in them they are not of the same 'authority as in the canonical books of scripture. Other authors may err: the sacred writers 'are infallible. Nor is it necessary that a thing should be said by many of them: if but one 'prophet, or apostle, or evangelist has said it, we are sure it is true.'

XII. One proof of regard for the sacred scriptures, is the solemn and reverential reading them as a part of public worship.

1. In Augustine's time the scriptures were constantly read in the religious assemblies of Christians in Africa; some parts of scripture were by custom usually read at certain seasons of the year. Of this Augustine speaks in the prologue [a] to his tracts or sermons upon the first epistle of John; and in [b] some of his sermons at the time of Easter, or the week before it. We saw, some time ago, that [c] the book of the Acts was begun to be read at Easter.

2. They had oftentimes three readings, and as it seems in this order; epistles of apostles, a psalm, the gospels: at least that order is several times mentioned at the beginning [d] of Augustine's sermons, which were discourses upon such portions of scripture as had been before read. Sometimes he discoursed briefly [e] upon each of the readings: at other times he pitched upon [f] one of them only as a subject of discourse.

3. In the work of the City of God he speaks of the reading the scriptures as a general thing among Christians. 'In [g] the faithful writings of the evangelists are recorded both the miracles 'of Christ, and the doctrine, for the confirming of which they were wrought. They were pub-'lished to produce faith: and because they were believed, they have been made still more public: 'for they are read to the people that they may be believed; and if they had not been believed, 'they would not have been read. The canonical books of scripture being read every where, the 'miracles therein recorded are well known to all people.'

4. In the same work he has [h] an excellent article of the benefit of the Christian religion, 'on 'account of the public reading the scriptures in the churches, where was a confluence of all 'sorts of people of both sexes; and the best rules of life, with proper arguments, are proposed: 'and if some attended on these readings who were not made thoroughly virtuous, the advantage 'to many was very great, and the usefulness of the design was manifest.'

5. He observes, in a sermon, that [i] the epistles of Peter and Paul were daily read to the people all over the world.

[a] Meminit Sanctitas Vestra, evangelium secundum Johannem ex ordine lectionum nos solere tractare. Sed quia nunc interposita est solennitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesiâ recitari; quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint: ordo ille, quem susceperamus, necessitate paululum, intermissus est, non amissus. Prolog. in Tract. in ep. Jo. T. iii. p. 2.

[b] Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est.... Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum, hesterno autem die secundum Marcum, hodie secundum Lucam; sic habet ordo evangelistarum. Sicut enim passio ipsius ab omnibus evangelistis conscripta est, sic dies isti septem vel octo dant spatium, ut secundum omnes evangelistas resurrectio Domini recitetur. Passio autem, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi nisi secundum Matthæum. Serm. 232. cap. 1. T. v. Vid. et Serm. 239. cap. 1. [c] P. 585.

[d] Lectiones sanctæ propositæ sunt, et quas audiamus, et de quibus aliquid sermonis, adjuvante Domino, proferamus. In lectione apostolicâ gratiæ aguntur Domino de fide gentium. ...In Psalmo diximus.... In evangelio ad cœnam vocati sumus. Serm. 112. n. 1. T. v.—Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus. Consonant omnes divinæ lectiones Serm. 165. n. 1.

[e] Primam lectionem audivimus apostoli... Deinde cantavimus psalmum. Post hæc evangelica lectio decem leprosos mundatos nobis ostendit... Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis. Serm. 176. n. 1.

[f] Lectiones sanctas plures, cum recitarentur, audivimus: et de his oportet nos dicere quod Dominus fuerit donare dignatus. Sed lectionum omnis auditor, quod recentius lectum est, magis meminit; et, ut inde aliquid a tractatore verbi dicatur, exspectat. Cum ergo ultimum sit sanctum evangelium recitatum, &c. Serm. 49. in.

[g] In eisdem quippe veracissimis libris cuncta conscripta sunt, et quæ facta sunt, et propter quod credendum facta sunt. Hæc, ut fidem facerent, innotuerunt. Hæc per fidem, quam fecerunt, multo clarius innotescunt. Leguntur quippe in populis ut credantur. Nec in populis, nisi credita, legerentur.... Canon quippe sacrarum literarum, quem definitum esse oportebat, illa facit ubique recitari, et memoriæ cunctorum inhærere populorum. De Civ. Dei. l. xxii. c. 8. T. vii.

[h] ... quia populi confluunt ad ecclesias castâ celebritate, honestâ utriusque sexûs discretione. Ubi audiant, quam bene hic ad tempus vivere debeant, ut post hanc vitam beate semperque vivere mereantur: ubi sanctâ scripturâ justitiæque doctrinâ de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante, et qui faciunt, audiant ad præmium: et qui non faciunt, audiant ad judicium. Quo etsi veniunt quidam talium præceptorum irrisores, omnis eorum petulantia aut repentinâ immutatione deponitur, aut timore vel pudore comprimitur. Nihil enim eis turpe ac flagitiosum spectandum imitandumque proponitur, ubi veri Dei aut præcepta insinuantur, aut miracula narrantur, aut dona laudantur, aut beneficia postulantur. De Civ. Dei. l. ii. c. 28.

[i] Literæ ipsorum quotidie populis recitantur. Et quibus populis? et quantis populis? Psalmum attendite. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum. Serm. 295. c. 1. T. v.

XIII. I formerly[a] alleged divers excellent observations of Augustine, in answer to the Manichees, concerning the genuineness and integrity of the books of the New Testament. I shall now add here no more than a passage or two upon those points.

1. He says: 'The[b] genuineness and integrity of the same scriptures may be [illegible], 'which have been spread all over the world, and which from the time of their publication were 'in the highest esteem, and have been carefully kept in the churches, or by Christian people.'

2. 'Moreover,[c] there are some who say that was not Cyprian's sentiment; and that some 'have fraudently inserted it in his writings: for the integrity of the books of any one bishop, 'however eminent, cannot be so completely kept, as that of the canonical scripture, translated 'into so many languages, and kept by the people of every age; and yet some there have been 'who have forged writings with the names of apostles. In vain, indeed, because that scripture 'has been so esteemed, so celebrated, so known. Nevertheless those audacious attempts shew 'what may be done with regard to others, not so well known.'

XIV. I shall take notice of very few various readings.

1. Augustine had in his copies of St. John's gospel the[d] history of the woman taken in adultery. See ch. viii.

2. He had the latter part of St. Mark's gospel; as appears from[e] his books of the Consent of the Evangelists, and from quotations of it elsewhere.

3. How he read the Lord's Prayer, as recorded in St. Luke, was observed[f] formerly.

XV. It is very fit we should observe what notice Augustine has taken of the Latin version or versions of the scriptures, in use in his time.

1. Quoting a text of Genesis: 'As,' says[g] he, 'the Greek copies have it, from which that 'scripture has been translated.'

2. In his Retractations he owns, that[h] in a work which he then revised, he had made a wrong quotation of a text from the Psalms, being misled by the Latin translation, made from the Greek version of the Seventy; from whence the scriptures of the Old Testament had been translated.

3. In a letter written to Jerom, in 394 or 395, he approves of Jerom's translating, that is, making a new Latin translation of the Greek version of the Seventy; but[i] is against his translating the same canonical scriptures of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin.

4. In another letter to Jerom, written about 405 or 406, he[k] in some measure approves of Jerom's undertaking to translate from the Hebrew: and he earnestly desires him to send to him his Latin translation of the scriptures from the Seventy; especially because the versions already

[a] P. 223—226.

[b] Porro, si mendax est evangelium disseminatum et notum omnibus gentibus, et ab initio prædicationis Christi in ecclesiis omnibus in tanto sanctitatis culmine collocatum; quæ scriptura proferri potest, cui de Christo fides habenda sit? Contr. Faust. l. xvi. c. 11. T. viii.

[c] Quamquam non desint, qui hoc Cyprianum prorsus non sensisse contendunt, sed sub ejus nomine a præsumtoribus atque mendacibus fuisse confictum. Neque enim sic potuit integritas atque notitia librorum unius quamlibet illustris episcopi custoditi, quemadmodum scriptura canonica, tot linguarum literis, et ordine, et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur. Contra quam tamen non defuerunt, qui sub nominibus apostolorum multa confingerent. Frustra quidem, quia illa sic commendata, sic celebrata, sic nota est. Verum quid possit adversus literas, non canonicâ auctoritate fundatas, etiam hinc demonstravit impiæ conatus audaciæ, quod et adversus eas, quæ tantâ notitiæ molè firmatæ sunt, sese erigere non prætermisit. Ep. 93. cap. 10. n. 38. T. ii.

[d] Nam cum ad Dominum Christum Judæi adduxissent mulierem in adulterio comprehensam, eumque tentantes dicerent, quod jussa esset lege lapidari, &c. Ep. 153. cap. 4. n. 9. T. ii.

[e] Vid. de Consens. Ev. l. iii. cap. 25. n. 76.

[f] Vol. i. p. 566.

[g] Sicut Græci codices habent, unde in Latinam linguam scriptura ista conversa est. De Civ. Dei. l. xiii. cap. 24. n. 1.

[h] In eo... ubi posui testimonium in quo legitur... mendositas nostri codicis me fefellit... Hoc esse verius Græci libri indicant, ex quâ linguâ in Latinam secundum Septuaginta Interpretes veterum Divinarum Scripturarum est facta translatio. Retract. l. i. c. 7. n. 2. T. i.

[i] De vertendis autem in Latinam linguam sanctis literis canonicis laborare te nollem, nisi eo modo quo Job interpretatus es: ut, signis adhibitis, quid inter hanc tuam et Septuaginta, quorum est gravissima auctoritas, interpretationem distet, appareat. Satis autem nequeo mirari, si aliquid adhuc in Hebræis exemplaribus invenitur, quod tot interpretes illius linguæ peritissimos fugerit. Omitto enim Septuaginta, de quorum vel consilii vel spiritûs majore concordiâ, quam si unus homo esset, non audeo in aliquam partem certam ferre sententiam, nisi quod eis præeminentem auctoritatem in hoc munere sine controversiâ tribuendam existimo, &c. Ep. 28. cap. 2. T. ii.

[k] De interpretatione tuâ jam mihi persuasisti, quâ utilitate scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis... Deinde nobis mittas obsecro interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, quam te edidisse nesciebam... Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tantâ Latinorum Interpretum, qui qualescumque ausi sunt, quantum possumus, imperitiâ careamus; et hi, qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tanquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab apostolis approbata est. Ep. 82. cap. v. n. 34, 35. T. ii.

made, and then in use, were full of faults, and made by unskilful persons. But though he approves of Jerom's design in translating from the Hebrew as useful, he could not consent to the reading of that version in the churches, because the people, who had been long used to a translation from the Seventy, would be disturbed and offended.

5. In a book, written in 419, Augustine often compares[a] the translation from the Seventy, and Jerom's translation from the Hebrew.

6. In the last book of the Christian doctrine, written about 426, he quotes[b] a passage of the prophet Amos not in the translation from the Seventy, but in Jerom's translation from the Hebrew.

7. I shall now put down some observations. In the second book of the Christian doctrine, written in 397, after the long passage transcribed at the beginning of this chapter, he says: 'They[c] who use the Latin tongue, for whose instruction I now write, will want for their assistance 'in understanding the divine scriptures, the knowledge of two other languages, even the Hebrew 'and the Greek, that they may have recourse to the originals, when there is any doubt about the 'exactness of the Latin version: whereupon he proceeds to take notice of the great number, 'and of the unskilfulness of the Latin translators.'

Afterwards he says: 'And[d] among translations let that be preferred, which is most literal 'and clear; and for correcting all manner of Latin translations recourse should be had to the 'Greek:' where he argues, that for the Old Testament, the Greek of the Seventy ought to be consulted. 'As for the New Testament, there can be no question but that we ought to have 'recourse to the Greek copies, and especially such as are to be found with churches of the 'greatest learning and knowledge.'

At the beginning of the passage just quoted, Augustine is supposed to say, agreeably to the editions of this work which we now have: 'And among translations, let the Italic be preferred: 'for it keeps close to the original, without obscurity.' But that here is some fault of transcribers, appears to me highly probable. I shall therefore allege largely the words of Mr. David Casley, in his excellent preface before the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, p. xix. xx. 'I cannot refrain adding what I had in conversation from my worthy patron, Dr. Bentley... 'In St. Augustine's second book de Doctrina Christiana, speaking of the several versions of the 'holy scriptures: In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala cæteris præferatur; nam est verborum 'tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Et Latinis quibuslibet emendandis Græci adhibeantur. 'Which the Doctor corrects: Illa cæteris præferatur, quæ est verborum tenacior; which, or 'somewhat like it, must be the true reading. For had there been a version in Augustine's time 'distinguished by the name of "Italic," to which he gave the preference for its strict adherence 'to the words of the original, how comes he never to name it, but this once; and that in the 'poetic word "Itala," and not "Italica?" How should all other Latin fathers be silent about 'it? How could Jerom in particular miss it, who wrote so much upon that subject in several of 'his works; and especially in his Preface to the New Testament; wherein he says, that Pope 'Damasus ordered him to compare the several Latin versions, and to make such an one as should 'be authentic; or in his epistle to Pammachius, about the best way of translating?...It seems 'not improbable, that it was at first "illa Latina cæteris præferatur:" which being changed to '"Itala, quæ" must be changed to "nam" of course, And this is the more probable, from 'the "Latinis quibuslibet," set in opposition to it, in the same sentence.'

So Mr. Casley: And to me it seems, that there is great force in the argument taken from the silence of Jerom, and other ancient writers; and even of Augustine himself, who has never men-

[a] Vid. Quæstiones in Heptateuch. l. vi. Qu. 19. Qu. 24. Qu. 25. l. vii. Qu. 37. T. iii. p. 1.

[b] Non autem secundum Septuaginta Interpretes.... Sed sicut ex Hebræo in Latinum eloquium Presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguæ perito interpretante translata sunt. De Doctr. Christ. l. iv. cap. 10. n. 15. T. iii. p. 1.

[c] Et Latinæ quidem linguæ homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duabas aliis ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebræâ scilicet et Græcâ, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum Interpretum infinita varietas. . Qui enim scripturas ex Hebræâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. De Doctrin. Chr. l. ii. cap. 11. n. 16. T. iii. p. 1.

[d] In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Et Latinis quibuslibet emendandis Græci adhibeantur, in quibus Septuaginta Interpretum, quod ad Vetus Testamentum attinet, excellit auctoritas.... Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubat, Græcis cedere oportere non dubium est, et maxime qui apud ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores reperiuntur. Ibid. cap. 15. n. 22.

tioned this Italic version elsewhere. If I understand Mr. Casley, Dr. Bentley's emendation was 'illa cæteris præferatur, quæ.'...And what was mentioned just now, 'illa Latina cæteris præferatur, quæ" is Mr. Casley's own. Possibly Dr. Bentley said; 'et illa:' that seems to me to be the most likely reading: it is very easily changed into 'Itala.' And I have observed a passage of Augustine, which may be of some use to confirm it: Habet enim et illa parva ætas magnum testimonii pondus, quæ primo pro Christo meruit sanguinem fundere. De Gen. ad Lit. l. x. cap. 23. T. iii. P. i. I therefore would read this passage of Augustine after this manner: In ipsis autem interpretationibus et illa cæteris præferatur, quæ est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ: and I have translated it accordingly. Augustine there lays down a rule concerning translations in general: he had no occasion to begin with particular notice of any version whatever. But having laid down a general observation concerning translations, the mention of the Latin version follows, as here, very properly.

XVI. Many good interpretations of scripture might be collected out of St. Augustine's works: I observe a very few only.

1. Matth. vi. 13.—" but deliver us from evil." He [a] does not understand that of the evil one, but of the evil of affliction. At the same time it appears, I think, that Augustine's copies of the Lord's Prayer, as in St. Matthew, concluded with that petition, without the doxology.

2. Augustine understoood Rom. viii. 33, 34, after this manner: 'Who [b] shall lay any thing 'to the charge of God's elect? God, who justifies: by no means. Who shall condemn? 'Christ, who died? yea rather, who is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, 'who also maketh intercession for us? by no means.'.....So likewise the acute Mr. Locke upon the place.

XVII. I shall conclude this chapter with select passages concerning a variety of subjects.

1. In the first place I shall take some select observations concerning the scriptures.

(1.) In his books of the City of God, which are a defence of the Christian religion against heathens, he has this fine observation: 'Our [c] canonical books of scripture, which are of the 'highest authority with us, have been settled with great care: they ought to be few, lest their 'value should be diminished; and yet they are so many, and written by so many persons, that 'their agreement throughout is wonderful.'

(2.) In an argument with the Manichees, Augustine has these expressions. I [d] should not 'believe the gospel, if I were not induced thereto by the authority of the catholic church.'

Upon which passage we may observe, 1. This is an expression put forth in the heat of dispute: 2. The word 'authority' is of ambiguous meaning, and is sometimes equivalent to 'testimony:' 3. Probably the 'testimony of the church,' here spoken of, relates to the genuineness or authenticity of the books of the New Testament; which is not to be known but by the testimony of Christians, and others. That seems to be the best account of this passage; and so understood, it may be reckoned reasonable and just. To this purpose [e] Beausobre.

(3.) In the second book of the Christian doctrine, he speaks of the difficulty of understanding some parts of scripture: but he says, that [f] nothing is said in obscure places, but may be found clearly expressed in others; which he takes to be a proof of the wonderful wisdom of God.

(4.) In a sermon, he speaks of [g] the fulness and the variety of the divine oracles, and [h] of their

[a] Cum dicimus: 'Libera nos a malo,' nos admonemus cogitare, nondum nos esse in eo bono, ubi nullum patiemur malum. Et hoc quidem ultimum quod in Dominica Oratione positum est, tam late patet, ut homo Christianus in quâlibet tribulatione constitutus, in hoc gemitus edat, in hoc lacrymas fundat, hinc exordiatur, in hoc immoretur, ad hoc terminet orationem. Ep. 130. c. 11. n. 21. T. ii.

[b] Pronuntiabitur ergo ita, ut post percontationem, quâ dicimus: 'Quis accusabit electos Dei?' illud quod sequitur sono interrogationis enuntietur. 'Deus qui justificat?' ut tacite respondeatur: non. Et item percontemur: 'Quis est, qui 'condemnat?' Rursusque interrogemus: 'Christus Jesus, 'qui mortuus est, magis autem qui resurrexit, qui est in dex-'terâ Dei, qui et interpellat pro nobis?' Ut ubique tacite respondeatur: non. De Doctrin. Christian. l. iii. cap. 3. n. 6.

[c] Denique auctores nostri, in quibus non frustra sacramentum literarum figitur, et terminatur canon, absit ut in aliquâ ratione dissentiant... Ipsi sane pauci esse debuerunt, ne multitudine vilesceret, quod religione carum esse oporteret; nec tamen ita pauci, ut eorum non sit miranda consensio. De Civ. D. l. xviii. c. 41. T. vii.

[d] Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoneret auctoritas. Contr. Ep. Fundam. cap. 5. T. viii.

[e] See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 446.

[f] Magnifice igitur et salubriter spiritus sanctus ita scripturas sanctas modificavit, ut locis apertioribus fami occurreret, obscurioribus autem fastidia detergeret. Nihil enim fere de illis obscuritatibus eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi aperiatur. De Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 6. n. 8. T. iii.

[g] Divinarum scripturarum multiplicem abundantiam, latissimamque doctrinam, fratres mei, sine ullo errore comprehendit, et sine ullo labore custodit, cujus cor plenum est caritate. Serm. 250. n. 1. T. v.

length and breadth; so that the thing therein taught may be understood without mistake, and be kept without labour, by him who loves God and his neighbour.

(5.) Again: 'So [a] great is the depth of the Christian scriptures, that I might be continually improving in the knowledge of them, if I were to study them only, from early youth to old 'age, in much leisure, with great care, and with a better capacity than mine: though all things 'necessary to salvation may be thence learned without difficulty.'

(6.) In another place he says: 'As [b] there are innumerable other things which he was igno-'rant of; so also, in the scriptures, there are many more things which he did not know than he 'did know.'

Those expressions may be reckoned proofs of Augustine's humility and modesty, as well as of his high veneration for the scriptures.

(7.) There is a passage concerning the depth of the scriptures in [c] Augustine's Confessions, to which I refer.

(8.) Some [d] cast lots upon the gospels, and consulted them for direction in their secular affairs; which, he says, is better than going to dæmons, but yet is to be blamed.

2. Augustine has some very fine observations, [e] arguing the truth of the Christian religion, from its wonderful progress; the foundation of which had been laid in the doctrine of a man ignominiously crucified, and the labours of his apostles, fishermen and publicans, who also underwent all manner of sufferings, and which was cherished by the sufferings of believers for a long time: till at length the ancient idolatry, with its foolish rites, had been almost universally abolished, and the true God every where worshipped, and throughout many nations all of every rank, high and low, learned and unlearned, gloried in Jesus Christ, as their lord and master.

In another work, speaking of the timourousness of the philosophers, and the superior effect of the Christian religion above their schemes, he says to the remaining heathens: 'If [f] the philo-'sophers, in whose names they gloried, were to live again, and should see the churches crowded, 'the temples forsaken, and men called from the love of temporal fleeting things to the hope of 'eternal life, and the possession of spiritual and heavenly blessings, and readily embracing them, 'provided they were really such as they are said to have been, perhaps they would say: These 'are things which we did not dare to say to the people; we rather gave way to their custom, 'than endeavoured to draw them over to our best thoughts and apprehensions.'

Indeed, Augustine has many excellent arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, and of the evangelical history.

Peter, he [g] says, and the other apostles, had no interest to serve, of honour or profit, in

[b] Totam magnitudinem et latitudinem divinorum eloquiorum secure possidet caritas, quâ Deum proximumque diligimus. Ib. n. 2.

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[a] Tanta est enim Chistianarum profunditas literarum, ut in eis continuo proficerem, si eas solas ab ineunte pueritiâ usque ad decrepitam senectutem, maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio addiscerem. Non quod ad ea quæ necessaria sunt saluti tantâ in eis perveniatur difficultate. Ep. 137. n. 3. T. ii. Vid. ibid. cap. 5. n. 18.

[b] Et miror, quod hoc te latet, quod non solum in aliis innumerabilibus multa me latent, sed etim in ipsis sanctis scripturis multo nesciam plura quam sciam. Ep. 65. cap. 21. n. 38.

[c] Mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum.... Deus meus, mira profunditas. Confess. l. xii. c. 14. T. i.

[d] Hi vero qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legunt, etsi optandum est ut hoc potius faciant, quam ad dæmonia consulenda concurrant; tam etiam ista mihi displicet consuetudo, ad negotia secularia, et ad vitæ hujus vanitatem, propter aliam vitam loquentia oracula divina velle convertere. Ep. 55. cap. 20. n. 37. T. ii.

[e] Quamquam etiam si de Christo et Ecclesiâ testimonia nulla præcederent, quem non movere deberet, ut crederet, repente illuxisse divinam humano generi claritatem; quando videmus, relictis diis falsis, et eorum contractis usquequaque simulacris, templis subversis, sive in alios usus commutatis, atque ab humanâ veternosissimâ consuetudine tot vanis ritibus exstirpatis, unum verum Deum ab omnibus invocari? Et hoc esse factum per unum hominem ab hominibus illusum, comprehensum, vinctum, flagellatum, expalmatum, exprobratum, crucifixum, occisum: discipulis ejus, quos idiotas, et imperitos, et piscatores, et publicanos, per quos ejus magisterium commendaretur, elegit.... ita fidelibus usque ad mortem pro veritate, non mala rependentibus, sed perpetiendo certantibus, non occidendo, sed moriendo vincentibus: sic in istam religionem mutatus est mundus, sic ad hoc evangelium corda conversa mortalium, marium et feminarum, parvulorum atque magnorum, doctorum et indoctorum, sapientium et insapientium... nobilium et ignobilium... et per omnes gentes ecclesia diffusa sic crevit, ut contra ipsam catholicam fidem nulla secta perversa, nullum genus exoriatur erroris, quod ita reperiatur Christianæ veritati adversari, ut non affectet atque ambiat Christi nomine gloriari. De Fide rerum, quæ non videntur. cap. 7. T. vi.

[f] Illi enim, si reviviscerent, quorum nominibus isti gloriantur, et invenirent refertas ecclesias, templaque deserta, et a cupiditate bonorum temporalium et fluentium ad spem vitæ æternæ et bona spiritalia et intelligibilia vocari et currere humanum genus, dicerent fortasse, si tales essent quales memorantur: hæc sunt, quæ nos persuadere populis non ausi sumus, et eorum potius consuetudini cessimus, quam illos in nostram fidem voluntatemque traduximus. De Vera Relig. cap. 4. T. i.

[g] Cogitate, fratres, quale fuit, mitti homines per orbem terrarum prædicare hominem crucifixum resurrexisse, et pro istâ prædicatione perpeti omnia, quæ insaniens mundus inferret, damna, exilia, vincula, tormenta, flammas, bestias, cru-

preaching the gospel. They suffered all manner of evil; yet they continued to assert that Jesus, who had been crucified, was risen from the dead; which they must have known to be true; otherwise they would not have asserted it, especially in those circumstances, in the midst of such dangers, and in the view of such sufferings as they were exposed to.

3. Augustine speaks very often of the great advantage which [a] Christians have in their arguments for the truth of the gospel, from the subsistence and dispersion of the Jewish people, who every where bear testimony to the antiquity and genuineness of the books of the Old Testament; so that none could say they were afterwards forged by Christians. He [b] thinks it a work of Divine Providence, that the Jews, who had been justly expelled from their own territories, should still subsist, and be every where, to bear witness to the ancient prophecies which had been fulfilled in Christ and the church, or the numerous converts to a faith in him all over the world.

He therefore calls the Jews the [c] librarians of the Christians: he compares them to [d] servants that carry books for the use of children of noble families; or that [e] carry a chest or bag of evidences for a disputant, who alleges them as evidences of what he would make out and prove.

4. It will be very proper to take notice of some of Augustine's passages, where he speaks of the design of Christ's coming, and of the ends and uses of his sufferings and death.

(1.) He says, that [f] Christ assumed a human body, and lived among men, that he might set us an example of living, and dying, and rising again.

(2.) In [g] his passion, he shewed what we ought to endure; in his resurrection, what we are to hope for. In the one, we see our duty; in the other, our reward.

(3.) He speaks very much to the same purpose [h] in another sermon.

(4.) He says, that [i] Christ, when on earth, was not remarkable for worldly splendor and happiness, because he was to declare the doctrine of eternal life. Yea, therefore, did he suffer all manner of evil, that his followers might the better understand what rewards they are to expect, and that their thoughts might be raised to heavenly things.

ces, mortes. Hoc pro nescio quo? Numquid enim, fratres mei, Petrus pro suâ gloriâ moriebatur, aut seipsum prædicabat? Alius moriebatur, ut alius honoraretur: alius occidebatur, ut alius coleretur. Numquid hoc faceret, nisi flagrantiâ caritatis, de conscientiâ veritatis? Nam quomodo pro eâ re morerentur, quam non viderant? Serm. 311. cap. 2. T. v.

[a] Ideo ergo sparsi sunt, ut nobis libros servent. Serm. 5. n. 5. Tom. v.—Propter hoc enim illa gens regno suo pulsa est, et dispersa per terras, ut ejus fidei, cujus inimici sunt, ubique testes fieri cogerenter. Serm. 201. n. 3. T. v. Vid. Serm. 200. cap. 2. 202. cap. 3. 204. n. 3. 374. n. 2.—Reproba per infidelitatem gens ipsa Judæorum, a sedibus exstirpata, per mundum usquequaque dispergitur, ut ubique portet codices sanctos, ac sic prophetiæ testimonium, quâ Christus et ecclesia præmuntiata est, ne ad tempus a nobis fictum existimaretur, ab ipsis adversariis proferator, ubi etiam prædictum est, non fuisse credituros. Ep. 137. n. 10. T. 2.—Et hoc enim magnum est, quod Deus præstitit ecclesiæ suæ ubique diffusæ, ut gens Judæa, merito debellata et dispersa per terras, ne a nobis hæc composita putarentur, codices prophetiarum nostrarum, et inimica fidei nostræ testis fieret veritatis nostræ. De Cons. Evang. l. i. c. 26. n. 40. T. iii. p. 2. et vid. ib. cap. 14. n. 22.

[b] Magis verendum erat, ne tantâ rerum evidentiâ circumfusus fortasse diceret, postea quam ista per mundum fieri cœperunt, Christianos has literas composuisse, ut ante prædicta putarentur, ne quasi temere humanitus facta contemnerentur. Hoc verendum erat, nisi esset late sparsus lateque notus populus Judæorum. . . . Per eorum quippe codices probamus, non a nobis, tamquam de rerum eventu commonitis, ista esse conscripta, sed olim in illo regno prædicta atque servata, nunc autem manifestata et completa. Contr. Faust. l. xiii. cap. x. n. 7, 8. Conf. l. xvi. cap. 11. et de Civ. Dei. l. iv. cap. 34.

[c] Propterea autem adhuc Judæi sunt, ut libros notros portent, ad confusionem suam. . . . Librarii nostri facti sunt, quomodo solent servi post dominos codices ferre, ut illi portando deficiant, illi legendo proficiant. Enar. in Ps. lvi. n. 9. T. iv. Conf. in Ps. lviii. Serm. 1. n. 22. eod. tom.

[d] Et sparsi per orbem terrarum facti sunt quasi custodes librorum nostrorum. Quomodo servi, quando eunt in auditorium Domini ipsorum, portant post illos codices, et foris sedent: sic. . . . Serm. 5. n. 5. T. v.

[e] Quid est enim aliud hodieque gens ipsa, nisi quædam scriniaria Christianorum, bajulans legem et prophetas ad testimonium adsertionis ecclesiasticæ. . . . . Contr. Faust. l. xii. c. 23. T. viii.—Nobis serviunt Judæi; tamquam capsarii nostri sunt; studentibus nobis codices portant. Enar. in Ps. xli. n. 14. T. 4.—Remanserunt illi, ad quos missi sunt, codices ferentes, veritatem non intelligentes; testamenti tabulas habentes, et hæreditatem non tenentes. Enar. in. Ps. lxvii. n. 7.

[f] Jesus Christus, qui, humano corpore assumto, ad hoc utique hominibus homo factus apparuit, ut nobis et vivendi et moriendi et resurgendi præberet exemplum. Serm. 210. cap. 1. T. v.

[g] In passione quid egit? Docuit quid toleremus. In resurrectione quid egit? Ostendit quid speremus. Hic opus, ibi merces: opus in passione, merces in resurrectione. Serm. 213. cap. 4.

[h] Passio Christi significat miserias hujus vitæ. Resurrectio Christi ostendit beatitudinem futuræ vitæ. In præsenti laboremus: in futura speremus. Modo tempus est operis: tunc mercedis. Serm. 233. in. T. v.

[i] Itaque Christus homo, ut per eum revelaretur Novi gratia Testamenti, quæ non ad temporalem, sed ad æternam vitam pertinet, non utique terrenâ felicitate commendandus fuit. Inde subjectio, inde passio, inde flagella, sputa, contumeliæ, crux, vulnera, et tamquam superato subjectoque mors ipsa, ut fideles ejus discerent, quale pietatis præmium ab illo, cujus filii facti essent, petere atque sperare deberent. &c. Ep. 140. cap. v. n. 13. T. ii.—Hoc enim voluit pati in conspectu inimicorum, quo eum tamquam derelictum putarent, ut gratia commendaretur Novi Testamenti, quâ discerentur etiam quærere

(5.) Christ's [a] whole life on earth, he says, was an institution of virtue.

(6.) In [b] what he suffered from his enemies he gave us an example of patience, that, if it should be required of us, we also might be willing to suffer for the truth of the gospel.

(7.) Having in a sermon quoted John xii. 24, 25, he [c] enlarges, in shewing that the design of the death of Christ was to gain converts, and make martyrs. In his death he made a gainful traffic; he purchased faithful men and martyrs; he bought us with his blood: he laid down the price of our redemption. Martyrs have returned what was laid out for them; that is, have given what was purchased, even their lives.

(8.) In another place he says, that [d] Christ taught his martyrs not only by precept, but also by example; that they might have a pattern of suffering, he suffered first: he went before them, and shewed them the way.

(9.) God [e] himself, our Master, concealing the majesty of his divinity, and appearing in the weakness of human flesh, not only delivered oracular discourses, but confirmed them by his passion and resurrection. In one he shewed us what we ought to endure, in the other what we may hope for.

5. Augustine strongly asserts the necessity and value of good works, particularly offices of kindness and mercy. 'By [f] these alone, says he, we secure happiness: in this way we recover 'ourselves; in this way we come to God, and are reconciled to him, whom we have greatly pro- 'voked. We shall be brought before his presence; let our good works there speak for us; and 'let them so speak that they may prevail over our offences: for which soever is most will prevail, 'either for punishment or mercy.'

6. 'Nothing,' says [g] Augustine, 'is more easy nor more pleasant than the ministerial office, if 'performed slightly and popularly; but then, nothing more contemptible and more miserable in 'the divine account: on the other hand, nothing more difficult in itself, nor more blessed in the 'sight of God, when rightly performed.'

7. Jesus [b] Christ, he says, never used force; he only taught and persuaded.

felicitatem, quæ nunc est in fide, postea vero erit in specie, &c. Ibid. cap. 9.

[a] Tota itaque vita ejus in terris, per hominem quem suscipere dignatus est, disciplina morum est. De Vera Relig. cap. 16. n. 32. T. i.

[b] Et quidem ad salutem nostram, et vitæ hujus transagendæ utilitatem, in his quæ passus est ab inimicis Dominus noster exemplum patientiæ nobis præbere dignatus est; ut pro evangelicâ dignitate, si hoc ipse voluerit, nihil tale perpeti recusemus. Serm. 218. cap. 1. Conf. Serm. 231. cap. 5.

[c] Quantas mortes emit unus moriens, qui si non moreretur, granum frumenti non multiplicaretur. . . Egit enim in cruce grande commercium. Ibi solutus sacculus pretii nostrii. . . . Emti sunt fideles, et martyres. Sed martyrum fides probata est. Testis est sanguis Quod illis impensum est reddiderunt, et impleverunt quod ait sanctus Johannes. 1 Joh. iii. 16. Serm. 329. cap. 1.

[b] Dominus Jesus martyres suos non solum instruxit præcepto, sed et firmavit exemplo. Ut enim quod sequerentur haberent passuri, prior ille passus est pro eis. Iter ostendit, et viam fecit. Serm. 273. in.

[d] Hoc enim Deus ipse Magister, latente majestate divinitatis, et carnis infirmitate apparente, non solum sermonis oraculo docuit, verum etiam suæ passionis et resurrectionis exemplo roboravit. In alterâ enim qualia tolerare, in alterâ qualia debeamus sperare, monstravit. Ep. 155. cap. 1. n. 4. T. ii.

[e] Alia requies, alia via non est, quâ perveniamus ad Deum, quâ redintegremur, quâ reconciliemur ei, quem periculosissime offendimus. Venturi sumus in conspectum ejus. Loquantur ibi pro nobis opera nostra; et ita loquantur, ut superent offensiones nostras. Quod enim amplius fuerit, hoc obtinebit, vel ad pœnam, si peccata meruerint, vel ad requiem, si opera bona. Serm. 159. n. 4. T. v.

[f] . . nihil esse in hac vitâ, et maxime hoc tempore, facilius et lætius, et hominibus acceptabilius, episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut diaconi officio, si perfunctorie et adulatorie res agatur; sed nihil apud Deum miserius, et tristius, et damnabilius. Item nihil esse in hac vitâ, et maxime hoc tempore, difficilius, laboriosius, periculosius, episcopi. . . . officio; sed apud Deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur, quo noster imperator jubet. Ep. 21. n. 2. T. ii.

[g] Nihil egit vi, sed omnia monendo et suadendo. De Vera Relig. cap. 16. n. 31. T. i.

CHAP. CXVIII.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

I. *His time.* II. *A Synopsis of scripture, both for the Old and New Testament, with remarks.* III. *Books of the Old Testament received by him.* IV. *The conclusion of the Synopsis, containing an enumeration of the books of the New Testament.* V. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament in his other works, particularly to the gospels:* VI. *To the Acts of the apostles:* VII. *St. Paul's epistles:* VIII. *The catholic epistles:* IX. *The book of the Revelation.* X. *A summary account of books of scripture received by him.* XI. *A passage concerning St. John, from Suidas, and a supposititious oration of Chrysostom.* XII. *Marks of respect for the scriptures.* XIII. *A various reading.* XIV. *Explications of texts.* XV. *Select passages, and miscellaneous observations concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.* XVI. *Concerning Christ's apostles.* XVII. *The speedy and wonderful progress of the gospel.* XVIII. *The credibility of the evangelical history.* XIX. *Miraculous powers in the church.* XX. *Free will.* XXI. *Concerning divers matters.*

I. JOHN [a] called Chrysostom [b] or golden-mouthed, from the charms of his uncommon eloquence, descended of honourable parents, was born at Antioch about the year 347, where he was ordained deacon in 380 or 381, and presbyter in 386; in which station he shined as a preacher twelve years. In 398 he was made bishop of Constantinople, and died in 407.

Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, written in 392, has a short chapter for Chrysostom, which I place [c] below.

As I do not write the history of this great orator and voluminous writer, I immediately proceed to take his testimony to the scriptures, after which I intend to make some extracts, consisting of interpretations of divers texts, and remarkable observations upon a variety of subjects.

II. Montfaucon has published [d] a Synopsis Scripturæ, which he thinks to be Chrysostom's, as it is said to be in the two only manuscripts of it which are in being: and [e] he has moreover composed divers considerations, which seem to render it probable though not certain, that it is really his.

1. This Synopsis is not the same with that found among the works of Athanasius, of which a distinct account was given [f] formerly; but as [g] Montfaucon says, very different from it, and vastly superior to it.

2. This Synopsis, published as Chrysostom's, is not perfect: it has a proëm or prologue, in which is a general enumeration of the books of the Old and the New Testament; after that follows a Synopsis of the Old Testament, representing the contents of each book, excepting that there are some things wanting in the manuscripts to make it complete; but there is not any Synopsis of the books of the New Testament. There can be little or no room to doubt, that

[a] Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. 6. cap. 2. . . 5. Sozom. l. 8, cap. 2. . . . 7. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 553, &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xi. Vit. a Benedictin. adornat. Opp. T. xiii. p. 91. &c.

[b] He was not so called till long after his death. Socrates, and other ecclesiastical historians, speaking of him, call him only John, or John of Constantinople.

[c] Joannes Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, Eusebii Emeseni, Diodorique sectator, multa componere dicitur; de quibus Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης tantum legi. De V. I. cap. 129.

[d] Vid. S. Chrysostom. Opp. T. vi. p. 314. . . . 391.

[e] Vid. Præf. T. vi. et Diatriba in Synops. ib. p. 308. &c.

[f] P. 403.

[g] Illa vero in libris omnibus historicis, in Pentateucho, in libris regum, et in prophetis, toto cœlo differt ab hac nostrâ Synopsi. Nec est huic comparanda, ut quivis statim perspiciat. In libris vero Salomonis, in Sapientiâ, in Siracide, Esther, Tobiâ, Judith, eadem ipsa est. Augurorque, illum Synopseos librorum hujusmodi ex nostrâ Synopsi mutuatum esse. Nam illius Synopseos scriptorem nostræ Synopseos auctore aliate longe inferiorem esse non dubito, nec dubitabit puto quisquam. . . . Putaverim autem Chrysostomum hoc operis Antiochiæ adornavisse, fortasse antequam operam concionandi susciperet, ut hoc satis amplo compendio ad verbi Dei prædicationem uteretur, et ad manum haberet, unde concionum argumenta matuaretur. Diatrib. in Synops. ib. p. 313.

the author composed likewise a Synopsis of the books of the New Testament; and, if Chrysostom be the author, it may be supposed that he enlarged very much in the account of St. Paul's epistles. The want, therefore, of the latter part of the Synopsis, concerning the New Testament, may be ascribed to the negligence of some transcriber, or to some accident.

3. In the proëm are enumerated these following books of scripture: 'The [a] historical books 'the Old Testament; in the first place the Octateuch, meaning the five books of Moses, and 'Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which are all expressly named; the four books of the Kingdoms; 'Ezra; the [b] books of moral counsel, the Proverbs, the Wisdom of Sirach, Ecclesiastes, and the 'Canticles: the [c] prophetical are the books of sixteen prophets, undoubtedly meaning, though 'they are not here named, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve lesser prophets; 'and, beside these, Ruth and David.'

4. These are all the books of the Old Testament, which are mentioned in the proëm: in this last place, instead of Ruth, I presume, should be Job. Montfaucon [d] suspected a fault here: the correction seems to me very easy. At the end of the proëm the books of the New Testament are enumerated: that part will be transcribed at length hereafter.

5. In the Synopsis following the proëm, are represented the 'contents of the five books of 'Moses, Joshua, the Judges, the four books of the Kingdoms, the first and second books of Ezra '(that is, Ezra and Nehemiah) Esther, Tobit, Judith, Job, the Wisdom of Solomon, which is so 'called, and said to have been written by Solomon, the Proverbs of Solomon, Sirach, Isaiah, 'Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum:' the rest is wanting: the books of Maccabees do not appear either in the proëm or the Synopsis. David, likewise, or the book of Psalms is wanting in the Synopsis, as are also several of the twelve prophets, and all the New Testament.

III. Whether this Synopsis of sacred scripture be throughout Chrysostom's work, without any interpolations, may be questioned; but I would observe farther, that, from Chrysostom's other works, universally allowed to be genuine, it is apparent that he received no books of the Old Testament, as of authority, beside those received by the Jews.

1. For he says, that [e] Malachi was the last of the prophets; and in the Synopsis, as before cited, he says there were sixteen prophets: who they are cannot be questioned.

2. His manner of quoting those books, which were not received by the Jews, farther shews this. When he quotes Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, it is thus: So [f] says one of our wise men; a [g] certain wise man; a [h] certain wise man reasons, or advises, and the like. To put down all the places where Ecclesiasticus is so quoted by Chrysostom, in the several volumes of his works, would be loading the margin beyond what is agreeable.

3. He quotes the books of [i] Wisdom and [k] Tobit exactly in the same manner.

4. Chrysostom has several times spoken [l] of the Greek version of the books of the Old Testament, said to be made by order of Ptolomy king of Egypt, about three hundred years before the coming of Christ; and, he says, that [m] all the books of the Old Testament were originally written in Hebrew, and were translated from thence into Greek; which must be understood of the Jewish canon; for most of the other books, generally called apocryphal by Protestants, were written in Greek.

IV. I shall now transcribe the conclusion of the forementioned proëm of the Synopsis, which is to this purpose: 'The [n] books of the New Testament are, the fourteen epistles of the apostle

[a] Εστι τοινυν της παλαιας το μεν ιστορικον· κ. λ. Synops. Scr. S. T. vi. p. 315. A.

[b] Το δε συμβουλευτικον, ως φαιτε παροιμιαι. κ. λ. p. 316. D.

[c] Το δε προφητικον, ως οι δεκα εξ λεγω προφηται, και Ρηθ και Δαυιδ. Ib.

[d] Vel forte Ρηΐ hic mendose irrepserit. Ib. p. 316.

[e] Ακουσον γαν τυ Μαλαχιε, τυ μεια τυς αλλυς προφηας ελθοντος. Adv. Jud. Orat. v. T. i. p. 647. C.

[f] Εγω δε υμιν και λογον υπερ τυτων ερω σοφυ τινος ανδρος των παρ' ημιν. Adv. Oppugn. Vit. Mon. l. 3. T. i. p. 81. B.

[g] Σοφος τις ανηρ. Hom. cum Presb. ordinat. fuit. T. i. p. 438. C.

[h] Και γαρ και τυτο δηλων τις σοφος ελεγεν. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 10. T. ii. p. 111. C. Σοφος τις ανηρ, και φιλοσοφειν ειδως.... παραινει. Laud. Eustath. in. T. ii. p. 603. Δια τυτο παραινων τις φησι. Hom. ii. in 2 Thess. T. xi. p. 621. A.

[i] Ὁπερ και σοφωτατος τις συνιδων ελεγεν. Ad Stagir. l. 1. T. i. p. 165. A. Και ἑτερος ελεγεν. T. ii. p. 99. C. Λεγει τις σοφος ανηρ. T. xi. p. 131. 4.

[k] Ακυε δε και αλλυ τινος λεγοντος. Hom. 4. in ep. ad Philipp. T. xi. p. 226. D.

[l] Vid. adv. Jud. Or. i. T. i. p. 593. De Prophetiar. Obscur. Hom. 2. T. vi. p. 585. C.

[m] Πασαι αι θειαι βιβλοι της παλαιας διαθηκης τη Εβραιων γλωττη εξ αρχης ησαν συνιστειμεναι. Και τυτο παντες αν ημιν συνομολογησαιεν. κ. λ. In Gen. Hom. 4. T. iv. p. 25, 26.

[n] Εστι δε και της καινης βιβλια αι επιστολαι αι δεκαδυο Παυλυ, τα ευαγγελια τα τεσσαρα, δυο μεν των μαθητων τυ Χριστυ, Ιωαννυ και Ματθαιυ· δυο δε Λυκα και Μαρκυ· ων ο μεν τυ Πετρυ, ο δε τυ Παυλυ, γεγενασι μαθηται. Οι μεν γαρ αυτοπται ησαν γεγενημενοι, και συγγενομενοι τω Χριστω· οι δε παρ' εκεινων τα εκεινων διαδεξαμενοι εις ετερυς εξηνεγκαν. και το των Πραξεων δε βιβλιον, και αυτου Λυκα ιστορησαντος τα

'Paul; the four gospels; two of which were written by John and Matthew, Christ's disciples 'the other two by Luke and Mark, of whom one was disciple of Peter, the other of Paul: the 'former conversed with Christ, and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote; the other two wrote 'what they had received from eye-witnesses; and the book of the Acts, written also by Luke: 'and three catholic epistles,' or three of the catholic epistles. That is the whole of that part of the proëm.

The order of enumeration is remarkable: to place St. Paul's epistles first before the gospels, is a singularity. Montfaucon [a] supposeth this to be owing to Chrysostom's zeal for the apostle Paul, whose epistles therefore first offered themselves to his thoughts; and he has observed, that [b] in Chrysostom's Commentary upon Isaiah, St. Paul's epistles are mentioned before the gospels.

V. We here see plainly enough what books were received by the composer of the Synopsis; but as it is not certain that he is Chrysostom, as well as for other reasons, it is very fit that we should observe his testimony to the books of scripture in other works indisputably his: and what has been briefly done already, with regard to the Old Testament shall now be done at large for the New.

1. In his first homily upon St. Matthew, or the introduction to his homilies upon that gospel, he says: 'Though [c] Christ had many disciples, two apostles only wrote a history of him; and 'two others, who were disciples of apostles, one of Paul, the other of Peter, who joined their 'labours with John and Matthew. One evangelist might have sufficed; but four confirm the 'truth.....Luke [d] informs us of the reason of his writing; "that," says he, "thou mightest 'know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed;" that is, that being 'again, or often instructed in those things, thou mayest be fully persuaded of their certainty, and 'continue in that persuasion. John [e] has not mentioned the reason of his writing; but, as ancient 'tradition handed down to us from our ancestors assures us, he did not write without a reason; 'it is said to be this: Whereas the other evangelists had chiefly insisted on the things relating to 'the Lord's humanity, and there was danger lest the doctrine concerning his divinity should be 'overlooked, and Christ also moving him thereto, he was at length induced to write a gospel. 'This account is confirmed from the introduction to his gospel, and from the whole of it, which 'is sublimer than those of the others.....Matthew is said to have written his gospel at the 'request of the Jewish believers, who desired him to put down in writing what he had taught 'them by word of mouth; and he is said to have written in Hebrew. Mark [f] is said to have 'written his gospel in Egypt, at the request of the believers there. Matthew, writing to Jews, 'was contented to bring down our Lord's genealogy from Abraham and David; but Luke, 'writing for all in general, went higher up, to Adam. Moreover, Matthew begins with the 'genealogy, forasmuch as nothing was so desirable to the Jews as to know that Jesus was a descen-'dant of David; but Luke begins with other things, and then comes to the genealogy. The 'general reception of the gospels, is a proof that their history is true and consistent; even the 'enemies of the truth receive them; for since the writing of the gospels many heresies have arisen, 'holding opinions contrary to what is contained in them, who yet receive the gospels, either 'entire or in part.....In [g] what place each one of the evangelists wrote cannot be said with 'certainty; but that they do not disagree, I shall endeavour to shew in the following discourses.' Soon after he says, as an argument of the truth and consistence of the history in the gospels, 'that [h] when they were written there were many living who might have contradicted them, if 'there had been any ground for so doing; and there were many enemies and opposers; for the

γενομενα· και των καθολικων επιστολαι τρεις. Ap. Chr. T. vi. p 318. A.

[a] Vid. Præf. T. vi. n. 3. & Diatrib. in Synopsin. p. 312, 313.

[b] Ου γαρ ωσπερ αι επιστολαι αι Παυλε και τα ευαγγελια υφ' εν συνελεγησαν, ειω δε και προφητειαι. In Es. cap. ii. T. vi. p. 18. C.

[c] Και τι δηποτε τοσουτον οντων των μαθητων, δυω γραφουσιν εκ των αποστολων μονοι, και δυο εκ των τουτοις ακολουθων· ο μεν γαρ Παυλε, ο δε Πετρε μαθητης ων, μετα Ιωαννε και Ματθαιε τα ευαγγηλια εγραψαν... τι εστι; εκρηκει εις ευαγγελιστης παντα ειπειν; ρηκει μεν· αλλα γαρ τεσσαρες οι γραφοντες εισι. κ. λ. In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 5. A. B. C.

[d] Ib. p. 6. C. [e] Ib. p. 6. C. p. 7. A. B C.

[f] Και Μαρκος δε εν Αιγυπτω, των μαθητων παρακαλησαντων αυτον.

[g] Ενθα μεν εν εκαστος διαλεξεων εγραψεν, α σφοδρα ημιν δει ισχυρισασθαι· ου δε εδε και αλληλων εστιν, τουτο δια πασης της πραγματειας πειρασομεθα αποδειξαι. Ib. p. 8. B.

[h] .... πως.... επιστευοντο, ανεκηρυττοντο, πανταχε της οικουμενης; και τοι πολλοι οι μαρτυρες των λεγομενων ησαν· πολλοι δε και οι εχθροι και πολεμιοι. Ου γαρ εν γωνια μια γεγραπται αυτα καθωρυξαν· αλλα πανταχε γης και θαλαττης ηπλωσαν υπο παντων ακουεται· και εχθρων παροντων ταυτα αναγινωσκεται, καθαπερ και νυν. Ib. p. 9. A.

'gospels, when written, were not hid in a corner, or buried in obscurity; but they were made 'known to all the world, and were publicly read before enemies as well as others, even as they 'are now.'

2. So writes Chrysostom, in the introduction to his homilies upon St. Matthew's gospel; and certainly this is an ample testimony to the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. I need not make any remarks upon what we have seen; I may leave that to the reader; I only observe, that what was just transcribed, seems contrary to what was before said; but perhaps all may be reconciled in this manner: he had said, that Matthew wrote at the request of the Jewish believers in Judea; and Mark in Egypt, at the request of the believers there; but those things were said upon the ground of general report and common fame, only. Here he says: of those things we are not certain, and need not assert them as such; but wherever the gospels were written, they are true and harmonious: that may be justly maintained, and clearly demonstrated, to the satisfaction and conviction of all unprejudiced men.

3. In his homilies, Chrysostom sometimes compares the evangelists, and shews their agreement. I refer in the margin[a] to one place, the 28th homily upon St. Matthew's gospel, where he compares his account with those of Mark and Luke.

4. In reconciling Matthew's and Mark's accounts of Peter's denying Christ, he says, 'These[b] 'things Mark had from his master; for he was a disciple of Peter: and what is very remark-'able, though he was a disciple of Peter, he relates his fall more particularly than any of the rest.'

5. Explaining the history of our Lord's paying the didrachm, or tribute-money, which is in Matt. xvii. 24....27. and particularly those words, "That take, and give unto them for me and thee;" he says, 'Mark,[c] who was a disciple of Peter, omits this, because it was honourable to 'that apostle; but he relates the history of his denial of Christ; and perhaps his master for-'bade him to insert such things as tended to aggrandize him.'

6. I would just observe here, that I do not remember Chrysostom to say, in his Commentaries upon the Acts, that John, surnamed Mark, was the writer of the gospel, though the mention of him occurs there so frequently: nor do I recollect this to be said by our author any where else: but as he calls him disciple of Peter, it is very likely that he supposed him to be the same Mark, who is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

7. In the beginning of the fourth homily upon St. John's gospel, he says, 'The[d] other 'evangelists having chiefly insisted upon our Saviour's humanity, there was danger, lest his 'divinity, or eternal generation, should have been neglected by some; and men might have 'been of the same opinion with Paul of Samosata, if John had not written; but whereas, 'Matthew begins his history with Herod the King; Luke with Tiberius Cesar; Mark, with the 'baptism of John; he, ascending at once above time and ages, says: "In the beginning was the 'word."

Speaking of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the calamities that befel the Jewish people in the time of Vespasian and Titus, which happened, as he says, not till above forty years after our Saviour's death; he observes, that[e] John and several others were then living, who had heard Christ speak those words.

9. Again: in a homily upon Matt. xxiv. John[f] writes 'not of any of these things, lest it 'should be thought that he took an advantage from the event; for he was still living a good while 'after the destruction of Jerusalem. But they who were dead before the destruction of Jerusa-'lem, and saw none of those things, record these predictions; which is a manifest proof of the 'certainty of Christ's foreknowledge.'

[a] In Matt. Hom. 28. al. 29. in. T. vii. p. 333.

[b] ... και ταυτα παρα τȣ διδασκαλȣ μαθων· και γαρ φοιτητης ην τȣ Πετρȣ. Ὁθεν μαλιστα αν τις αυτον εκπλαγειη, ὁτι ȣ μονον ȣκ εκρυψε το ελαττωμα τȣ διδασκαλȣ, αλλα και των αλλων σαφεστερον απηγγειλεν. In Matt. Hom. 85. al. 86. T. vii. p. 805. C.

[c] Ιδε και το φιλοσοφον της τȣ Πετρȣ γνωμης. Τȣτο γαρ ȣ φαινεται Μαρκος ὁ τȣτȣ φοιτητης γεγραφηκως το κεφαλιον, επειδη πολλην εδεικνυ την εις αυτον τιμην· αλλα την μεν αρνησιν και αυτος εγραψε, τα δε ποιȣντα αυτον λαμπρον απεσιγησε: ισως τȣ διδασκαλȣ παραιτȣμενȣ τα μεγαλα περι αυτȣ λεγειν. In Matt. Hom. 58. al. 59. T. vii. p. 586.

[d] ... δεος ην τȣ μη τινας δια τȣτο χαμαιπετεις οντας τȣτοις εναπομειναι μονοις τοις δογμασι· ὁ Παυλος επαθεν ὁ Σαμοσατευς. κ. λ. In Joan. Hom. 4. al. 3. T. viii. p. 27. A. B.

[e] Ετι γαρ Ιωαννȣ τȣ ευαγγελιστȣ ζωντος, και ἑτερων πολλων των τῳ Χριστῳ συγγενομενων, ταυτα ακȣσαντες. In Matt. Hom. 69. al. 70. T. vii. p. 680. B.

[f] Συ δε μοι σκοπει τȣ πνευματος οικονομιαν, ὁτι τȣτων ȣδεν εγραψεν Ιωαννης, ἱνα μη δοξῃ εξ αυτης των γεγενημενων της ἱστοριας γραφειν· και γαρ και μετα την αλωσιν εζη χρονον ωολυν. Αλλ' οἱ προ της ἁλωσεως αποθανοντες, και μηδεν τȣτων ἑωρακοτες, αυτοι γραφȣσιν, ὡστε πανταχοθεν διαλαμψαι της προρρησεως την ισχυν. In Matt. Hom. 76. al. 77. T. 7. p. 734. B.

These passages shew, Chrysostom supposed, that St. John did not write his gospel till after the destruction of Jerusalem.

10. Several things relating to the first three evangelists, may be seen at the beginning of the fourth homily upon St. Matthew; where he says, 'He[a] thinks that Matthew wrote first, Mark 'next, and Luke afterwards:' but I do not perceive him to assign reasons of any moment for that supposition. He there also says, that[b] Luke had the fluency of Paul, and Mark the conciseness of Peter; both learning of their masters.

11. In the first homily upon the epistle to the Romans, he says, 'that[c] Moses did not put his 'name to his five books; nor did the historians, who wrote after him, prefix their names to their 'works; nor did Matthew, or John, or Mark, or Luke, put their names to their writings: but 'the blessed Paul every where prefixeth his name to his epistles, excepting that to the Hebrews, 'where he had reason to be upon the reserve. What is the reason of this? They delivered their 'writings to those who were present, when it is needless to put down the name: he sent his 'writings to those who were at a distance, in the form of an epistle, where the addition of the 'name is necessary.'

VI. 1. The Acts of the apostles he received, and[d] ascribes to St. Luke very often. He refers to the book of the Acts, 'as shewing[e] the fulfilment of Christ's promise, recorded in John, xiv. '12, where, he says, are related many miracles of the apostles; but not all, nor of all Christ's 'apostles, but of some only.'

2. In the third volume of the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom's works, are four homilies upon the title and beginning of the Acts of the apostles, and the writer of the book. There[f] were five homilies upon this subject spoken by Chrysostom; but[g] the second is either totally lost, or so disfigured by alterations, that a small part of it only, if any, can be depended upon for genuine, as the Benedictine editors have assured us.

3. Those homilies were preached in the time of Pentecost; and in the first of them, laying down the plan of his discourses, he proposes to inquire, by[h] whom the book of the Acts was written, and when, and why it had been appointed to be read over at that time of the year. The design of that which was the second homily, and is lost, was to shew who wrote the book of the Acts. In the now third homily upon this subject, recollecting what had preceded in this argument, he says, that[i] in the second discourse he had inquired who wrote this book; and, by the grace of God, it had been found to be the evangelist Luke. In the second of those homilies, according to the present order, he[k] considers the reason why the blessed and excellent, and admirable Luke intitled his book 'the Acts,' not the miracles of the apostles: he elsewhere calls the writer of this book[l] the great and excellent Luke, disciple of Paul. The design of the fourth homily, in the present order, is[m] to shew, why the Acts of the apostles were read in the time of Pentecost: that is, between Easter and Whitsuntide.

4. In the ninth tome of Chrystosom's works, of the Benedictine edition, is a course of homilies upon the book of the Acts, fifty-five in number.

5. In the first of those homilies he says, 'That[n] the book of the Acts may be as useful to us 'as the gospels: inasmuch as it contains excellent principles, and many miracles, as well as great

[a] Ἐμοι δοκει ὁ μεν Ματθαιος προ των αλλων ηχθαι τε πραγματος. . . . ὁ δε Μαρκος μετ' εκεινον. In Matth. Hom. 4. al. 3. T. 7. p. 46. A.

[b] Και ἑκαστος δε ὁμοιως τον διδασκαλον εμιμησατο· ὁ μεν τον Παυλον, ὑπερ τας ποταμιας ῥεοντα· ὁ δε τον Πετρον, βραχυλογιας επιμελουμενον. Ibid.

[c] Tom. ix. p. 429. C. D.

[d] Vid. de Virgin. T. i. p. 32[illegible] C. Cont. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p. 577. E. et Hom. in Juvent. et Maxim. T. ii. p. 577. A.

[e] De S. Bab. contr. Jul. &c. T. ii. p. 538. D.

[f] Ex hisce autem octo homiliis, quatuor priores sunt in principium, seu titulum libri Actorum. In hoc tamen argumentum quinque unâ serie conc[illegible]nes habuerat, ut non semel testificatur Joannes noster: [illegible] secunda, in quâ quærebatur, quis esset auctor libri Actuum Apostolorum, intercidit, &c. Præf. in. T. iii. sect. i.

[g] Secundam, ubi de auctore li[illegible]i Actorum edisserebat, et Lucam esse demonstrabat, reperim[illegible]s quidem: sed, heu! misere deformatam, et cum spuriis [illegible]mixtam . . . Itaque male auctam et consarcinatam homiliam [illegible]etsi quædam γνησια et ad præsens argumentum pertinentia l[illegible]beat, cum sinceris admisere non ausi sumus, sed ad finem hujus tomi ablegavimus. Monitum ad Homil. in Princ. Act. T. iii. p. 48.

[h] Δει δε προτερον μαθειν, τις το βιβλιον εγραψε. . . και ποτε εγραψε, και περι τινων, και τινος ενεκεν τη εορτη ταυτη νενομοθετηται αυτο αναγινωσκεσθαι. In Pr. Act. Hom. T. iii. p. 54. C. D.

[i] Μετ' εκεινην εν τη δευτερα ἡμερα εζητησαμην, τις ην ὁ το βιβλιον γραψας, και ευρομεν τη του θεου χαριτι Λουκαν τον ευαγγελιστην . . . κ. λ. In Princip. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 74. C. D.

[k] Δια τουτο και μακαριος ἡν, και γενναιος, και θαυμασιος Λουκας ὡς επεγραψε το βιβλιον, Πραξεις αποστολων, ου Θαυμαλα αποστολων. Ib. Hom. ii. p. 65. D.

[l] Τις αν ταυτα ταυτα φησιν; Ὁ του Παυλου μαθητης, ὁ τιμιος και μεγας Λουκας. Ib. Hom. 4. p. 88. E.

[m] Ιδωμεν δε λοιπον τινος ενεκεν το βιβλιον των Πραξεων των αποστολων εν τω καιρω της πεντηκοστης αναγινωσκεται. Hom. 4. T. iii. p. 88. A. Vid. ib. B. C. D. et p. 89. C. D.

[n] Ουδε γαρ ελατιον αυτων ευαγγελιων ωφελησαι ἡμας δυνησεται. τοιαυτης εμπεπλησται φιλοσοφιας, και δογματων ορθοτητος, και θαυματων επιδειξεως. κ. λ. In Act. Ap. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 1.

examples; and shews the fulfilment of the promise, which Christ had made to the disciples, of 'sending down upon them the Spirit: for which reasons it deserves our attentive perusal, and 'careful consideration.' He moreover says, that [a] from this book alone is to be known, how the Christian religion was planted in the world.

6. 'In [b] the discourses of the apostles recorded in the Acts, he says, there is little said about 'Christ's divinity; but they discourse chiefly of his humanity, and passion, and resurrection, and 'ascension; because his resurrection and ascension to heaven were the points necessary to be 'proved and believed at that time.'

7. That [c] Luke, the writer of the Acts, was inspired, may be proved, he thinks, several ways: for miracles were then very common, and gifts of the Spirit were bestowed upon all believers in general. It may be argued also from 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19; he understanding the apostle to speak there of Luke.

8. Chrysostom's conclusion of his homilies upon the Acts is very oratorical. Luke [d] leaves us thirsting for more: but, if he had proceeded, it would have been only a repetition of like discourses and works, like dangers, difficulties and sufferings.

9. In a homily upon Col. iv. 14. "Luke the beloved physician salutes you," he says: 'This [e] 'is the evangelist. It is likely there were others of that name: therefore, he distinguisheth him 'by his profession.'

10. Upon 2 Tim. iv. 11, he [f] commends Luke for his constant attendance on the apostle; and speaks of him as writer of a gospel, and the Acts.

11. I would observe here, that I do not recollect Chrysostom to have said any where, that Luke was of Antioch; though this is said by Jerom, and some others.

12. In his first homily upon the title and beginning of the Acts of the apostle he says: 'To [g] many this book is unknown; by others it is despised, because it is clear and easy.' The first of the homilies upon the whole book begins in this manner: 'Many [h] know not this book, 'nor the writer of it.' Which expressions have induced some learned men to think, that the book of the Acts lay in much obscurity, and was not well known among Christians. 'The 'gospels,' says [i] Mill, 'were soon spread abroad, and came into all men's hands. But the case 'was somewhat different with other books of the New Testament, particularly the Acts of the 'apostles, which was not thought to be so important, and had few transcribers.' These expressions likewise led Mr. Beausobre to say, that [k] the book of the Acts had not at the beginning, in the eastern churches, the same authority with the gospels and epistles.

13. I have already [l] said something relating to this point. But it seems to me not a little strange, that any should understand Chrysostom to speak nothing more than real truth, or plain matter of fact: they are only oratorical expressions, in which he exaggerates extremely. The book of the Acts was annually read and explained at Antioch, at Pentecost, understanding that word in the larger sense, as comprehending the time between Easter and the day of Pentecost. This was the custom in Chrysostom's time; nor was it new, as we perceive from the homilies before cited. It had been appointed by their ancestors; and Chrysostom inquires into the reasons of that appointment. Moreover, he speaks in a like manner in his preface, or argument to St. Paul's epistles: where [m] he says, 'he wishes he was better known; for some are 'so ignorant of him that they do not exactly know the number of his epistles.' And yet he had just before said, that the blessed Paul's epistles were read very often, sometimes twice, sometimes thrice, or even four times in a week. Chrysostom, therefore, is to be undersood to mean, in both places, no more than this: That he wished the Acts of the apostles, and Paul's

[a] In Pr. Act. Ap. T. iii. p. 63. C.

[b] Δια δη τουτο τοσαυτα περι Χριστου διαλεχθεντες, ολιγα μεν περι της Θεοτητος αυτου ειρηκασι. . . . το γαρ ζητουμενον τοτε τουτο ην, το πιστευθηναι, ὁτι ανεστη, και ανεβη εις ουρανους. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 3. A.

[c] Ib. p. 4. D. E.

[d] . . . και αφησι διψωντα τον ακροατην, ὡστε λοιπον αφ' εαυτου λογιζεσθαι . . . παντως γαρ οια τα προτερα, τοιαυτα εστιν και μετα ταυτα . . . τι βουλει μαθειν τα μετα ταυτα; τοιαυτα εστι κακεινα· δεσμα, βασανοι, μαχαι, φυλακαι, επιβουλαι, συκοφαντιαι, θανατοι καθημερινοι. In Act. hom. 55. T. ix. p. 412. D. 414. B.

[e] In Col. Hom. 12. T. xi. p. 412. E. F.

[f] Λουκας γαρ σφοδρα αδιαστατως ειχεν αυτου, ὁ και ευαγγελιον γραψας, και τας καθολικας πραξεις. In 2 Tim. Hom. 10. T. xi. p. 720. E.

[g] In Pr. Act. Hom. 1. T. iii. p. 54. C.

[h] Πολλοις τουτο το βιβλιον ουδ[illegible] γνωριμον εστιν, ουτε αυτο, ουτε ὁ γραψας αυτο και συνδεις. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 1.

[i] Prolegom. n. 242.

[k] Hist. de Manich. l. i. ch. [illegible] i. p. 293. See also Remarques sur le N. T. p. 173.

[l] P. 215.

[m] Αλγω δη και οδυνωμαι, ὁτι τον ανδρα τουτον αγ' απαντες ισασιν, ὡσπερ ειδεναι χρη, αλλ' ουτω τινες αυτον αγνοουσιν, ὡς μηδε των επιστολων τον αριθμον ειδεναι σαφως. Argum. Ep. ad Rom. T. ix. p. 425.

epistles, were better known to his hearers than they were; and that he was grieved to think how little acquainted some men were with those parts of sacred scripture.

VII. 1. In a Homily upon Repentance, supposed to be a genuine work of Chrysostom, it is said: 'The [a] blessed apostle Paul, Christ's orator, fisherman of the whole universe, by the 'spiritual nets of his fourteen epistles catches the whole word, and brings them into the way of 'salvation.'

2. Chrysostom published homilies, or commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epistles, which are still extant. In [b] the proëm to his homilies upon the epistle to the Romans, he speaks of the time of several of them, to which I refer the reader: however, I shall observe here several particulars, as briefly as I can. He says, that the epistle to the Romans, though placed first, was not first in the order of time, as many think. It was written before any of those which were sent from Rome, but not till after several others; for both the epistles to the Corinthians were written before it: and the first epistle to the Thessalonians was written before either of those to the Corinthians. To the Philippians he wrote from Rome; to the Hebrews likewise he wrote from thence. The [c] epistle to Timothy [meaning the second] was also written from Rome, when the apostle was a prisoner here: and it seems to him to be the last of all Paul's epistles. The epistle to Philemon likewise is a late epistle; for the apostle was then arrived to extreme old age: referring to ver. 9. Nevertheless it was written before the epistle to the Colossians, as appears from the end of that epistle [See Col. iv. 7—9.] I likewise think, says he, that the epistle to the Galatians was written before that to the Romans. So writes Chrysostom in the proëm to his homilies upon the epistle to the Romans.

3. In the argument of the epistle to the Ephesians, he says, it [d] was written from Rome, when Paul was prisoner here. In the preface to the epistle to the Philippians he says, the [e] apostle was then a prisoner at Rome. In the first homily upon the epistle to the Colossians he says, that [f] epistle, and the epistles to the Ephesians, and to Philemon, and to Timothy, were written when the apostle was in bonds. Here also he says again, that [g] the [second] epistle to Timothy was written a short time before his death. From the inscription of the epistle to the Colossians [i. 1.], he concludes, that [h] Timothy was known to the saints at Colosse. In the first homily upon the second epistle to Timothy, he says again, he [i] thinks the apostle was then near his end: in another homily upon the same epistle, he says, it [k] was full of consolation, and a sort of testament. In his first homily upon the epistle to Titus he says, that, probably, Titus [l] was a Corinthian; and [m] Paul was at liberty at the time of writing that epistle: and [n] it was written before the second epistle to Timothy. And he observes, that [o] Paul had determined to winter at Nicopolis, a city of Thrace. See Tit. iii. 12.

4. I do not recollect, that Chrysostom any where takes particular notice of the time of writing the first epistle to Timothy: whether it was, that he could not determine it, or that he took it for granted, that it was written about the same time with the second to Timothy; or whatever else may be the reason of this silence, when he had so many fair opportunities to speak of it, I cannot say. Mr. Tillemont [p] supposeth Chrysostom to say, that [q] this epistle was written in the last years of his life; but I do not perceive Chrysostom, in the place referred to, to speak of the time of the first epistle, but of the second rather.

5. It does not appear from Chrysostom's writings, that he had any doubt, whether the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul; he always quotes it as his. In [r] the preface to his homilies upon it, he says, 'The epistle was written to Jews; and, as he thinks, to the Jews at Jerusalem, 'and in Palestine. He adds: When Paul had been in bonds two years at Rome, he was set at

[a] Και τι προς τον μακαριον αποστολον Παυλον, τον ῥητορα τȣ Χριστȣ, τον της οικȣμενης αλιεα, τον δια δεκατεσσαρων επιστολων, ὡσπερ δια δικτυων πνευματικων, πασαν την οικȣμενην εις σωτηριαν σαγηνευσαντα. . . . De Pœnit. T. xiii. p. 190. C.

[b] Vid. Argument. Ep. ad Rom. T. ix. p. 425. . . . 427.

[c] Και την προς Τιμοθεον [illegible] επιστολην και αυτην απο Ῥωμης δεδεμενος επεμψεν· ἡ [illegible] κατη μοι δοκει πασων ειναι των επιστολων. Εγω γαρ [illegible] δομαι, φησι, . . . ὁτι δε τον βιον εκει κατελυσε, παντ[illegible] δηλον [illegible]. Ib. p. 427. B.

[d] T. xi p. 2[illegible] A.

[e] T. xi. p. 190. A.

[f] T. xi p 322. B.

[g] Ib. p. 323. A.

[h] Ibid. p. 323. E.

[i] In 2 Tim. Hom. 1. T. xi. [illegible] 658. C.

[k] Και πασα δε ἡ επιστολη παραμυθιας εστι πληρης, και ὡσανει διαθηκη τις εστι. In 2 Tim. Hem. 9. T. xi. p. 917. B.

[l] T. xi. p. 729. B.

[m] Ibid. C. et 230. B.

[n] Ib. 730. B.

[o] In Ep. ad Tit. Hom. 6. T. xi. p. 766. B.

[p] St. Paul. art. 47. Mem. T. i.

[q] In 2 Tim. Hom. 1. sub in.

[r] Πȣ δε ȣσιν επιστελλει; Εμοι δοκει, εν Ἱεροσολυμοις και Παλαιστινη. . . . Δυο μεν ȣν ετη εποιησεν εν Ῥωμῃ δεδεμενος· ειτα αφειθη, ειτα εις Σπανιας ηλθεν· ειτα εις Ιȣδαιαν εβη, ὁτε και Ιȣδαιȣς ειδε. Και τοτε παλιν ηλθεν εις Ῥωμην, ὁτε και ὑπο Νερωνος ανῃρεθη. In Ep. ad Hebr. Præf. T. xii. p. 2. D. E

'liberty, and then went into Spain. Afterwards he came to Jerusalem, and made a visit to the 'Jewish believers there [Referring to Rom xv. 24, and Hebr. xiii. 23.]: then he came to Rome, 'and was put to death by Nero.'

6. He often says, the [a] epistle was sent to the believers from amongst the Hebrews. And he says, that [b] when he wrote to the Hebrews, he did not put his name at the beginning, as he did in all his other epistles, because the Jews, both believers and unbelievers, were averse to him.

7. Chrysostom always cites the epistles to the Ephesians with that title; and in his [c] argument of the epistle gives an account of the city of Ephesus. He had no doubt about the common inscription: "To the saints that are at Ephesus, and faithful in Christ Jesus."

8. Upon Col. iv. 16: "And that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea," he observes: 'Some [d] say, that hereby is not meant an epistle sent to them, but an epistle sent by them to 'Paul: for he does not say the epistle written to the Laodiceans, but from them.' Surely Chrysostom did not know that the epistle to the Ephesians was at any time called, the epistle to the Laodiceans.

9. The first epistle to the Thessalonians he quotes, as [e] written to the Macedonians.

VIII. 1. We now come to the Catholic epistles. The proëm to the Synopsis, cited above, speaks of but three only; meaning, as may be supposed, the epistle of James, the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; which three are also quoted in Chrysostom's other writings. And Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, the learned Benedictine editor of St. Chrysostom's works, says, he [f] has no where observed therein any citations of the other four epistles, called Catholic.

2. The epistle of St. James is quoted several times: it [g] is expressly quoted, as written by James the Lord's brother. I refer to [h] a place or two more, where words of the epistle are cited. Indeed, I think, he quotes this epistle as often as any other of the Catholic epistles received by him. He speaks elsewhere of James, as [i] a most excellent person, brother of the Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem.

3. The first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John, were universally received. I need not, therefore, refer to any of Chrysostom's citations of them.

4. There is a homily, supposed by some to be Chrysostom's, by others doubted of, wherein it is said, 'That [k] the first epistle of John is received by all; but the fathers have rejected the 'second and third, as not in the canon.' Montfaucon [l] thinks that homily was preached by a presbyter, before Flavian, bishop of Antioch: though, therefore, the homily be not Chrysostom's, it shews the sense of the church of Antioch, in his time, concerning St. John's epistles. Several other learned men, as [m] Mill, and [n] Lampe, have taken notice of this passage, to whom I refer; but I do not think it needful to transcribe them.

That [o] homily was first published by Cotelerius, and as Chrysostom's; and it is quoted as his by Lampe, just mentioned, and [p] Wolfius; but the judgment of Montfaucon appears to be the more probable.

IX. Chrysostom has no where quoted the book of the Revelation, nor taken any passage from it, nor alluded to it in any of his works, so far as can be perceived; though, as [q] Montfaucon

[a] Vid. Ep. 15. T. iii. p. 602. B. In Gen. Hom. 35. T. iv. p. 356 D. In Joann. Hom. 2. al. 1. T. viii. p. 14. A.

[b] Vid. Hom. in illud, In faciem Petro restiti. T. iii. p. 371.

[c] Tom. xi. p. 1, 2.

[d] . . . Ου γαρ ειπε, την προς Λαοδικεας, αλλα την εκ Λαοδικειας φησι γραφεισαν. In Col. Hom. 12. T. xi. p. 413. B.

[e] Μακεδοσι γαρ επιστελλων, ειπως ελεγεν. Ep. 2. T. 3. p. 549. E.

[f] Et vere sanctus hic Doctor, qui scripturæ sacræ libros omnes in homiliis suis adhibet, quatuor istarum epistolarum loca nusquam affert; aut saltem hujusmodi loca in ejus scriptis nondum deprehendi. Etiamsi vero deprehenderentur, non tamen inde sequeretur, eam scripturæ partem canonicam haberi. Nam illis temporibus non pauca erant in quibusdam ecclesiis, quæ legebantur quidem, sed canonica esse non reputabantur, αναγινωσκομενα μεν, μη κανονιζομενα δε. Diatrib. in Synops. T. vi. p. 309.

[g] . . . παραξω υμιν αξιοπιστον μαρτυρα, τον αδελφοθεον Ιακωβον φασκοντα· Η πιστις χωρις των εργων νεκρα εστιν. De Pœnit. Hom. 9. T. ii. p. 348. E.

[h] De Sacerdot. l. iii. T. i. p. 384. E. Hom. in Eliam. et viduam. T. iii. p. 333. C. In Ep. ad Philem. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 788. C.

[i] Vid. in Mat. Hom. 5. T. 7. p. 78. A. In Act. Ap. Hom. 46. T. ix. p. 348. A.

[k] Των δε εκκλησιαζομενων, α των αποκρυφων μεν η παρουσα επιστολη. Την γαρ δευτεραν και τριτην οι παλαιοι αποκανονιζουσι. Την μεντοι παρουσαν επιστολην απαντες εισαι Ιωαννε συμφωνως απεφηναντο. Ap. Chrys. Opp. T. vi. p. 430. A. B.

[l] Quod autem ecclesia Antiochena secundam et tertiam Joannis non reciperet, id hic ipso comprobatur ex homiliâ mox edendâ, quam prior publicavit Joannis Chrysostomi nomine Cotelerius, quamque probamus in nomine infra, non Chrysostomi esse, sed cujusdam presbyteri Antiocheni illius ævo, coram Flaviano episcopo concionantis. Diatrib. in Synops. T. vi. p. 309.

[m] Prolegom. p. 224.

[n] Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. p. [illegible]

[o] In illud scripturæ dictum, 'In quo protestate hæc facis?' Matth. xxi. 23. Ap. Cotelerium Monum. Gr. T. iii. p. 122 . . . . 157.

[p] Prolegom. in Joan. p. [illegible] Ap. Car. Cnt. T. v.

[q] Certe Joannes Chrysostomus, qui auctor operis fertur in

well says, he had many occasions so to do in discoursing upon moral subjects. It may be added: and in his discourses in praise of the martyrs. This, I think, is allowed by the learned; and [a] that Chrysostom has taken no more notice of the book of the Revelation in all his writings, than he would have done if he had been totally ignorant of it.

X. So that Chrysostom's works in general, and the forementioned Synopsis, ascribed to him, agree very well together.

These then are the books of the New Testament received by him: the four gospels; the Acts of the apostles; fourteen epistles of Paul; the epistle of James; one epistle of Peter; one epistle of John.

I may add, that there is not, in Chrysostom's works, the least appearance of an especial regard for any other Christian writings, as of authority.

In Chrysostom may be frequently found the usual general titles and divisions of the books of scripture: such [b] as the Old and New Testament; apostles and prophets; gospels, apostles, and prophets: and the like.

XI. Suidas, the lexicographer, whose age is uncertain, placed by [c] Cave near the end of the tenth, by others [d] supposed to have written near the end of the eleventh century, has an article concerning St. John, which is to this purpose. 'John [e] the divine and evangelist, being returned 'from his banishment in the island Patmos, wrote his gospel when he was an hundred years of 'age; and he lived after that till he was an hundred and twenty years old. Whilst he dwelled 'at Ephesus, he wrote his Theology [or gospel.] Chrysostom receives also his three epistles, 'and the Revelation.'

That article must have been taken out of an homily, or oration, concerning John the divine and apostle, ascribed to [f] Chrysostom, though it is not named by Suidas. In which homily it is said, 'That, for the word of God, John was banished into Patmos by the Roman emperor Do-'mitian, where he wrote the Revelation, and [g] afterwards his three holy epistles: when [h] he was 'returned to Ephesus, he wrote his gospel, being an hundred years of age; and he lived to be 'full a hundred and twenty years old:' but that homily is placed, by the Benedictine editor, among spurious works. And, in the advertisement before it, he says, it [i] did not deserve to be published, being only the work of some impertinent Greek. And in a note [k] he says, that he knows not of any, who have said, that John reached to the age of an hundred and twenty years, beside this anonymous writer.

XII. Let us now observe some marks of respect for the scriptures.

1. Matthew, [l] filled with the Spirit, wrote what he wrote.

2. This [m] the publican, meaning Matthew, led by the eyes of the Spirit, will teach us.

3. Hear [n] the blessed Paul, or rather Christ speaking in him.

4. He represents the vast importance and usefulness of St. Paul's epistles in this manner: 'Whence [o] has he a prerogative among the other apostles? And why is he in the mouth of 'all men, even Jews and Gentiles, as well as Christians? It is owing to his epistles, by which he 'is profitable not only to the faithful of that time, but now also; and by which he will be pro-

titulo, nunquam Apocalypsi usus est in homiliis, aliisque libris suis, etsi ad mores informandos, in quo genere maxime versatur sanctus doctor, in Apocalypsi multa idonea opportunaque reperiantur, præcipueque in tribus prioribus capitibus. Quantamcumque diligentiam adhibuerim, ut explorarem, num quidquam in tantâ operum serie ad Apocalypsin spectans deprehenderetur, nihil hactenus reperi. Et tamen multa erant in libris, verbi gratiâ, de Sacerdotio, quæ ad rem maxime conferre videbantur. Diatrib. in Synops. T. vi. p. 310.

[a] ...Chrysostomus in tot monumentis Apocalypsin ita prætermittit, ut ipse eam ignorâsse, et scriptum quodvis eamdem allegans Chrysostomo suppositum esse videatur. J. A. Bengel. in N. T. p. 717.

[b] Vid. Contr. Anom. Hom. 11. T. i. p. 542. B. Adv. Jud. Or. 5. T. i. p. 648. D. De Lazaz. Hom. 3. ib. p. 739. D. et passim.

[c] H. L. T. 2. p. 107. Vid. et Kuster. Præf. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 40. T. ix. p. 62[illegible]. &c. et T. 10. p. 1. &c.

[d] Vid. Fabric. ib. T. ix. p. 62[illegible]. note [p].

[e] Ιωαννης ... ὁ θεολογος και ευαγγελιστης, απο της εν Παλμω εξοριας επανελθων, συνλατει το ευαγγελιον ων ετων ϙ, διαρκεσας ἑως ϙα. Εκει δε διαγων συγγραφεται την θεολογιαν. Δεχεται δε ὁ Χρυσοστομος και τας επιστολας αυτε τας τρεις, και την Αποκαλυψιν· Suid. v. Ιωαννης.

[f] Ap. Morell. T. vi. p. 603. &c. et in edit. Benedict. T. viii. inter Spuria. p. 130. &c.

[g] ...επειτα και τας ἁγιας αυτε τρεις επιστολας. Ib. p. 131. C.

[h] ...κακεισε διαλειβων συνλατει το ευαγγελιον, ων ετων εκαλον, διαρκεσας ἑως ὁλων εκαλον εικοσιν. Εκεισε διαγων συγγραφεται την θεολογιαν, μαλλον δε εν βρανοις, ὁθεν αυτην εκομισαλο. Ib. C. D.

[i] Jure porro hanc orationem prætermisit Savilius, utpote indignam quæ legatur. Nam est otiosi cujusdam Græculi, ut nemo non videt. Monit. p. 130.

[k] 94 ætatis annos ipsi tribuit Epiphanius. Qui vero centum viginti annos emensum dixerit, neminem vidi, præter hunc anonymum. Not. ib. p. 131.

[l] ...τε πνευματος εμπλησθεις εγραψε ἁπερ εγραψε. In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 4. A.

[m] In Matt. Hom. 1. ib. p. 17. C.

[n] De Sacerd. l. iv. T. i. p. 401. B.

[o] De Sacerd. l. iv. ib. p. 412, 413.

'fitable to all in future times, till the last coming of Christ; nor will he cease to be useful, as 'long as the human race subsists: for, as a wall built of adamant, his writings every where 'defend the churches throughout the world.'

5. In other places he speaks of the apostles, or their writings, as [a] the walls of churches, for their defence and security, and designed for future times, as well as for the present.

6. He says, it [b] were better that the sun should be extinguished, than that the words of David should be lost.

7. The third homily upon the parable of 'the rich man and Lazarus' contains very forcible exhortations to the reading of the scriptures. At the beginning of that homily he says to his hearers: 'That [c] he often acquaints them before-hand with the subject which he intends to 'treat of, that in the mean time they might read the portion of scripture, which would be the 'ground of his discourse, and consider it; and I always advise, and shall never cease to advise 'and call upon you, not only to attend to what is said here, but also to be diligent in reading the 'divine scriptures at home. Nor [d] let any man allege those frivolous excuses: I am engaged 'in public affairs; or I have a trade, and a wife and children to take care of; in a word I am 'a secular person; it is not my business to read the scriptures, but theirs rather who have 'retired from the world to a solitary life. So far are these things from making out a valid, or 'even tolerable excuse, that upon these accounts, and for these very reasons, you have the more 'need to read the scriptures.'

8. In that argument he says, the [e] reading the scriptures will be an excellent preservative against sin; and that ignorance of the scriptures is the thing that has occasioned heresies, and all the corruption and wickedness which there is in the world.

9. At the beginning of a homily upon St. John's gospel, he earnestly exhorts his hearers [f] to read, some time in the week, the portion of scripture that is to be explained the next Lord's day; and to consider it well, that they may come the better prepared to receive instruction, when it shall be explained in public.

10. In another homily upon the same gospel, he finely shews, how [g] the divine oracles are suited to cure all the maladies of the soul, and to implant and cherish all virtue.

11. He often shews the usefulness of the scriptures: he says, they [h] deliver from evil thoughts, and assist men against evil passions, and excessive grief. I refer [i] to another like passage.

12. Upon this point he enlarges very much, in the third homily upon the title and beginning of the book of the Acts; where he says, that [k] to read the scriptures is to converse with God. Accordingly, in another place, [l] he considers the scriptures as an epistle from God himself. In a homily upon St. John's gospel, he says: It [m] is not the evangelist that speaks, but God, who speaks to us by him. At the beginning of another homily upon the same gospel, he says: There [n] is nothing vain or insignificant in the divine scriptures; for they are the dictates of the Holy Spirit. And he observes, that [o] it is a great unhappiness not to be acquainted with the scriptures, and that [p] men's ignorance in the scriptures, is the cause of all manner of evil.

13. His observations upon Col. iii. 16, contain an earnest exhortation to all to read the scriptures. '"Let [q] the word of God dwell in you," says the apostle: and not only "let it 'dwell in you," but "richly" also, in abundance. Hear you, who are men of the world, who 'have a wife and children, how he requires you especially to read the scriptures; and not 'hastily, but with care and diligence: nor do you look for any other teacher; you have the 'oracles of God; no one teaches like them; another instructor, from some wrong principle, 'may conceal from you many things of great use: I [r] therefore exhort all of you to procure

[a] ... επειδε γαρ τα γραμματα αποστολικα τειχη των εκκλησιων εστιν. κ. λ. Hom. in 2 Tim. iii. 1. T. vi. p. 282. B.

[b] De Pœnit. Hom. 2. T. ii. p. 288. C.

[c] De Lazar. Hom. 3. T. 1. p. 737. A. B. Vid. et p. 738, 739, 740.

[d] Μη γαρ μοι λεγετω τις τα ψυχρα ρηματα εκεινα; ...

[e] Μεγαλη ασφαλεια προς το μη αμαρτανειν των γραφων ἡ αναγνωσις. κ. λ. Ib. p. 740. D. E.

[f] In Joan. Hom. 11. al. 10. T. viii. p. 62. A. B.

[g] Μεγα των θειων γραφων το κερδος ... παντοδαπων γαρ εστι φαρμακων θησαυρος τα θεια λογια. κ. λ. In Joan. Hom. 37. al. 36. T. 8. p. 211. B.

[h] In Pr. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 72. E.

[i] De Capt. Eutrop. Hom. T. iii. p. 388. B.

[k] T. iii. p. 73. C.

[l] In cap. 1. Gen. Hom. 2. T. iv. p. 9. A. Et omnino Vid. in Matth. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 18. A. B.

[m] In Joan. Hom. 2. Tom. viii. p. 7. B.

[n] In Joan. Hom. 50. al. 49. T. viii. p. 293. D. E.

[o] Μεγα κακον αγνοειν γραφας. In Act. Ap. Hom. 34. T. 9. p. 265. C.

[p] Τελο παντων αιτιον των κακων το μη ειδεναι τας γραφας. In Coloss. Hom. 9. T. xi. p. 390. C. D.

[q] In Col. Hom. 9. ibid.

[r] Ακουσατε, παρακαλω, παντες οι βιωτικοι, και κτασθε βιβλια, φαρμακα της ψυχης. Ει μηδεν ετερον βλεποθε, την γην καινην κτασθε, των αποστολων τας Πραξεις, τα ευαγγελια, διδασκαλες διηνεκεις. κ. λ. In Col. H. 9. ib. p. 391.

'yourselves Bibles; if you have nothing else, take care to have the New Testament, particu-'larly the Acts of the apostles, and the gospels, for your constant instructors, that in all trials 'you may have recourse to them for proper remedies.'

14. Having bestowed great commendations upon Aquila and Priscilla, especially the last, and having recommended them to the imitation of others, and said, that they arrived at such eminent virtue by entertaining and conversing with Paul, he goes on: 'But [a] some one may say, 'What then shall I do, who have not Paul to converse with? If you will,' says he, 'you may 'have him more entirely than they had: it was not the sight of Paul that made them what they 'were, but his words. If you will, you may have Paul and Peter and John, yea, and the whole 'choir of prophets and apostles, to converse with frequently. Take then the books of those 'blessed men, and read their writings frequently; and they will make you equal to the tent-'maker's wife. But why do I say, you may have Paul? If you will, you may have Paul's 'master; for he himself will speak to you in Paul's words.'

15. Speaking of the chamberlain of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, who read the scriptures sitting in his chariot, he says, 'We [b] need not any of us be ashamed to imitate him, though an 'eunuch and a barbarian, who, when he was travelling, did not omit to read. That barbarian is 'fit to be master to us all; to men in private life, to soldiers, to men in high stations; in a word, 'to all men and women; that all may learn, that no time is improper for reading the divine 'oracles: and that we ought to read them, though we do not understand them. By this means 'the scriptures will be fixed in our memories; and what we do not understand at the first read-'ing may be understood at another.'

16. In a homily upon the second epistle to the Thessalonians: '.If [c] any should say, he does 'not know what is in the scriptures; I should ask, Why do you not know? Is it in Hebrew, or 'Latin, or any other strange language? Is it not in Greek?'

17. The scriptures are compared by him to many things; to [d] a field or garden of flowers; to [e] a rich treasure, and refreshing fountain: they are styled by him [f] a spiritual treasure, an [g] inexhaustible treasure; they are compared to [h] rich spices and incense for their fragrance; to [i] an ocean quite calm, and ever free from tempests, so that the farther you wade into it, the more you will be pleased.

18. In one place he compares the scriptures to a workman's tools: 'Do [k] you not observe,' says he, 'that they who work in iron, and your goldsmiths, and silversmiths, and artificers of all 'sorts, take care to have their tools entire, and in order? If they are lost, they are ruined: upon 'no consideration, therefore, will they part with them; and, if they are in a strait, by the use 'of these they may extricate themselves, and recover their former state. Their instruments 'are, the hammer, anvil, tongs; the instruments of our art are, the apostolical and prophetical 'books, and all the divinely inspired and useful scriptures: and as they, with their instruments, 'form any vessels which they have in hand; so we, by ours, are to form our minds, and correct 'them when perverted, and renew them when decayed.'

19. 'The [l] ultimate end of the scriptures,' he says, 'is our amendment: we therefore, ex-'plain the scriptures, not only that you may understand them, but that you may improve your 'manners. Without this, our reading and expounding are in vain.'

20. By all which I think, it appears that, in Chrysostom's time, the Bible was not reckoned a dangerous book; but it was supposed, that the more men read and studied the scriptures, the better it would be for them.

21. Women [m] and children wore small gospels, or sentences of them, about their necks, as preservatives against evil accidents; but he advises, that they should rather take care to write the laws and precepts of the gospel upon their hearts. In another place also, speaking of the Jewish phylacteries, he observes, that [n] many Christian women had gospels hung about their necks.

[a] In Ep. ad Rom. Hom. 30. T. ix. p. 743. A. B.
[b] In Gen. Hom. 35. T. iv. p. 351. E. et p. 352.
[c] Αλλ' ουκ οιδα, φησι, τα εν ταις θειαις γραφαις κειμενα. Δια τι ουκ οιδας; Μη γαρ Εβραϊστι; μη γαρ Ρωμαϊστι; μη γαρ ἑιερογλωσσαις ειρηται; Ουχ Ἑλληνιστι λεγεται; In 2 Th. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 528. C.
[d] In Gen. Hom. 34. in. T. iv. p. 434. C.
[e] In Gen. Hom. iii. p. 14. A. B.
[f] In Gen. Hom. 60. p. 580. D. Vid. ib. Hom. 21. p. 180. E.
[g] In Gen. Hom. 8. p. 58. D. E.
[h] Hom. in 2 Tim. iii. 1. T. 6.
[i] Hom. in Terræ Mot. et Laz. 6. T. i. p. 786. A.
[k] In Laz. Hom. 3. T. i. p. 738. A.... D.
[l] In Prophet. Obscur. Hom. 2. T. vi. p. 192. B.
[m] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19. T. ii. p. 197. D. E.
[n] In Matt. Hom. 72. al. 73. T. vii. p. 703.

22. He censures those who[a] gratified their vanity, in having the scriptures written in golden letters, and upon fine parchment; but did not take care to understand them.

23. In a homily upon the beginning of the Acts, he speaks as[b] if the scriptures were translated into Indian, and British; and into the languages of all people in general. In a homily upon the beginning of St. John's gospel, he says, that[c] Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, and other nations, though barbarian, having translated the words and doctrines of that evangelist, had learned to philosophize.

XIII. I shall take notice of but one various reading, which is, that the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John, concerning the adulterous woman, does not appear in Chrysostom's homilies upon St. John's gospel: nor[d] has he any where else quoted, or referred to, that paragraph.

XIV. In the next place, I shall observe some explications of texts.

1. He seems to have supposed the[e] beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ," to be the title, not of the genealogy, but of the whole book of the gospel.

2. He handsomely illustrates[f] Matt. xx. 23. "It is not mine to give: but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared."

3. Abraham,[g] he says, forbears to give hard words to the rich man, calling him "son." Luke xvi. 25: a fine observation, which has been highly adorned by archbishop Tillotson, in his most excellent sermons upon the parable of the 'Rich Man and Lazarus.'

4. He thinks that[h] Judas was present, when our Lord instituted the memorial of himself.

5. When Christ says, Matt. xxviii. 20. "Lo, I am with you always, unto the end of the world;" he[i] does not speak to the disciples only, but in them to all.

6. Upon John i. 9. he says 'Christ[k] is "the light of the world," as he did all that lay in his 'power to enlighten it;' that is, all he could, or all that was fit to be done.

7. Nathanael, he says, was[l] not only sincere, as our Lord said, and the event shewed, but he was also learned; therefore, Philip referred him to 'Moses and the prophets.'

8. He thinks that[m] Christ twice drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.

9. He thinks that[n] Paul wisely silenced the evil spirit in the Pythoness, though it gave a good testimony to him. See Acts xvi. 16....18.

10. Upon Acts xvii. 22. he says, Paul[o] commends them as it were, saying at least nothing offensive: 'I see you to be superstitious, that is religious.'

11. When some at Athens said of Paul, Acts xvii. 18, "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection;" he says, that[p] by resurrection, or anastasis, they intended a goddess.

12. Chrysostom[q] does not blame Gallio at all; but considers him to have been a man of equity and moderation.

13. He[r] thinks that Crispus and Sosthenes are both one; that is, Crispus was also called Sosthenes. See Acts xviii. 8. and 17.

14. He says, By[s] the over-ruling providence of God, Paul was sent to Rome a prisoner, that he might not be soon expelled as a Jew.

15. He supposes Paul to say, he[t] feared, lest he should be rejected. See 1 Cor. ix. 27.

16. He mentions[u] the Marcionite interpretation of baptism for the dead, 1 Cor. xv. 29; and then his own.

[a] Και πασα αυλων σπουδη περι των ὑμενων της λεπτοτητος, και του των γραμματων καλλους. . . ὁτι χρυσοις εχει γραμμασιν εγγεγραμμενον. In Jo. Hom. 33. al. 32. T. viii. p. 188. A. B.

[b] In Pr. Act. H. 3. T. iii. p. 71. D.

[c] In Jo. Hom. 2. al. 1. T. viii. p. 10. B.

[d] Vid. Montf. Præf. ad T. viii. sect. v. n. 3.

[e] In Matt. Hom. 2. T. vii. n. 23. C.

[f] Contr. Anom. Hom. 8. T. i. p. 521.

[g] Ὁρα φιλοσοφιαν, ὁρα φιλοστοργιαν δικαιᾳ. Ουκ ειπεν· Απανθρωπε, και ωμε, και παμπονηρε, τοσαυτα κακα διαθεις τον ανθρωπον . . . . εκ ερυθριας, ὑδε αισχυνη; Αλλα τι; τεκνον, φησιν, απελαβες τα αγαθα σου. De Laz. Hom. 2. T. i. p. 735. D. E.

[h] De Prodit. Jud. Hom. i. T. ii. p. 383. D. E.

[i] In Matt. Hom. xv. T. vii. p. 185. C.

[k] In Joan. Hom. 8. al. 7. T. viii. p. 48. B.

[l] In Jo. h. 20. al. 19. T. viii. p. 116. A.

[m] In Mat. Hom. 67. al. 68. T. vii. p. 663.

[n] De Laz. H. 2. T. i. p. 728. C.

[o] . . . ὡσπερ εγκωμιαζων αυτους, δοκει ὑδεν λεγειν βαρυ· ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστερους ὑμας, φησι, θεωρω, τουτ' εστιν ευλαβεστερους. In Act. Ap. Hom. 38. T. ix. p. 286. E.

[p] Και γαρ την αναστασιν θεον τινα ειναι ενομιζον, ὁτε ειωθοτες και θηλειας σεβειν. In Act. Hom. 38. T. ix. p. 286. D.

[q] In Act. Hom. 39. p. 296.

[r] Ibid. p. 297. C. D.

[s] In Act. Hom. 39. p 295. C.

[t] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. i. T. i. p. 5. C. D.

[u] In Cor. Hom. 40. T. x. p. 378. B. . . . E.

17. 2 Cor. viii. 18. By "the brother, whose praise is in the gospel," some[a] understand Luke: and think that Paul speaks of his written gospel: others understand Barnabas; and think that, by gospel, is meant preaching.

18. Upon 2 Thess. ii. 4. he says, the 'man[b] of sin' will not sit in the temple of God, and at Jerusalem only, but in the churches every where. In a following homily[c] he says, it is the Roman empire that hinders the manifestation of Antichrist.

19. When Paul says, 2 Tim. i. 16. that, 'all they of Asia had forsaken him;' he[d] intends such as were at Rome.

20. By the 'church in Philemon's house,' ver 2. he understands[e] his family, the whole of which was Christian. Upon Rom. xvi. 5. "Likewise greet the church that is in their house;" he says, that[f] Aquila and Priscilla had made their house a church, by making all therein believers, and by opening it to all strangers.

XV. Having put down these interpretations of texts of scripture, I proceed to some other things: and, in the first place, I shall take some observations concerning our Saviour.

1. Jesus,[g] he says, was called Christ, from the anointing of the Spirit, which was poured out upon him as a man.

2. Jesus Christ, he thinks, 'wrought[h] no miracles in the time of his infancy; therefore, the 'miracles ascribed to him in early life, are false and fictitious.' He collects this from John's not knowing him to be the Christ, when he came to be baptized by him; and also, from[i] John ii. 3, and 11. Afterwards, in another homily, he expresseth his persuasion very positively, that[k] our Lord wrought no miracles before his baptism; though some others, at that time, were of a different opinion.

3. Upon Matt. ix. 1. "And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city:" he says, By[l] his "own city," the evangelist means Capernaum; for our Lord was born at Bethlehem, educated at Nazareth, and dwelt at Capernaum.

4. The[m] Lord Jesus disdained luxury, and was an example of a frugal and laborious life, always walking on foot, and sometimes until he was weary.

5. He[n] speaks highly of the great honour of the Christian name, that we should be called from Christ; and he says, that Paul so called us. In another place, agreeably to what is recorded, Acts xi. 26, he says, that[o] the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch; and he esteems that[p] the great prerogative of that city above all others. He takes notice of this elsewhere; and has a fine argument with the people of Antioch, that[q] they should therefore strive to excel in Christian virtues. This[r] honour is particularly celebrated in a homily upon the eleventh chapter of the Acts, not yet referred to.

XVI. I shall now take some observations concerning Christ's apostles.

1. Upon occasion of St. Matthew's catalogue of the apostles, at the beginning of the tenth chapter of his gospel, he makes divers observations upon that, and the other catalogues of them in Mark and Luke. Here,[s] as also often elsewhere, he calls Peter chief. In another homily upon St. Matthew, he calls[t] the three disciples, whom our Lord took with him into the Mount, chiefs: he says, that[u] four of the disciples were fishermen, and two publicans, even Matthew and James; intending, as I suppose, James the son of Alpheus.

2. The[x] office of apostle, he says, implies a spiritual supremacy, or consulship; and the whole world was committed to them.

[a] Τινες μεν τον Λεκαν· και φασι, δια την ἱστοριαν, ἡνπερ εγραψε· τινες δε τον Βαρναβαν· και γαρ το αγραφον κηρυγμα ευαγγελιον καλει. In 2 Cor. Hom. 18. T. x. p. 564. E. Vid. et. Grot. in loc.

[b] In 2 Th. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 525. C.

[c] Ib. Hom. 4. p. 529. C.

[d] In 2 Tim. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 673. E.

[e] In Philem. Argum. T. xi. p. 772. H. Conf. Hom. 1. p. 775. C. D. et in 1 Cor. Hom. 44. T. x. p. 409. E.

[f] In Rom. Hom. 30. T. ix. p. 741. C.

[g] In. Rom. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 430. B.

[h] Ενλευθεν ἡμιν λοιπον δηλον, ὁτι και τα σημεια εκεινα, ἁ παιδικα ειναι φασιν τȣ Χριστȣ, ψευδη και πλασματα τινων εισαγοντων εστιν. κ. λ. In Joan. Hom. 17. al. 16. T. viii. p. 99. D.

[i] In Jo. Hom. 21. al. 20. p. 121. D. E. et. 122.

[k] Ειπον και πρωην ὁτι τινες εκ αρχην ταυτην ειναι φασι . . . αλλ' ὁτι μεν τοι μετα το βαπτισμα των σημειων ηρξατο, και προ τȣ βαπτισματος ȣδεν εθαυματȣργησε, και εμπροσθεν εδηλωσαμεν. In Jo. Hom. 23. al. 22. ib. p. 132. A.

[l] . . . Ἡ μεν γαρ ηνεγκεν αυτον ἡ Βηθλεεμ· ἡ δε εθρεψεν ἡ Ναζαρετ· ἡ δε ειχεν οικειαν ἡ Καπερναεμ. In Matt. Hom. 29. al. 30. T. vii. p. 342. B.

[m] In Jo. Hom. 31. al. 30. T. viii. p. 178. D.

[n] In Jo. Hom. 19. al. 18. p. 113. C.

[o] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 3. T. ii. p. 36. E.

[p] Ad Pop. Antioch. H. 17. p. 176. B. C.

[q] In Matt. H. 7. T. vii. p. 116. A.

[r] In Act. Ap. H. 25. T. ix. p. 201.

[s] In Matt. Hom. 32. al. 33. T. vii. p. 369. B.

[t] In Matt. Hom. 56. al. 57. p. 565. E.

[u] In Matt. Hom. 32. p. 369. B.

[x] In Pr. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 77. B. Vid. quæ ibidem sequuntur, et p. 76.

3. He says, an[a] apostle is a man sent from God; nor can he say any thing of his own, but only what he receives from heaven: therefore Christ said, "Call no man your master on earth; for one is your master, who is in heaven:" to denote, that the whole of our religion is derived from above, from the Lord himself, though men are employed as ministers.

4. In the introduction to his homilies upon St. Matthew's gospel, he says: The[b] apostles did not come down from the Mount, bringing in their hands tables of stone; but they had the spirit in their mind, and a certain treasure, and fountain of doctrines and gifts, and all good things, which they poured forth every where upon all occasions, insomuch that, by the divine favour, they[c] were made living bibles, and laws.

5. In another place: 'A[d] prophet cannot be an apostle and a prophet; but an apostle 'is also a prophet in the highest sense, and has gifts of healing, and divers kinds of tongues, 'and interpretations of tongues.'

6. Agreeably to which, upon Eph. ii. 20. he observes: 'Apostles' and prophets are the 'foundation; but Paul mentions apostles first, though last in time.'

7. Some other observations concerning the apostles may be here taken notice of.

8. 'None[f] more unlearned,' he says, 'than Peter; none more simple than Paul: and yet 'they overcame, and put to silence, philosophers, orators, and rhetoricians.'

9. 'Paul,'[g] he says, 'was ignorant, and Plato learned; nevertheless some Christians, but 'foolishly, would have it otherwise: let us rather own, that the apostles were ignorant, unlearned, 'poor, mean, obscure.' In another place he says, Paul[h] was a Cilician, a tanner, poor, destitute of Greek learning, knowing only the Hebrew language, which was much despised: but, as some learned men think, Chrysostom here exaggerates beyond the truth; as indeed orators are very apt to do: however, he had a good view in it; for, if Paul and other apostles had been learned, it might have been argued by infidels, that their success in preaching the gospel had been owing to their skill and eloquence, and not to the power and grace of God, as he says.

10. It is wonderful simplicity, which[i] he ascribes to Paul, in his answer to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 29.

11. Chrysostom was a great admirer of the apostle Paul. There[k] are seven homilies, entitled, Of his Praises. He observes to his hearers, that[l] they knew very well, when Paul was once mentioned, he was apt to dwell there, and divert from the thread of his discourse. I shall put in the margin[m] an instance of this kind; by which, though I transcribe a part of the passage only, an intelligent reader will form an idea of what Chrysostom just now said.

12. Upon Eph. iv. 1. "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you;" he[n] does most oratorically extol the greatness of Paul on account of his sufferings. The[o] conclusion of his homilies upon the epistle to the Romans, is full of affection for the apostle Paul, and is an highly finished piece of oratory. I refer to some other places,[p] where our author's respect for Paul is very conspicuous.

XVII. Chrysostom often speaks of the speedy and wonderful progress of the Christian religion in the world. It is not easy to forbear taking a good number of his passages upon this head.

1. He says, all[q] the world flocked to Bethlehem: for no other reason, but to see the place where Jesus was born.

2. He speaks[r] of the gospel being preached, and churches planted among the Romans, Persians, Scythians, Moors, Indians, and Britains.

3. In another place[s] he celebrates the praises, and the success of the gospel preached by

[a] In Es. cap. 1. T. vi. p. 4. C.

[b] In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 3. C.

[c] Βιβλια και νομοι γινομενοι δια της χαριτος εμψυχοι. Ib.

[d] In Pr. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 76. A.

[e] In Eph. Hom. 6. T. 11. p. 39. B.

[f] Præf. in Ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 428. E.

[g] In 1 Cor. Hom. 3. T. x. p. 20. C. D. E.

[h] Κιλιξ ὁ ανθρωπος ην . . . σκυτοτομος, πενης, της εξωθεν σοφιας απειρος, Ἑβραϊστι μονον ειδως, γλωτταν διασυρομενην παρα παντων και μαλιστα παρα των Ιταλων. In 2 Ep. Tim. Hom. 4. T. xi. p. 682. E.

[i] In Act. Hom. 52. T. 9. p. 393. C.

[k] De Laudibus Apostoli Pauli, T. ii. p. 476, &c.

[l] In Es. xlv. 7. T. 6. p. 149. C.

[m] . . . Εκκαιωμαι γαρ εις τον τε ανδρος πονον, και δια τουτο συνεχως αυτον περιστρεφων ου παυομαι, κ. λ. In Gen. Hom. 11. T. 4. p. 88. A. B. C.

[n] In Epiph. Hom. 8. T. xi. p. 53. . . . 56.

[o] In Rom. Hom. 32. T. ix. p. 757. . . . 760.

[p] De Mutat. Nom. Hom. 1. T. iii. p. 102. A. B. In Act. Ap. Hom. 25. T. ix. p. 201. C.

[q] Contra. Jud. et Gentil. T. i. p. 561. C.

[r] Ibid. p. 575. B. C.

[s] Hom. 8. antehac non edit. T. xii. p. 371, 372.

fishermen and tent-makers; and mentions, among its converts, Goths, Scythians, Thracians, Sarmatians, Indians, Britains.

4. 'The[a] apostles of Christ were twelve, and they gained the whole world.'

5. Zeno,[b] Plato, Socrates, and many others, endeavoured to introduce a new course of life, but in vain; whereas Jesus Christ not only taught, but settled a new polity, or way of living, all over the world.

6. 'Notwithstanding[c] the absurd opinions and evil practices which had obtained, Christ, in 'a short time, delivered men from them all; and that not the Romans only, but also the Persians, 'and the barbarian nations. This he accomplished, not by arms, nor by bribes, nor by wars and 'battles; but beginning with eleven men, and those poor, mean, illiterate, unexperienced, 'unarmed, without shoes, and having one coat only, he persuaded great numbers of men in all 'nations to change their sentiments and manners.'

7. 'The[d] doctrine and writings of fishermen, who were beaten, and driven from society, and 'always lived in the midst of dangers, have been readily embraced by learned and unlearned, 'bondmen and free, kings and soldiers, Greeks and barbarians.'

8. He observes, that[e] the many persecutions, which Christians had suffered, had not been able to destroy them. He particularly takes notice, that[f] as elsewhere, so in Persia, there had been severe persecutions, and many martyrs; yet the Christian religion still subsisted there.

9. 'Though[g] there were such, and so many opposers; though kings and tyrants, and people, 'strove to extinguish the spark of faith, such a flame of true religion arose, as filled the whole 'world. If you go to India, and Scythia, and the utmost ends of the earth, you will every where 'find the doctrine of Christ enlightening the souls of men: even the barbarian nations have 'learned to philosophize, and have embraced true religion instead of their ancient customs... 'The Lord of all, by eleven men, fishermen, unlearned and simple, has attracted all mankind; 'who, as if they had wings, have gone over the world, sowing the seed of true religion, and root-'ing up evil affections, and perverse customs and practices.'

10. There are many other places where Chrysostom talks very agreeably of the swift progress, and wide extent of the Christian religion: to[h] some of which I refer in the margin.

11. He says, that[i] Christianity rather declines under Christian emperors: so far is it from being cherished by the honours of this world. But it thrives most when it is persecuted, or lies under worldly discouragement.

12. He says, Christians[k] do not persecute, but heathenism falls of itself: nor did Christian emperors ever enact such severe laws against heathens, as the worshippers of dæmons had done against Christians.

13. He afterwards argues excellently concerning the Christian doctrine: and says, that[l] Peter and Paul, one a fisherman, the other a tent-maker, would never of themselves, and without Divine assistance, have attempted the design of reforming the world, unless they had been mad. But that they were not mad, their words, and the acceptance which they met with, shew.

14. He seems to say, that[m] the cities in the Roman empire, which continued heathens, were few and small.

15. He computes[n] the city of Antioch to have it two hundred thousand people; and[o] the number of Christians in it a hundred thousand: there were in it, therefore, as also appears clearly from Chrysostom's work, many[p] Jews and Gentiles: however, he says, in another place, that[q] the Christians were the majority of the city. He speaks, as[r] if there might be seen, in his time, the house in which Paul dwelt at Antioch. There[s] were three thousand poor people maintained by the church at Antioch; beside relief occasionally given to others.

[a] Adv. Jud. Or. 1. T. i. p. 592. C. Vid. et p. 588.
[b] Adv. Jud. T. i. p. 631. D.
[c] Contr. Jud. et Gentil. T. i. p. 559. A. B.
[d] In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 10. B.
[e] In Pr. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 61. D. E.
[f] Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p. 559. B.
[g] In Gen. Hom. 28. T. iv. p. 276. C. D.
[h] In Ep. ad Rom. Hom. 2. T. ix. p. 433. In Cor. Hom. 3. T. x. p. 20. 21. Hom. 5. p. 37.
[i] De S. Bab. Contr. Gentil. T. ii. p. 548. C.
[k] De S. Bab. contr. Jul. &c. T. iv. p. 540. A. B.
[l] Ibid. p. 541. A. B.
[m] De S. Bab. &c. T. iv. p. 548. D.
[n] Hom. in S. Ignat. T. ii. p. 597. A.
[o] Και γαρ τη τυ θευ χαριτι εις δεκα μυριαδων αριθμον οιμαι τυς ενταυθα συναγομενυς τελειν· In Matt. Hom. 85. al. 86. T. vii. p. 810. A.
[p] Vid. Adv. Jud. Or. 1. T. i. p. 588. . . . 593.
[q] . . . το πλεον της πολεως Χριστιανον· και ει μη νοσεσι τινες Ιυδαϊσμον. Adv. Jud. Or. 1. p. 592. C. D.
[r] In Ep. ad Rom. H. 30. T. ix. p. 743. C.
[s] In Matt. H. 66. al. 67. T. vii. p. 658. B.

16. We perceive from Chrysostom, that [a] Christian assemblies were more numerous at Antioch, than at Constantinople. He seems to say, that [b] the country people about Antioch used another and a barbarous language, but nevertheless were Christians. By the other and barbarous language, probably, he means Syriac; whereas, the citizens of Antioch spoke Greek.

XVIII. Chrysostom often shews the credibility of the evangelical history:

1. 'The [c] evangelists, he says, have related, who of the disciples were fishermen, and who 'was a publican; the former a low, the other an unreputable employment: and that Philip was 'not much more honourable, appears from his country, and the place of his nativity. By 'relating such things they have secured their credit in the more honourable events of their 'history. For when they conceal nothing, which is dishonourable, either to their Master, or 'themselves; why should they be suspected, when they speak of the miracles that were done by 'him? They have related all the ignominious sufferings of the cross, and have mentioned those 'progenitors of their Master, who were remarkable for their faults or their meanness. Such 'things shew their veracity; and that they did not write with a view to please any men, nor 'to magnify themselves.'

2. Chrysostom speaks admirably of the harmony of the evangelists. 'If [d] there had been 'an exact agreement about every thing, in time, place, and expression, few would have believed 'them; the agreement would then have been ascribed to human contrivance, and because they 'had concerted matters together before-hand. But the difference in lesser things, which is 'observable in them, prevents all suspicion of this kind, and is a proof of their sincerity; but in 'important things there is no difference between them. They all relate the same doctrine: 'that Jesus was made man, that he wrought miracles, that he was crucified, buried, and rose 'again; and that he will come again to judgment; that he delivered salutary precepts, and did 'not promulgate a law contrary to the old: about these things there is a full agreement. But if 'all do not relate the same miracles, or with the same circumstances, a difference about these, and 'such like things, needs not cause any uneasiness: yea, it is the greatest proof of their sincerity, 'and establisheth the truth of their history.'

3. Upon Matth. xxvi. 67, 68. 'Observe here,' says [e] he, and admire the veracity of the 'evangelists. Though these things were reproachful, they have related them with all faithful-'ness, concealing nothing.'

4. So likewise upon Matth. x. 4, "And Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him," he says: 'They [f] did not decline to mention those things, which might appear to be dishonourable to their 'Master or themselves. He likewise observes there, that [g] when Matthew comes to the traitor, he 'does not write as an enemy, but as an historian; he does not say that wicked and hateful 'wretch, but calls him, from the place of his habitation, Judas Iscariot.'

5. In the same forecited preface to St. Matthew's gospel, or first homily upon it, he does justly and strongly extol the philosophy, or just sentiments, of the apostles, and their prodigious success, as a proof of the Divine power and presence with them: 'That [h] a few men, some 'fishermen, another a publican, all illiterate, and destitute of worldly wealth and authority, 'should prevail both living and dead, and bring over to their scheme not one, or two, or twenty 'men, or a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand, but cities, and nations, and people.'

6. I know not how to forbear to take notice of one place more, where Chrysostom says: For the Christian religion to have been spread over the world without miracles, would be a greater miracle than any recorded in the New Testament.

He is arguing for the truth of Christ's resurrection and says: 'If [i] he had not risen, there 'would not have been any miracles wrought in testimony to it; nor would any have been able 'to work any miracles in his name: whereas the same power wrought miracles before and after 'his crucifixion; yea, more and greater after it than before. But how does it appear that 'miracles were wrought then? will an infidel say. From whence does it appear that Christ was 'crucified? From the holy scriptures, he will answer. Well, that miracles were then done, and

[a] Contr. Anom. Hom. 11. T. i. p. 541. C.
[b] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19. T. ii. p. 189. B. Vid. De Sanctis Martyr. ib. p. 651. A.
[c] In Matt. Hom. 30. al. 31. T. vii. p. 348. C. D.
[d] In Matt. Pr. T. vii. p. 5, 6.
[e] In Matt. Hom. 85. al. 86. T. vii. p. 803. E.
[f] In Matt. H. 32. al. 33. p. 369. B.
[g] Ib. p. 369. A.
[h] In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 9.
[i] In Princ. Act. H. 4. T. iii. p. 92, 93.

'that Christ was crucified, is manifest from the holy scriptures; for they relate both the one and 'the other. And if the adversary should say, that the apostles wrought no miracles, it may be 'replied: You make their power and the Divine favour greater, if indeed, without miracles, 'they allured so large a part of the world to true religion. For that would be the greatest and 'most wonderful miracle of all; that a company of twelve men, poor, mean, illiterate, despicable, 'should draw over to themselves so many cities and nations and people, and kings, and tyrants, and 'philosophers, and rhetoricians; and in a word, the whole earth, without working any miracles. 'But do you expect to see miracles done now? I will shew you some, and greater than any 'that are recorded: not one dead man raised to life, not one blind man restored to sight, but the 'whole earth recovered from the darkness of error; not one leper cleansed, but many nations 'washed from the leprosy of sin. What miracle dost thou desire, man, beyond this great change 'made in the world all on a sudden?'

So says Chrysostom: and I think his argument is conclusive. There is no effect without a cause: there were, in his time, great numbers of Christians, and many churches had been planted in most parts of the world. The doctrine of the gospel, therefore, had been preached to them; but Jesus, the author of that doctrine, had been crucified: his doctrine, therefore, was not supported by worldly power. His disciples, at first, were mean and despised; and yet they spread his religion over the world: consequently they were supported by the power of God, working miracles in confirmation of the doctrine taught by them, as the evangelical history says. Otherwise, if you deny the truth of the miracles recorded in the New Testament, you must suppose a greater miracle; which is, that God immediately and powerfully influenced the minds of men to embrace the doctrine taught by Christ's disciples. For to say, that this change had been made in the world without any cause; or that men forsook their old sentiment and practices, and embraced the Christian religion upon the bare word of a few mean and illiterate men, without any other reason inducing them thereto; is an absurdity so manifest, as not to be admitted by any.

XIX. We will now observe some places, where Chrysostom speaks of miraculous powers in the church.

1. In one place he says, the [a] ashes of the holy martyrs drive away dæmons: in another place, that [b] where dæmons see the bodies of martyrs lying, they flee away. He also says, that [c] bodies of martyrs have great power. Celebrating a martyr, named Julian, he says, he [d] will allege not ancient things, but of the present time: for take a dæmoniac and mad-man, and bring him to that holy sepulchre, where are the martyr's relicks; and you will see him draw back, and flee away. Again, he says, that [e] dæmons dread the dust of martyrs; and wherever they are buried, they flee away from their sepulchres, though they do not shun the sepulchres of other dead men. Once more he speaks, as [f] if in his time many miracles were done by the martyrs.

2. In a homily at the feast of Pentecost, he supposeth, that in his time there were not any miraculous gifts; and he assigns the reasons of it: 'For [g] signs are for unbelievers, not for 'believers, as we are: nor is that any unkindness to us; but God rather does us honour in with-'drawing the evidence of miracles.'

3. He speaks largely upon the same subject in another place. 'At [h] the rise of Christianity, 'and for spreading it in the world, through the great goodness of God, miraculous gifts were 'bestowed upon many; upon some who were unworthy, and not truly pious: but now they are 'not bestowed upon the worthy, because we do not stand in need of such things.'

4. 'The [i] apostles wrought miracles in their time; but now such things are past and gone: 'whereas, good works, and a holy conversation, are always necessary for those who would be 'saved.'

5. In his books of the Priesthood, an early work, written before 375, he says: 'Paul [k] was 'formidable to dæmons; but all the men of this time, united together, cannot, by many prayers 'and tears, do so much as Paul's handkerchiefs. Paul raised the dead, and did many other great 'works; insomuch, that he was thought by the heathens to be a god.'

[a] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 8. T. ii. p. 93. B.
[b] De Macc. 1. T. ii. p. 623. A.
[c] De SS. Bernic. &c. T. ii. p. 645. D.
[d] In Julian. M. T. ii. p. 674. D. Vid. et in S. Barlaam. M. ib. p. 686. A. B.
[e] De S. Drosid. M. T. ii. p. 691. D.
[f] De S. Bab. Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. ii. p. 555. C. D.
[g] De S. Pentec. Hom. 1. T. 1. p. 464. C.
[h] In Princ. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 65. B. Vid. et p. 64. C. D.
[i] In Pr. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 65. E. Vid. et Hom. 3. p. 76.
[k] De Sacerd. l. iv. T. 1. p. 411. A.

6. 'When [a] the Jews were in the wilderness, many miracles were wrought. So likewise 'among us, at our deliverance from error; but afterwards they ceased, when religion was once 'firmly planted. And if, after the settlement of the Jews in Canaan, there were miracles, they 'were not so numerous, nor so frequent as before: in like manner has it been in our times. 'And when the Jews would have rebuilt the temple, they were prevented by eruptions of fire at 'the foundation.'

7. Chrysostom speaks there, and also [b] elsewhere, of other miracles in the time of Julian; as well as of the defeat of the attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.

8. To proceed: He says, miracles [c] were formerly needful to spread the knowledge of God over the world; but now they are not needful.

9. Again: 'God [d] has now ceased to work miracles.'

10. 'Some [e] there are who ask, why there are no miracles now? If you believe, as you ought 'to do; if you love Christ, as you should, you have no need of miracles: for miracles are for 'them that believe not.'

11. The [f] Gentiles were offended at two things: that Christians did not love one another; and that there were no miracles. He tells his hearers that they were more offended upon the former account than the latter; and says, that at first the Christian doctrine was recommended by miracles; but now we ought to recommend it by our lives.

12. Upon 1 Cor. xii. 'This [g] whole place, he says, is very obscure. The reason is, that we 'are unacquainted with the things there spoken of, and such things do not now happen.'

13. In his fourteenth homily upon the epistle to the Romans, particularly ch. viii. 26. "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought." 'This [h] expression is obscure, because many of the miracles which were then done 'are ceased; therefore, it is needful to shew you the state of things at that time. Then God 'vouchsafed to those who were baptised many gifts, which were called "spirits: for the spirits 'of the prophets are subject to the prophets," as he says [1 Cor. xiv. 32]. One had the gift of 'prophecy, and he foretold things to come; another had the gift of wisdom, and he taught the 'people; he who had the gift of healing, cured the sick; he who had the gift of working won-'derful works, raised the dead; another had the gift of tongues, and he spake in divers languages. 'Beside all these, there was the gift of prayer; which is called "the spirit:" he who had that 'gift prayed for the whole multitude. And whereas we are ignorant of many things that are 'profitable to us, and therefore ask for things not profitable, the gift of prayer came upon some 'one at that time, who asked for all those things which were profitable for the whole church, 'and thereby was also very instructive. That gift the apostle here calls "the spirit;" as also 'the soul of him that received that gift, which interceded with God, and groaned: for he who 'was favoured with that gift, with great compunction, and inward groaning, asked things profit-'able for all: of whom the deacon, in our time, who offers prayers for all, is only a symbol. He 'proceeds to say, that by "the spirit," the apostle does not here mean the Comforter; but a 'spiritual man, who has the gift of prayer.'

14. Upon 1 Cor xiv. 'The [i] church was then a heaven, when the Spirit directed all things, 'moving and inspiring every one of the bishops; but now we have only the symbols of those 'gifts.'

15. Upon the Acts; speaking of the state of things, when the gospel was first preached by the apostles, he says: 'The [k] earth was then a heaven for the excellent conversation of the 'believers; and the miracles then wrought; and upon other accounts.'

16. In a homily upon the epistle to the Colossians, some are brought in asking, Why [l] there were then none who raised the dead, and healed diseases? A part of his answer is, that when the faith was to be planted, there were many such; but now there was no need of them.

17. In a homily upon the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, he says, 'That [m] the gifts of the Spirit had ceased long ago.'

[a] In Matt. Hom. 4. T. vii. p. 47.
[b] In Ps. cx. n. 4. et 5. T. v. p. 271. A. . . . E. p. 272. A.
[c] In Ps. cxlii. n. 5. ib. p. 455. E.
[d] Και γαρ . . . τα σημεια επαυσεν ὁ θεος. In Matt. Hom. 32. al. 33. T. vii. p. 375. E.
[e] In Jo. Hom. 24. al. 23. n. 1. T. viii. p. 138. A.
[f] In Jo. Hom. 72. al. 71. T. viii. p. 427. D. E.
[g] In 1 Cor. Hom. 29. T. x. p. 257. E.
[h] In Rom. Hom. 14. T. ix. p. 585, 586.
[i] In 1 Cor. Hom. 36. p. 339. C. D.
[k] In Act. Ap. Hom 12. T. ix. p. 100. B.
[l] In Col. Hom. 8. T. xi. p. 387. E.
[m] . . . Και γαρ παλαι εκλελοιπεν. In 2 Th. Hom. 4. T. xi. p. 591. C. D.

XX. It may not be amiss to take some of Chrysostom's passages concerning free-will.

1. He says: All [a] might be like Peter and Paul in virtue, though not in miracles.

2. We [b] are good, or bad, not by nature, but by our own purpose.

3. In another place he says, that [c] no man is good or bad by nature.

4. 'The [d] temptations of Satan can impose no necessity upon us to do evil. We are masters 'of our own purposes; whether his temptations shall prevail or not.

5. Speaking of Judas, he says: 'Christ [e] gave him many admonitions and warnings; but he 'slighted them; and God did not use violence to draw him. As he has put in our power the 'choice of good or evil, and will have us to be good freely; therefore, if we will not he does not 'force us: for to be good by necessity is not to be good.'

6. Afterwards, observing upon the different conduct of Judas and the other disciples, he says: 'He [f] and they saw the same miracles; they had the same instructions and the same 'power. Whence then the difference? It came from the purpose of the mind; that is every 'where the cause of all good and of all bad actions.'

7. 'If [g] it be asked: Could not Christ have drawn a disciple? I answer: He could. But he 'would not make him good by necessity, nor draw him by force to himself.'

8. In another place he says, that [h] Judas might have repented and been forgiven, if he had not hastily made away with himself through the excess of his grief. This he thinks to be manifest from the mercy shewn to many of those who had crucified Christ.

9. He argues at large, that [i] Paul was not converted by force; but freely, and of his own purpose, according to the call of God.

10. 'If [k] we will but be thoughtful and watchful, we may more easily cure the diseases of the mind than of the body.'

11. He [l] speaks very strongly to the like purpose, in another place; and I shall refer to divers [m] others.

12. Again: 'If [n] we will, we may shake off all our sins.'

13. I refer to [o] his remarks upon John, i. 38, as also upon [p] Rom. ix. 21, which I may not stay to transcribe, though they are very observable.

14. 'And [q] that you may perceive the call of God does not necessitate; consider how many 'of those who are called perish: whence it is evident, that our salvation, or damnation, depends 'upon our own purpose.'

15. And yet, in one place he says: 'Without [r] the Divine assistance, we are not able to 'resist the smallest temptation.' And again, 'That [s] we can do no good thing, without assist-'ance from above.'

16. Discoursing on the title of the book of the Acts, he says: Luke [t] did not call it the history of the miracles of the apostles, but of their Acts, which is better: for miracles are a divine gift; acts, the fruit of human industry. However, he afterwards says, that miracles are solely from heaven; acts, from both our care and divine grace.

XXI. I shall conclude, with a few observations upon a variety of subjects.

1. 'If [u] God had been swift to punish, the church had not had Paul.....The long-suffering of 'God made him, of a persecutor, a preacher of the gospel; as it did, in another instance, of a 'publican an evangelist.'

2. 'The [x] Jews, our enemies, keep the scriptures for us; or are our librarians:' a thought very frequent in Augustine, as we have seen. So likewise argues Chrysostom; who proceeds: 'The testimony of an enemy, says he, is always reckoned of great force. The prophecies of

[a] De Compunct. ad Demetr. l. i. T. i. p. 136. C. D.
[b] Adv. Oppugnat. Vit. Mon. l. iii. T. i. p. 83. A.
[c] In 1 ad Cor. Hom. 2. T. x. p. 13. D.
[d] De Laz. Hom. 2. T. i. p. 729. A.
[e] De Prodit. Jud. Hom. 1. T. ii. p. 320. D.
[f] Ibid. p. 382. A.
[g] De Prodit. Jud. Hom. 2. p. 389. A. Conf. Hom. 1. p. 378. D.
[h] De Pœnit. Hom. 1. T. ii. p. 284. E.
[i] De Ferend. Repreh. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 127. B. Conf. p. 125. B. C.
[k] In Gen. Hom. 42. T. iv. p. 424. E.
[l] In 1 Thess. Hom. 6. T. xi. p. 465. B. C.
[m] Vid. in Gen. Hom. 54. T. iv. p. 522. A. in Es. cap. 1. T. vi. p. 12. A. In Jerem. cap. x. 23. T. vi. p. 159... 165.
[n] De Pentec. Hom. 1. T. i. p. 467. E.
[o] In Jo. Hom. 18. al. 17. T. viii. p. 107. D.
[p] In Rom. Hom. 14. T. ix. p. 615.—A... E.
[q] In Jo. Hom. 47. al. 46. T. viii. p. 281. C.
[r] De Paralyt. T. iii. p. 35. C.
[s] In Gen. H. 25. T. iv. p. 241. D.
[t] In Inscript. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 63. D.
[u] De Pœnit. Hom. 7. T. ii. p. 328. B. Conf. de Cruce et Latron. Hom. 1. ib. p. 409. A. B.
[x] In Ps. xliv. T. 5. p. 160. C.

'the Old Testament, of which we make so good use, are derived to us from those who crucified 'the Lord Jesus. No man, therefore, can say, that the books of the Old Testament have been 'forged by us.' And, as he says, in another place: 'If [a] they had understood the prophecies 'recorded in their scriptures, and could have apprehended the advantage we have from them, 'they might have been tempted to destroy them.'

3. In [b] Chrysostom's time there were many who went into Arabia to see Job's dunghill. All will readily suppose that Chrysostom was wiser than to go thither himself. And some may be apt to think that he might have shewn his dislike of such superstition: but that is more than can be expected from an orator.

4. There [c] were pick-pockets at Antioch, who used to make advantage of Chrysostom's crowded auditories; for which reason he adviseth his hearers not to bring much money to church with them.

5. He says, that [d] Nero put Paul to death, because he had converted a beloved concubine of the emperor: which story I do not think to be well attested. He also informs us, that [e] it was said, that Paul saluted the butler, or cup-bearer, and a concubine of Nero. He supposeth, in another place, that [f] his converting Nero's cup-bearer was the immediate occasion of his death; he [g] likewise speaks of Nero's being offended, because the apostle found favour with one of the emperor's friends.

6. The [h] worst of men, he says, are to be relieved when in distress.

CHAP. CXIX.

SEVERIAN, BISHOP OF GABALA, IN SYRIA.

SEVERIAN, bishop of Gabala, in Syria, once friend, afterwards rival and enemy of St. Chrysostom, flourished [i] about the year 401: for a particular account of him and his works, I refer to [k] others. Divers homilies have been ascribed to him, which are not certainly known to be his. I shall quote, or refer to such works only, the genuineness of which is generally, or universally acknowledged.

2. Severian was a popular preacher. When Chrysostom had occasion to be absent from Constantinople, he preached in his stead, and with good acceptance: nevertheless, when [l] he spake Greek, there appeared, to nice ears, somewhat Syrian in his pronunciation.

3. Severian is not only mentioned by the Greek ecclesiastical historians; but [m] Gennadius, likewise, has given him a place in his book of Illustrious Men.

4. He was reckoned by his contemporaries well skilled [n] in the sacred scriptures; and his remaining works are full of citations of the scriptures, and marks of the highest respect for them.

5. At the beginning of the first homily upon Genesis, or, the Creation of the World, he says, 'Our [o] salvation is the design of every book of sacred scripture; for our good every thing is

[a] In Es. cap. 2. T. 6. p. 20. A.
[b] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 5. T. ii. p. 59. A.
[c] Contr. Anom. Hom. 4. T. i. p. 479.
[d] Adv. Oppugnat. Vit. Mon. l. i. T. 1. p. 48. D. E.
[e] Λεγεται Νερωνος και οινοχοον και παλλακιδα ασπασαι. In Act. Ap. Hom. 46. T. ix. p. 349. D.
[f] Παρεσ-ε ηδη τω Νερωνι, και διεφυγεν· επιδη και τον οινοχοον αυτω καληχησε, τοτε αυτον απελεμεν. In 2 Tim. Hom. 10. T. xi. p. 722. B.
[g] Προσεκρουσε γαρ τοτε τω Νερωνι, τινα των ανακειμενων αυτω οικειωσαμενος. In 2 Tim. Hom. 3. ib. 673. C.
[h] De Laz. Hom. 2. T. i. p. 734. C.
[i] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 375.
[k] Cav. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ix. p. 267...269. Du Pin, T. iii. Tillem. T. xi. S. Chrysostome, Art. 62, 63, et notes 54. ...56. Conf. Socr. l. 6. c. 11. et 24. Soz. l. 8. c. 10. 18.
[l] ...αλλα και Ελληνιζι φθεγγομενος, Συρος ην την φωνην. Socr. l. 6. c. xi. in...την Συρων δασυτητα...επι της γλωττης εφερεν. Soz. 8. c. 10. in.
[m] Severianus, Gabalensis ecclesiæ episcopus, in divinis scripturis eruditus, et in homiliis declamator admirabilis fuit. Unde et frequenter ab episcopo Joanne et Imperatore Arcadio ad faciendum sermonem Constantinopolim vocabatur, &c. Genn. de V. I. cap. 21.
[n] Soz. ib. p. 770. A.
[o] De Mundi Creat. Hom. i. ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 436. A. ed. Bened.

'written, the end of the law of Moses, of the preaching of the prophets and of the apostles, is, 'that we may obtain true piety, and be saved.'

6. He often quotes the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, and Paul's epistles, particularly that [a] to the Hebrews.

7. In the forecited homily or oration, he says, 'Both [b] the Testaments have a great agree-'ment, as proceeding from the same father. In the Old Testament the law precedes, then 'follow the prophets; in the New, the gospel precedes, and then follow the apostles.' Presently afterwards he says, 'In [c] the New Testament, are twelve apostles, and four evangelists.'

8. In an oration concerning Seals, Severian expresseth himself in this manner: 'Let [d] here-'tics often observe that saying, "In the beginning was the word." Indeed, the three evange-'lists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, when they began their preaching, did not immediately say 'what became Christ's dignity, but what was suitable to their hearers' capacity. Matthew, [e] at 'the beginning of the gospels, says, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of 'David, the son of Abraham." Why does he not say, "the son of God?" Why does he, 'with such low expressions conceal his dignity?' Having answered those queries, he also observes the beginnings of the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and adds: 'All [f] three, there-'fore, attended to his dispensation in the flesh; and, by his miracles, gradually instilled his dig-'nity.' He afterwards compares John to thunder, and says, he is terrible to heretics; whilst the other three evangelists only lightned. He likewise says, until [g] John wrote, the best defence of the right faith, and the best weapons against heretics were wanting.

9. In the remaining works of Severian there is little notice taken of the catholic epistles, none at all of the Revelation. It is likely that this last was not received by him, and that he received three only of the catholic epistles. Cosmas says, 'Severian, [h] bishop of Gabala, in his 'book against the Jews, rejects them; forasmuch as the most say, they were not written by 'apostles, but by some others, who were barely presbyters.' Cosmas's expressions are ambiguous: he may seem to speak of all the catholic epistles; but it is likely, that he ought to be understood of some of them only.

10. Moreover, in the homily upon the brazen serpent, generally allowed to be Severian's, are the words of 1 Pet. ii. 22; they are quoted as Paul's; but I take that to be the fault of the copyist. Peter having been written in a contracted manner, some ignorant and hasty scribe read Paul, and put his name in his transcribed copy. So the place is: 'As [i] also Isaiah agrees 'with the blessed Paul, [Peter] who says; "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his 'mouth."' And, in his discourse on Seals, the [k] beginning of the first epistle of John is expressly cited as John's: and it may be reasonably supposed, that he likewise received the epistle of James.

11. Upon the whole, Severian received the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, and three of the catholic epistles: and, for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, he had the highest regard.

[a] De Mund. Creat. Or. 2. p. 444. A. et passim.

[b] ...Και εν τη νεα χαριτι προηγειται το ευαγγελιον, και ακολουθουσιν αποστολοι. Ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 439. B.

[c] Ibid.

[d] De Sigillis ap. Chrys. T. xii. p. 411. E. 412. A.

[e] Ὁ Ματθαιος αρχην ποιησαμενος των ευαγγελιων λεγει. Ibid. [f] Ib. p. 412. D.

[g] Εκρυπτετο δε τα καια των αιρετικων βελη, και το της ορθης δοξης επιτειχισμα ουδεπω τω κηρυγματι της ευσεβειας εγηγερτο. Ib. p. 412. D. E.

[h] Ὁμοιως και Σευηριανος, ὁ Γαβαλων, εις τον καια Ιουδαιων λογον αυτας απεκηρυξεν· ου γαρ αποστολων φασιν αυτας οι πλειους, αλλ' ετερων τινων πρεσβυτερων αφελεστερων. Cosm. Top. Chr. l. 7. p. 292. c. Ap. Montf. Nov. Coll. PP. T. ii.

[i] Καθως και ὁ μακαριος Ησαιας συνωδα τω μακαριω Παυλω. κ. λ. De Serp. Hom. ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 515. A.

[k] De Sigillis, ap. Chr. T. xii. p. 414. C.

CHAP. CXX.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS.

I. *His time and works.* II. *His character, and the character of his writings.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures.* IV. *Select passages.*

I. SULPICIUS SEVERUS,[a] of Aquitain, in Gaul, author of a sacred history, in two books; and of the life of Martin, bishop of Tours; and some other works; is placed, by Cave, at the year 401, about which time he finished the abovementioned history; which is a summary account of the affairs of the Jews, and of the church, from the beginning of the world to the consulship of Stilicho and Aurelian, or the year of Christ 400. We are assured, by Gennadius, that he was a presbyter: he is supposed to have died about the year 420.

I shall place, in the margin,[b] a large part of Gennadius's chapter, containing an enumeration of his works: who also says, that Sulpicius, in his old age, embraced Pelagianism; but being convinced of his error, he shewed his repentance by perpetual silence afterwards; that is, as some suppose, by writing no more books.

II. Sulpicius embraced some of the notions of the Millenarians, as was of old observed by [c] Jerom, and still appears in [d] his works, in [e] part. He gives [f] a common, but wrong interpretation of Gen. vi. 1. ... 4, by 'sons of God' understanding angels; an interpretation that [g] may be found in many of the ancients. His account of Martin of Tours are reckoned, by some, a remarkable instance of credulity. Du Pin says, he [h] was very credulous in point of miracles; but Tillemont [i] believes every word; though [k] the accounts which Sulpicius gave of Martin were not believed by all in his own time.

I add but one thing more in the way of character of Sulpicius: his style is neat and elegant; but his sacred history, after the period of the evangelical writings, is too short, and even defective: he has not one word of the reign of the emperor Julian; and if it should be said, that his design was sacred, not civil history, that would not amount to a good defence; since it is well known, that the church was not unconcerned in the transactions of that reign.

III. His testimony to the books of the New Testament will lie in a small compass.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. E. T. i. Voss. Hist. Lat. l. 2. c. 12. Fabric. ad Gennad. cap. 19. Pagi Ann. 395. n. 20. 431. n. L. Basnag. Ann. 400. n. 16. Du Pin Bib. T. iii. p. 145. Tillem. Mem. T. xii.

[b] Severus presbyter, cognomento Sulpicius, Aquitaniæ provinciæ, vir genere et literis nobilis, et paupertatis atque humilitatis amore conspicuus, clarus etiam sanctorum virorum, Martini Turonensis episcopi, et Paulini Nolensis notitiâ, scripsit non contemnenda opuscula. Nam epistolas ad amorem Dei et contemtum mundi hortatorias scripsit sorori multas, quæ notæ sunt. Scripsit et ad Paulinum prædictum duas, et ad alios alias.... Composuit et Chronica. Scripsit et ad multorum profectum Vitam B. Martini Monachi et Episcopi, signis et prodigiis ac virtutibus illustris viri. Et collationem Postumiani et Galli, se mediante et judice, de conversatione monachorum orientalium et ipsius Martini habitam, in dialogi speciem, tribus incisionibus comprehendit.... Hic in senectute suâ a Pelagianis deceptus, et agnoscens loquacitatis culpam, silentium usque ad mortem tenuit, ut peccatum, quod loquendo contraxerat, tacendo pœnitens emendaret. Gennad. de Vir. Ill. cap. 19.

[c] Neque enim juxta Judaïcas fabulas gemmatam et auream de cœlo expectamus Jerusalem... quod ut multi nostrorum ... et nuper Severus noster in dialogo, cui Gallo nomen imposuit. Hieron. in Ezech. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952.

[d] Unde creditur, etiamsi se gladio ipse transfixerit [Nero], curato vulnere ejus servatus; secundum illud, quod de eo scriptum est: 'Et plaga mortis ejus curata est.' [Apoc. xiii. 3.] Sub seculi fine mittendus, ut mysterium iniquitatis exerceat. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 29. al. 42. Conf. ejusd. Dialog. ii. cap. 14. al. 16.

[e] See Tillem. Mem. T. xii. S. Sulpice Severe. Art. 8.

[f] Quâ tempestate cum jam humanum genus abundaret, angeli, quibus cœlum sedes erat, speciosarum formâ virginum capti, illicitas cupiditates adpetierunt; ac naturæ suæ originisque degeneres, relictis superioribus, quorum incolæ erant, matrimoniis se mortalibus miscuerunt.... Ex quorum coitu gigantes editi esse dicuntur, cum diversæ inter se naturæ permixtio monstra gigneret. Hist. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2. al. 3.

[g] Vetus opinio Judæorum; quam et plurimi veterum Christianorum, et doctorum ecclesiæ amplexi fuerunt. Joh. Vorst. in Severi loc.

[h] Ubi supra, p. 145. b.

[i] Ce dessein paroît aussi facile que favorable, puisq' il n' y a qu' à suivre les pas d'un excellent historien, et à mettre fidèlement en François ce qu' il a parfaitement bien écrit en Latin. St. Martin de Tours, Art. i. T. x.

[k] Hæc plerisque in eodem monasterio constitutis incredibilia videbantur. Nedum ego confidam omnes, qui hæc audient, crediturosque.... Quamquam minime mirum, si in operibus Martini infirmitas humana dubitaverit; cum multos hodieque videamus, nec evangeliis quidem credidisse. Dialog. 2. cap. 13.

1. Having related the affairs of former times to the coming of Christ, he [a] declines to write particularly what is recorded in the gospels, and in the Acts of the apostles, written by Luke; which book, he says, contains an history of the apostles to the time of Paul's coming to Rome, in the reign of Nero.

2. He says, that [b] John, the apostle and evangelist, was banished by Domitian into the isle Patmos; where he had visions, and where he wrote the book of the Revelation, which is either foolishly or wickedly rejected by many. The Revelation is expressly quoted again, as the apostle John's, in an epistle [c] supposed to be his; and is referred to, or quoted by him, in other places.

3. In the same epistle is quoted [d] the epistle of James.

4. I forbear to take notice of quotations of other books of the New Testament, as altogether needless.

5. His general divisions of the books of scripture are such as these: 'the [e] law, the prophets, 'the gospels, and apostles; the [f] law and the apostles; the [g] Old and New Testament.'

IV. I shall now select a few remarkable passages:

1. 'Eternal [h] life,' he says, 'is not to be obtained but by obedience to all God's command-'ments; for the scripture says, "If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments:" [Mat. 'xix. 17.] therefore, as he adds, virginity alone will not avail.'

2. Sulpicius has [i] a general and summary account of the heathen persecutions; of which some farther notice may be taken by us hereafter.

3. He supposeth, that [k] Simon Magus was overcome by the united prayers of Peter and Paul, after [l] the arrival of Paul at Rome; when he had been sent thither, by order of Festus.

4. He supposeth [m] Peter and Paul to have had the honour of martyrdom in the general persecution of Nero, which had been ordered by the edicts of that emperor; consequently, in the year of Christ, 64 or 65, when Peter was crucified, and Paul beheaded.

5. Sulpicius, in his Sacred History, complains very much of [n] the covetousness of the Christian clergy in this time: and, [o] in another part of the same work, he speaks of the contentions which

[a] Sub hoc Herode, anno imperii ejus tertio et xxx. Christus natus est, Salino et Rufino consulibus, viii kalendas Januarias. Verum hæc, quæ evangeliis, ac deinceps apostolorum actibus continentur, adtingere non ausus, ne quid forma præcisi operis rerum dignitatibus diminueret reliqua exsequar. Herodes post nativitatem Domini regnavit annos iv. Nam omne ejus tempus vii. et xxx. anni fuerunt. Post quem Archelaüs tetrarcha annos ix, Herodes annos xx et iv. Hoc regnante, anno regni octavo et decimo Dominus crucifixus est, Fusio Gemino et Rebellio Gemino consulibus. A quo tempore usque in Stiliconem consulem sunt anni cccIxxii. Apostolorum Actus Lucas edidit, usque in tempus, quo Paulus Romam deductus est, Nerone imperante. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 27. et 28. al. cap. 39, 40.

[b] Interjecto deinde tempore, Domitianus, Vespasiani filius, persecutus est Christianos. Quo tempore Johannem apostolum atque evangelistam in Pathmum insulam relegavit; ubi ille, arcanis sibi mysteriis revelatis, librum sacræ Apocalypsis, qui quidem a plerisque aut stulte, aut impie, non recipitur, conscriptum edidit. Ibid. cap. 31. al. 45.

[c] De his enim beatus apostolus Joannes loquitur, quod sequantur agnum quocumque ierit. [Apoc. xiv. 4.] Ad Soror. Ep. 2. cap. 3. p. 555. edit. Jo. Cleric. Lips. 1709.

[d] Nolo enim tibi in hoc blandiaris, si aliqua non feceris, cum scriptum sit: 'Qui universam legem servaverit, offen-'derit autem in uno, factus est omnium reus. [Jac. ii. 10.] Ib. cap. 12. p. 566.

[e] Tibi vero, post tanta documenta, post legem, post prophetas, post evangelia, post apostolos, si delinquere volueris, quomodo indulgeri possit, ignoro. Ibid. cap. 12. p. 567.

[f] Si contra legalia et apostolica instituta indecens aliquid aut loquuntur, aut cogitant. Ib. cap. 15. p. 569.

[g] Domini est etiam lex Novi et Veteris Testamenti, in quibus ejus eloquia sancta refulgent. Ib. cap. 16. p. 570.

[h] Æterna vero vita nonnisi per omnem divinorum præceptorum custodiam promereri potest, scripturâ dicente, 'Si vis 'in vitam æternam pervenire, serva mandata'. . . . Nihil ergo virginitas sola proficiet. Ib. cap. 6. p. 558.

[i] Vid. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 28. . . . 32. al. cap. 40. . . . 49.

[k] Etenim tum illustris illa adversus Simonem Petri ac Pauli congressio fuit. Qui cum magicis artibus, ut se deum probaret, duobus suffultus dæmoniis evolâsset, orationibus apostolorum fugatis dæmonibus, delapsus in terram populo inspectante disruptus est. Ibid. cap. 28. al. 41.

[l] Vid. supra in eodem capite.

[m] Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati; quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est.' H. S. l. ii. cap. 29. al. 41.

[n] Levitis enim in Sacerdotium adsumtis nulla portio [terræ] data, quo liberius servirent Deo. Equidem hoc exemplum non tacitus præterierim, legendumque ministris ecclesiarum libenter ingesserim. Etenim præcepti hujus non solum immemores, sed etiam ignari mihi videntur: tanta hoc tempore animos eorum habendi cupido veluti tabes incessit. Inhiant possessionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, emunt venduntque, quæstui per omnia student. At si qui melioris propositi videntur, neque possidentes, neque negotiantes, quod est multo turpius, sedentes munera expectant: atque omne vitæ decus mercede corruptum habent, dum quasi venalem præferunt sanctitatem. Sed longius quam volui egressus sum, dum me temporum nostrorum piget tædetque. H. S. l. i. cap. 23. al. 43.

[o] Et nunc, cum maxime discordiis episcoporum turbari aut misceri omnia viderentur, cunctaque per eos odio aut gratiâ, metu, inconstantiâ, invidiâ, factione, libidine, avaritia, arrogantiâ, desidiâ, essent depravata, insanis consiliis et pertinacibus studiis certabant. Inter hæc plebs Dei, et optimus quisque, probro atque ludibrio habebatur. Ib. l. ii. c. ult.

there were among the bishops, and of their pride, ambition, and other faults, to the neglect of their charge, and the great offence of good men.

6. Another thing very observable in Sulpicius Severus is, that he was against all persecution, and disliked the interposition of magistrates in things of religion: this I suppose to have appeared in the extracts formerly made from him [a] in the history of Priscillianism. It has been confirmed also by a passage, since taken notice of in the chapter of [b] St. Jerom; which passage I would now transcribe more at large, by way of proof of the same thing: it is in one of the Dialogues of our author, particularly mentioned among his works by Gennadius, in his chapter transcribed above.

The Dialogue was composed about the year 405: Postumian and Gallus are the speakers, and Sulpicius presides. Postumian had made a voyage into the east; he embarked at Narbone, and arrived at Alexandria in [c] 401, or [d] 402; he was three years in Egypt and Palestine: being returned into Gaul, he gives his friends an account of what he had met with in the several parts of his voyage.

'Thenceforward,' [e] says Postumian, 'we had a prosperous voyage to Alexandria, where 'were very disagreeable disputes between the bishops and the monks; for there had been 'several synods, in which it was decreed, that none might either read or keep the works of 'Origen, who was esteemed a most skilful interpreter of the sacred scriptures. But the bishops 'had observed wild notions in his works: which his friends, not daring to defend, said, they had 'been fraudulently inserted by heretics; and therefore, they said, it was improper to condemn 'all the rest, because there were some things liable to just reprehension. Men might still be 'entrusted with the reading of his works; for, with due care and discretion, they might easily 'distinguish the interpolated opinions, from what was said agreeably to the catholic doctrine: 'nor was it very wonderful to find some heretical opinions foisted into late writings, when some 'had attempted to corrupt the scriptures. But the bishops were peremptory, that the good and 'the bad ought to be all condemned together with the author: they said that there were more 'than enough books allowed by the church; and that the reading of such books ought to be pro-'hibited which might be more hurtful to ignorant people than profitable to the knowing. As 'for myself, who have had the curiosity to read his works, I must say, that very many things 'pleased me; but I observed some things in which undoubtedly he was mistaken; which his 'friends affirm to be interpolations. I wonder how one and the same man could be so diffe-

[a] This vol. chap. cvii.

[b] Page 537, of this volume.

[c] Pagi Ann. 401. n. xx.

[d] S. Sulp. Severe. art. 8. T. xii. Tillem.

[e] ... prosperoque cursu septimo die Alexandriam pervenimus, ubi fœda inter episcopos et monachos certamina gerebantur, ex eâ occasione, quia congregati in unum sæpius sacerdotes frequentibus decrevisse synodis videbantur, ne quis Origenis libros legeret, aut haberet: qui tractator sacrarum scripturarum peritissmus habebatur. Sed episcopi quædam in libris ipsius insanius scripta memorabant, quæ adsertores ejus defendere non ausi, ab hæreticis potius fraudulenter inserta dicebant: et ideo non propter illa, quæ in reprehensionem merito vocarentur, etiam reliqua esse damnanda, cum legentium fides facile possit habere discrimen, ne falsata sequeretur, et tamen catholice disputata retineret. Non esse autem mirum, si in libris neotericis et recens scriptis fraus hæretica fuisset operata, quæ in quibusdam locis non timuisset incidere evangelicam veritatem. Adversum hæc episcopi obstinatius renitentes pro potestate cogebant recta etiam universa cum pravis et cum ipso auctore damnare; quia satis superque sufficerent libri, quos ecclesia recepisset: respuendam esse penitus lectionem, quæ plus esset nocitura insipientibus, quam profutura sapientibus. Mihi autem ex illius libris curiosius indaganti admodum multa placuerunt: sed nonnulla deprehendi, in quibus illum prava sensisse non dubium est, quæ defensores ejus falsata contendunt. Ego miror unum eumdemque hominem tam diversum a se esse potuisse, ut in eâ parte, quâ probatur, neminem post apostolos habeat æqualem; in eâ vero, quâ jure reprehenditur, nemo deformius doceatur errâsse. Nam cum ab episcopis excerpta in libris illius multa legerentur, quæ contra catholicam fidem scripta constaret, locus ille vel maximam parabat invidiam, in quo editum legebatur, quia Dominus Jesus, sicut pro redemtione hominis in carne venisset, crucem pro hominis salute perpessus, mortem pro hominis æternitate gustâsset, ita esset eodem ordine passionis etiam diabolum redemturus; quia hoc bonitati illius pietatique congrueret, ut qui perditum hominem reformâsset, prolapsum quoque angelum liberaret. Cum hæc atque alia ejusmodi ab episcopis proderentur, ex studiis partium orta est seditio. Quæ cum reprimi sacerdotum auctoritate non posset, scævo exemplo ad regendam ecclesiæ disciplinam Præfectus adsumitur, cujus terrore dispersi fratres, ac per diversas oras monachi sunt fugati, ita ut propositis edictis in nullâ consistere sede sinerentur. Illud me admodum permovebat, quod Hieronymus, vir maxime catholicus, et sacræ legis peritissimus, Origenem secutus primo tempore putabatur, quum nunc iem præcipue vel omnia illius scripta damnaret. Nec vero ausus sum de quoquam temere judicare. Præstantissimi tamen viri et doctissimi ferebantur in hoc certamine dissidere. Sed tamen sive error est, ut ego sentio, sive hæresis, ut putatur, non solum non reprimi non potuit multis animadversionibus sacerdotum, sed nequâquam tam late se potuisset effundere, nisi contentione crevisset. Istiusmodi ergo turbatione cum vos Alexandriam, fluctuabat. Me quidem episcopus illius civitatis benigne admodum, et melius, quam opinabar, excepit, et secum tenere tentavit. Sed non fuit animus ibi consistere, ubi recens fraternæ cladis fervebat invidia. Nam etsi fortasse videantur parere episcopis debuisse, non ob hanc tamen causam multitudinem tantam sub Christi confessione viventem, præsertim ab episcopis, oportuisset affligi. Dial. i. cap. 3. al. c6, 7.

'rent from himself: where he is in the right, he has not an equal since the apostles; where 'he is in the wrong, no man has erred more shamefully. Among all his opinions, con- 'trary to the catholic doctrine, which have been extracted out of his works by the bishops, 'nothing has given so much offence, as his notion concerning the recovery and salvation of the 'devil. On account of this, and other such like things, taken notice of by the bishops, dis- 'putes have arisen. And when the bishops were not able to compose them, by a very wrong 'management, the Præfect ["meaning the Augustal Præfect at Alexandria"] has been called 'in to govern the church; by whose armed force our friends the monks have been dispersed, 'and driven into several countries: nor can they any where find a resting place, all people being 'prohibited by edicts to receive them. One thing affected me very much, that Jerom, a true 'catholic, and well acquainted with the Christian doctrine, who, in former times was reckoned 'a follower of Origen, should now, with much earnestness, condemn all his writings: nor did 'I dare hastily to pass my own judgment. But it was said, that very learned and very excellent 'men differed upon this occasion; but whether it be an error, as I think, or a heresy, as others 'say, it not only could not be suppressed by many censures of the bishops, but has spread itself 'far and wide, and has increased by opposition abundantly more than it could have done other- 'wise: this is the disturbance with which Alexandria was agitated when I arrived there. The 'bishop of the city received me very courteously, beyond my expectation, and would have 'detained me with him; but I had no mind to stay in a place where our friends had been so 'lately injured: for though perhaps it may seem, that they ought to have obeyed the bishops; 'nevertheless, it was by no means fit, that for this cause so many men, professing Christianity, 'should be so grievously treated, especially by bishops.'

This is the passage at full length: every candid and understanding reader is able to judge, whether it proves what it is alleged for. Mr. Tillemont, speaking of our author's Dialogues, having commended the purity of the style, and the art with which they are written, adds: 'It [a] 'is also observed, that the judgment which he passes upon the disturbances raised in the east, 'upon the occasion of Origen, is very wise and very moderate.'

CHAP. CXXI.

CHROMATIUS, BISHOP OF AQUILEIA.

1. Cave says, that [b] Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, flourished about 401, and died about the year 410. But he must have been a man of note, and probably bishop, before the end of the fourth century: for Rufinus [c] had been baptized in 370, or thereabout, by Chromatius, then presbyter, under Valerian, bishop of Aquileia. We gave an account of Fortunatianus, another bishop of Aquileia, some while [d] ago.

2. Chromatius was one of Jerom's friends. He [e] desired Jerom to translate the Hebrew scriptures of the Old Testament into Latin; which, I think, is much to his honour. To him [f]

[a] On trouvre aussi que le jugement, qu'il porte, des brouilleries excitées en Orient sur le sujet d' Origène, est très sage et très modéré. S. Sulp. Sev. art. 8. T. xii.

[b] H. L. T. i. p. 378.

[c] Ego, sicut et ipse et omnes nôrunt, ante annos fere triginta in monasterio jam positus, per gratiam baptismi regeneratus, signaculum fidei consecutus sum per sanctos viros Chromatium, Jovinum, et Eusebium, opinatissimos et probatissimos in Ecclesiâ Dei Episcopos; quorum alter tunc presbyter beatæ memoriæ Valeriani, alter archidiaconus, alius diaconus, simulque pater mihi et doctor symboli ac fidei fuit. Rufin. in Hieron. Invect. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 350.

[d] P. 443.

[e] Si Septuaginta Interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, mi Chromati, episcoporum sanctissime atque doctissime, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem. Præf. in Paralip. T. i. p. 1022. Conf. Eund. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 425.

[f] Primum, Chromati, episcoporum doctissime, scire nos convenit, corrupte apud Græcos et Latinos nomen Ambacum prophetæ legi, qui apud Hebræos dicitur Abacuc. Pr. in Ab. T. iii. p. 1591.

Jerom inscribed his Commentaries upon the prophet Habakkuk, and some other works; and he calls him, more than once, a most learned and holy bishop. Rufinus likewise dedicated to him some of his works, particularly his Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, not [a] published by him till after the year 400. Indeed Chromatius was friend of both: and,[b] when they fell out, he endeavoured to moderate, or reconcile the difference between them. There [c] is a letter of Chrysostom to him, which is much in his praise. I omit divers things that might be mentioned, referring to [d] others, and particularly to Tillemont, whose account of Chromatius is the fullest and exactest that I have seen.

3. Neither Jerom, nor Gennadius, nor any other ancient writer, speaks of any works published by Chromatius. Nevertheless there are some pieces generally received as his, they being ascribed to him in the manuscript copies; particularly, [e] Homilies, or tracts upon the eight beatitudes, the rest of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, and part of the sixth, and upon Matth. iii. 14.

4. I observe only a few things: Here are quoted most of the generally received books of the New Testament; in particular, the Acts of the apostles, the [f] epistle to the Hebrews, and [g] the Revelation.

5. He has also expressly quoted [h] the epistle of James.

6. He [i] several times quotes the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John, as if they were their only epistles: nevertheless, it may be reckoned probable, or even unquestioned, that he received more.

7. Explaining the Lord's Prayer, in Matthew vi. he [k] takes no notice of the doxology at the end.

8. He quotes Eph. iv. 30, after this manner: "And [l] grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, wherewith," or whereby, "ye were sealed in the day of redemption." We saw that text quoted in the same manner by [m] St. Cyprian.

9. He [n] compares the scripture to a lamp, which ought not to be hid: but forasmuch as Jews and heretics are apt to render it obscure by misinterpretations, it ought to be set up in the church; that thereby all may be enlightened, and guided in the way of salvation.

CHAP. CXXII.

A COMMENTARY UPON ST. MARK'S GOSPEL, ASCRIBED TO VICTOR, PRESBYTER OF ANTIOCH.

1. THERE is a Commentary upon St. Mark's gospel, generally ascribed to Victor, presbyter of Antioch, placed by Cave at 401. Concerning which, I would refer to [o] several, and among them to [p] R. Simon, who, beside other things, says, 'That in most manuscripts it is said to be 'Victor's, in some Origen's, in others, Cyril's of Alexandria; but that it is not Origen's, nor

[a] Vid. Pagi. Ann. 395. n. 21.

[b] Testem invoco Jesum conscientiæ meæ, qui et has literas, et tuam epistolam judicaturus est, me ad commonitionem sancti Papæ Chromatii voluisse reticere, et finem facere simultatum, et vincere in bono malum: sed, quia minaris interitum, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. T. iv. p. 437.

[c] Ep. 155, T. iii. p. 689. ed. Bened.

[d] Cav. H. L. Du Pin. T. iii. p. 83. Le Long Bib. S. p. 675. Tillem. Mem. T. xi.

[e] Ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 976. ... 990.

[f] Ib. p. 979. C. [g] P. 980. B. 983. A.

[h] P. 983. E.

[i] Beatus Petrus in Epistolâ suâ commonet. p. 981. B. et D. Joannes in Epistolâ suâ ait. p. 986. F.

[k] Vid. p. 987.

[l] Unde et apostolus ait: Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum, in quo signati estis in die redemtionis. p. 983. A.

[m] See p. 21.

[n] ——quod non aliquo cæcæ mentis velamine operiendum est vel obscurandum, ut Judæi et hæretici faciunt, qui perspicuam lucem prædicationis divinæ pravis interpretationibus obtegere et occultare nituntur. ... Unde lucerna hæc legis ac fidei non occultanda nobis est, sed ad salutem multorum semper in ecclesiâ, velut in candelabro constituenda, ut veritatis ipsius luce et nos fruamur, et omnes credentes illuminentur. p. 981. A. B.

[o] Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 232, 233. et T. vii. p. 769. Huet Origenian. l. iii. p. 274, 275. Du Pin. Bib. T. iii. P. ii. 74.

[p] Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. ch. 5. p. 79, 80. ch. 30. p. 426, &c.

'Cyril's, nor Victor's, nor any other particular author's; but is a collection out of many fathers:' which way of speaking seems to me not to be exact; for though it be a collection out of several, and a kind of chain, that collection was made by some one author. And since it is evident, that it is not Origen's; and very probable, that it is not Cyril's; it may be fitly allowed to be Victor's, to whom it is ascribed in most manuscripts.

2. There are in it divers things which to me appear well worthy of notice. Du Pin says: 'This author confines himself to the literal and historical sense, which he illustrates by very solid 'and judicious remarks.' There has been an edition of it [a] in Greek and Latin; but as I have it not, I must content myself with the Latin translation, in the [b] Bibliotheca Patrum.

3. At the very beginning, the author owns, that his Commentary was collected out of several. Many,[c] he says, had written Commentaries upon the gospels of Matthew and John; a few only upon Luke's; none at all upon Mark's, so far as he could find, upon careful enquiry into the writings of the ancients: he determined, therefore, to put together, in a short compass, what ecclesiastical writers had occasionally said in their works, by way of explication of this gospel.

4. That is a good testimony to the four gospels. The composer of this work then proceeds: 'This [d] Mark, called also John, who wrote a gospel after Matthew, was son of Mary, mentioned 'in the Acts of the apostles, in whose house at Jerusalem the apostles were wont to meet. [See 'Acts xii. 12...17.] For a while, as appears from the same book of the Acts, he accompanied 'his relation Barnabas, and Paul; but when he came to Rome, he joined Peter, and followed 'him; for which reason he is particularly mentioned by Peter in his canonical epistle. [1 Pet. 'v. 13.] Mark is also mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Colossians [iv. 10.]; and in his 'second to Timothy. [2 Tim. iv. 11.] Mark, therefore, for a while dispersed the seed of the 'heavenly doctrine, which he had received from the apostles, as elsewhere, so also at Rome; but 'when he was obliged to go from thence, and was earnestly desired by the believers at Rome to 'write a history of the preaching of the heavenly doctrine, he readily complied with their re-'quest. This is said to have been the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark.'

5. Here we see whom this writer thought the evangelist Mark to be. He agrees with many ancient writers, whom we have already consulted, in saying, that Mark wrote his gospel at Rome, at the earnest request of the believers there; and he confirms the supposition of the late date of Mark's gospel, in that it was not written till after his acquaintance with the apostle Peter at Rome.

6. This Commentary contains many observations for reconciling the several evangelists; which seems to be the main design of it.

7. The author supposes [e] Mark to write by inspiration. After which he presently adds an observation from Origen, upon the words of ver. 2, of this gospel: "As it written in the prophets:" or, as in some copies, 'in Isaiah the prophet.'

8. He says, that [f] Levi, in Mark ii. 14, and Luke v. 27, is the same with Matthew, as he calls himself, Matth. ix. 27.

9. Upon Mark iii. 7, 8, where it is said: "And a great multitude followed him from Galilee, and from Judea," and other places, he observes, 'that [g] the evangelists did not aim to

[a] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 235.

[b] Victor, Presbyter Antiochenus, in sacrosanctum J. C. Evangelium secundum Marcum. Ap. Bib. PP. Lugdun. T. iv. p. 370...414.

[c] Quandoquidem permulti in Matthæi et Joannis, pauci vero in Lucæ, nulli autem omnino, ut equidem arbitror, in Marci evangelium scripserunt: (Certe veterum monumentorum indices studiose evolvens, nullum qui illud disseruisset, in hodiernum usque diem comperi:) visum est mihi, quæ ecclesiæ doctores sparsim et per partes in præsentem evangelistam annotârunt, in unum quasi corpus redigere, succinctamque in hoc ipsum quoque evangelium explanationem conscribere. Ibid. p. 370. G.

[d] Cæterum Marcus hic, qui alio nomine Joannes appellatus est, post Matthæum evangelii historiam contexuit.... Et quidem initio, ut in iisdem illis apostolorum Actis proditum exstat, adhærebat Barnabæ cognato suo et Paulo. Verum ubi Romam venisset, secutus est Petrum. Quare is in priori suâ canonicâ ad hunc modum de illo scribit.... Marcus itaque cœlestis doctrinæ semen, quod ab apostolis hauserat, cum alibi, tum Romæ quoque; ad tempus proseminavit. At vero cum alio jam avocaretur, ab iisque, qui Romæ Christo per fidem adjuncti fuerunt, ut salutaris prædicationis seriem scripto exponeret, enixe rogaretur, haud gravatim annuit. Atque hinc evangelium, quod secundum Marcum inscribitur, natum traditur. Ibid. H.

[e] Evangelista Marcus, Spiritu illo, qui e sublimi in hominum corda demittere solet, afflatus, a prophetico oraculo evangelium orditur. In Marc. cap. 1. ib. p. 371. A.

[f] Est autem Levi hic idem omnino cum evangelistâ Matthæo. Et quidem Marcus et Lucas nomen, quod illi familiare erat, primævâ appellatione obnubunt. At ipse vero Levi, dum evangelii historiam contexit, palam quæ ad se pertinebant, denuntiat. Ait enim: Cum transiret Jesus, &c. p. 375. B.

[g] Cum Evangelista Marcus magnam hominum turbam Christum a Galilæâ consecutam dicit, brevi compendio multa simul comprehendit. Neque enim ambitiose, magnoque verborum apparatu et pompâ verba de Christo facere soliti sunt evangelistæ, singula videlicet quæ vel dicta vel facta

'aggrandize Christ, their master, by writing prolixly every thing said and done by him; but 'have omitted many of his words and works; and have used a concise and compendious manner 'of writing.'

10. Here [a] are many good observations upon the history of the cure of the dæmoniac, related Mark v. 1.....20. When [b] the dæmoniac answered, his name was Legion; he says, that word should not be understood to denote any certain number, but many, or a great multitude.

11. In his remarks upon the history of the woman with the hemorrhage, related ch. v. 21—34, he observes, that [c] Mark has particulars omitted by Matthew.

12. Upon Mark vi. 7—13, particularly ver. 13, he says, that [d] the like history is in Luke; 'but that Mark is the only evangelist who speaks of the disciples "anointing with oil them 'that were sick:" which method of healing is also mentioned by James, in his epistle.' See James v. 13—15.

13. Upon ch. v. ver. 39, he says: 'It [e] was owing to modesty that our Lord said of Jairus's 'daughter; "She is not dead, but sleepeth:" though she was really dead, and he intended to 'raise her up to life.'

14. He particularly considers the history in Mark x. 35—40. I put in the margin [f] a part of his observations. The sum of what he says upon ver. 39, 40, is, that Christ is the judge, and the dispenser of all rewards; but the first places in his heavenly kingdom will not be disposed of by affection and favour, but shall be given to the most virtuous.

15. Upon Mark xi. 15—17, he argues, that [g] Christ twice drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple. But some, it seems, thought that this was done by our Lord but once only; and at the time mentioned by St. John at the beginning of his gospel.

16. The evangelist John is here called the [h] Divine.

17. The composer of this work seems not to have had, in his copies, our conclusion of St. Mark's gospel; for he explains the beginning of the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark's gospel to the end of the eighth verse, and no farther; there ends his commentary: nevertheless, he was acquainted with the remainder. And in his remarks upon the first verse of the 16th chapter, he says: 'In [i] some copies of Mark's gospel it is said: "Now when Jesus was risen early the first 'day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene:" and what follows. But that seemed 'to be contrary to what is said by Matthew ch. xxviii. 1: therefore, some had supposed Mark's 'gospel to have been interpolated: but he thinks there is no necessity for admitting that suppo-'sition; and he proposes a method of reconciling the difference.'

Somewhat like this may be seen in an [k] Oration of Gregory Nyssen upon Christ's Resurrec-

fuerant, prolixâ oratione exaggerando; verum, quo auditorum infirmitati consulant, oppositum sectati, omnia breviter et concise narrant. Et quæ sequuntur. p. 376. G.

[a] Vid. p. 380. G. . . 381. G.

[b] 'Et dicit ei: Legio mihi nomen est.' Non dicit numerum præcise, sed simplici voce magnam adesse multitudinem indicat; siquidem exacta numeri discussio nihil ad rei quæ quærebatur notitiam faciebat. p. 381. E.

[c] Quin hoc quoque signum Matthæus compendio absolvit. Multa namque prætermittit ille, quæ Marcus addit. Marcus enim præter alia scribit, Dominum retro conversum, quisnam illum tetigisset, sciscitatum, mulieremque exterritam, trementemque seipsam prodidisse, atque ita tandem a Christo Domino audivisse: Fides tua te salvam fecit. p. 382. B.

[d] His similia exponit Lucas quoque. Verum quod de mysticâ unctione et olei usu hic subjungitur, hoc inter evangelistas solus Marcus commemorat. Interim quæ apostolus Jacobus in suâ canonicâ narrat, ab his non dissentiunt. [Jac. v. 14, 15.] In Marc. cap. 6. ver. 13. p. 383. F.

[e] Quin per hoc quoque, quod puellam extinctam dormire asserit, neque statim se illam exsuscitaturum promittit, omnem fastum, omnemque inanem jactantiam ab opere illo secludit. Ille ergo omni superbiâ vanâque gloriâ vacuitatem consectatur. At vero operis excellentia famam illius longe lateque diffundit. p. 382. F. G.

[f] Quod itaque Christus dicit, ejusmodi est. Moriemini quidem mei causâ, eritisque in passione socii. At hoc interim sat non est, ut primas sedes jure vobis vindicetis. Si enim alius quispiam accesserit, qui una cum martyrio omnem aliam virtutem secum deportaverit, aut certe multo plura, multoque excellentiora virtutum ornamenta in medium attulerit, quam vos, ille utique præcedet. Neque enim quia vos amo, aliisque certâ quadam ratione antepono, ob id opulentiore repulso, primatum vobis assignabo. Illis igitur ejusmodi primatus paratus est, qui per illustriora opera primis sedibus capessendis præ cæteris idoneos se reddiderunt, &c. p. 397. D. E.

[g] . . . . Sunt tamen qui dicant, tres evangelistas, dum Christi ad Hierosolymorum civitatem, ejusdemque in templum ingressum describunt, accuratâ temporis ratione missa, rem ipsam tantum prosecutos esse: Joannem vero, qui historiam illam cæteris diligentius enarrat, satis aperte insinuare, Christum Dominum ea primo ascensu patrâsse, quæ reliqui paullo ante mortem contigisse commemorant, &c. p. 398. F. G.

[h] Ut Joannes theologus loquitur. p. 376. G.

[i] At quia in quibusdam evangelii Marci exemplaribus habetur: 'Surgens autem Jesus mane primo Sabbati, appa-'ruit primo Mariæ Magdalenæ,' &c. Hoc autem illi adversari videtur quod legitur apud Matthæum. Hic enim 'vespere Sabbati' Dominum resurrexisse scribit. Propterea comperti sunt, qui hunc Marci locum a falsariis vitiatum existiment. Verum, ne ad hic confugere videamur, ad quod cuivis confugere proclive est, Marci contextum uno duntaxat commate ab eâ quam offert difficultate vindicare possumus. p. 414. A. B.

[k] De Chr. Resurr. Orat. 2. p. 411. Tom. iii.

tion, and likewise in a Harmony of the Evangelists ascribed to Severus, who was bishop of Antioch [a] in 513, and afterwards; which has been published by [b] Montfaucon.

They who are curious may consult Mill, Bengelius, Wetstein, Wolfius, and others, upon this point.

18. I have selected out of this Commentary a few only, of many observations, that deserve notice. Upon the whole, it is a good performance: and we may hence perceive, that there were some, before our times, who read the scriptures with care and understanding.

19. My readers, I hope, will not omit to recollect, that beside the testimony to the four gospels, we have seen in this work quotations of the Acts, of several epistles of the apostle Paul, and of the first epistle of Peter. I would here add, that [c] the epistle to the Hebrews is quoted in this Commentary; and [d] the epistle of James.

20. This writer, like many other of the ancients, asserts [e] free-will in strong terms.

CHAP. CXXIII.

INNOCENT I. BISHOP OF ROME.

1. INNOCENT the First succeeded Anastasius, in the year 402. The seventh and last decree, or article of a letter of his to Exuperius bishop of Tholouse, contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, which are in the canon.

2. The [f] scriptures of the New Testament are these: four books of the gospels; fourteen 'epistles of the apostle Paul; three epistles of John; two epistles of Peter; an epistle of Jude; 'an epistle of James; the Acts of the apostles; the apocalypse of John.' After which, mention is made of some other writings, which ought to be rejected and condemned.

3. It should be observed, that [g] many of Innocent's letters are suspected to be supposititious; this in particular, and especially the last decree or article in it: for it is not very easy to conceive, what reason there should be for Innocent to send a catalogue of books of scripture to Exuperius: and it may not be amiss to take notice, that this letter of Innocent is not represented to be written, as in council, but only upon his own authority.

4. Nevertheless, after all, we cannot forbear to observe, with some satisfaction, that this catalogue of scripture is exactly the same with our own.

[a] Vid. Cav. in Severo. H. L. T. i. p. 499.

[b] Severi, Archiep. Antiocheni. Concordantia Evangelistarum circa ea quæ in sepulcro Domini contigerunt. Item de Sabbatis, et de varietate Exemplarium S. Marci Evangelistæ. Ap. Montf. Bibl. Coislin. p. 68....75. Vid. in specie, p. 74.

[c] P. 372. D.

[d] Vid. supra, p. 627. not. [d]

[e] Vid. p. 377. A. et p. 379. G. H.

[f] Qui vero recipiantur in canone sanctarum scripturarum, brevis adnexus ostendit.... Item Novi Testamenti: evangeliorum libri quatuor, apostoli Pauli epistolæ 14, epistolæ Joannis tres, epistolæ Petri duæ, epistola Judæ, epistola Jacobi, Actus apostolorum, Apocalypsis Joannis. Cætera autem ....non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. Innoc. ad Exuper. Ep. Tholos. ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 1256.

[g] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 379. Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise. l. viii. c. 8. n. vi. p. 439. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 359.

CHAP. CXXIV.

PAULINUS, BISHOP OF NOLA, IN ITALY.

I. *His time.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. PONTIUS Meropius Paulinus, or Paulinus Nolanus, [a] placed by Cave at the year 393, was born about 353: ordained presbyter in 393; bishop of Nola in Campania, in 409, as some think; or, as Pagi [b] argues, and with great appearance of probability, in 403. He died in 431, in the 78th year of his age.

II. I observe in him a few things:

1. His works, in prose, abound with texts of scripture, quoted, or alluded to.

2. As Paulinus quotes Ps. ciii. or civ. ver. 18, agreeably to Jerom's version, I place [c] the quotation below, with a critical remark of [d] Jerom upon that text.

3. Paulinus often quotes the Canticles: I place below [e] two of his quotations of that book.

4. He quotes [f] the book of Ecclesiasticus with great respect, as written by Solomon.

5. In a letter, supposed to be written in the year 400, to Amandus, then presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Bourdeaux, and successor to Delphinus, Paulinus speaks after this manner: 'He says, that [g] John outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre, because he was the 'youngest: he also says, that it had been handed down by tradition, that John survived all the 'other apostles, and wrote the last of the four evangelists, and so as to confirm their most 'certain histories; but though he was last in time, he was first in point of sublimity: he there also 'speaks of John as writer of the Revelation: and as he proceeds, he observes, that [h] in the 'beginning of St. John's gospel all heretics are confuted, particularly Arius, Sabellius, Photinus, 'Marcion, and the Manichees.

6. Paulinus often quotes the [i] book of the Acts, and all St. Paul's epistles, particularly that [k] to the Hebrews.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. ad Gennad. cap. 48. Pagi Ann. 431. n. 53. Basnag. Ann. 394. n. 10. 11. 432. n. 5. Paulin. Vit. ad Calc. opp. edit. Paris. 1685. Du Pin. T. iii. p. 146. Tillem. Mem. T. xiv.

[b] Ann. 403. n. 10. . . 13. Vid. Eund. A. 431. n. 53.

[c] 'Montes' enim, inquit, 'excelsi cervis, et petra refugium 'herinaceis.' Ad Amand. Ep. 9. al. 22. n. 4. p. 45. Paris. 1685. 4to.

[d] 'Petra refugium herinaceis.'] Pro quo in Hebræo positum est 'Sphannim,' et omnes χοιρογρύλλιες voce simili transtulerunt exceptis Septuaginta, qui 'lepores' interpretati sunt. Sciendum autem, animal esse non majus hericio, habens similitudem muris et ursi. Unde in Palæstinâ αρκτομυς dicitur; et magna est in istis regionibus hujus generis abundantia; semperque in cavernis petrarum, et terræ foveis habitare consueverunt. Ad Sunn. et Fret. Ep. 135. T. ii. p. 658.

[e] . . . quâ et in Canticis Canticorum voce blanditur: 'Co-'lumba,' inquit, 'mea, perfecta mea, quoniam caput meum 'repletum est rore, et crines mei guttis noctis.' [cap. v. 2.] Ad Sever. Ep. 23. al. 3, et 4. n. 33. p. 143.—Hæc oscula sponso suo jam tunc parabat ecclesia, quando cantabat: 'Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui.' [cap. i. 2.] Ib. n. 37. p. 146.

[f] Nam in Ecclesiastico per Salomonem loquitur divina sapientia: 'Quia multi periclitati sunt auri causâ, et facta est 'in facie illius perditio ipsorum.' [cap. xxxi. 6.] Ad Milit. Ep. 25. al. 39. p. 168.

[g] Subvenit itaque nobis, et de evangelio adolescentis apostoli beata velocitas illa, quâ Petrum affectu currendi parem, sed majoris ævi pondere tardiorem, ad sepulcrum Domini præcucurrit; ut resurrectionem corporis prior inspiceret, qui solus in pectore recumbebat. Unde geminos in alveum cordis sui traxerat fontes, quos in orbem idem postea revelationis et evangelii præco diffudit. . . . Idem, ultra omnium tempora apostolorum ætate productâ, postremus evangelii scriptor fuisse memoratur; ut sicut de ipso vas electionis ait: [Gal. ii.] quasi columna firmamentum adjiceret fundamentis ecclesiæ, priores evangelii scriptores consonâ auctoritate confirmans; ultimus auctor libri tempore, sed primus in capite sacramenti. Quippe qui solus e quatuor fluminibus ex ipso summo divini capitis fonte decurrens de nube sublimi sonat: 'In principio erat verbum.' Transcendit Möysen. . . . Iste et evangelistis cæteris, vel ab humano Salvatoris ortu, vel a typico legis sacrificio, vel a prophetico præcursoris Baptistæ præconio evangelium resurrectionis exorsis, altius volans, penetravit et cœlos. Ad Amand. Ep. 21. al. 24. n. 1, 2. p. 114.

[h] Joannes igitur, beatus Dominici pectoris cubator, ... inebriatus Spiritu Sancto, . . . ab ipso intimo et infinito omnium principiorum principio evangelii fecit exordium. Quo uno omnia diaboli, quæ in hæreticis latrant, ora clauduntur. Ibid. n. 4. p. 115.

[i] . . . . sicut illi in Actibus apostolorum, qui, beati Petri prædicatione compuncti, crediderunt in eum quem crucifixerant. Ad Aug. Ep. 50. al. 43. n. 5. p. 295.

[k] Itidem apostolus [Eph. vi.] spiritualiter exprimens arma cœlestia, . . . gladium Spiritûs dicit verbum Dei, de quo ad Hebræos ait: 'Vivus est sermo Dei, et efficax.' [Hebr. iv. 12.] Ad Aug. Ep. 50. n. 17. p. 302.

7. He [a] celebrates St. Luke as a physician for soul and body; whence it may be concluded, he supposed him to be spoken of in Col. iv. 14. At the same time he ascribes to St. Luke, two books; undoubtedly meaning his gospel, and the Acts of the apostles.

8. He often quotes the epistle of St. James, the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John; but I do not recollect any quotations in him of the second epistle of St. Peter, or the epistle of St. Jude, or the second and third of St. John; though it may be reckoned highly probable, that they were all received by him.

9. He often quotes, [b] or refers to the book of the Revelation, which is ascribed by him to the apostle John, in the passage above cited, and elsewhere.

10. He either read, or at least understood, the apostle's exhortation in 1 Cor. ix. 24, in this manner: 'So [c] run, that ye may all obtain.'

11. I put also in the margin [d] his translation of that expression, 1 Cor. ix. 27; "I keep under my body."

12. He quotes 1 Pet. ii. 23, after this manner: 'But [e] yielded [or committed] himself,' unto death, 'to him that judgeth unjustly.'

13. In a letter written to St. Augustine, in 410, or [f] soon after, he [g] asks of him the solution of divers questions, taken out of the Psalms, the apostle, and the gospel: those from the apostle are taken out of the epistle to the Ephesians, to the Romans, and other epistles of Paul.

CHAP. CXXV.

PELAGIUS.

1. Cave speaks of Pelagius at [h] the year 405, the supposed time of his publishing his heresy: Basnage,[i] at 412: Pagi,[k] at 410, and following years: in whom, as well as in many [l] others, his history may be seen. It is generally allowed, that he was a Britain; and many think of the country now called Wales. His name was Morgan, or Marigena; which he changed into Pelagius, of more agreeable sound, and the same meaning. His remaining works, beside fragments, or quotations in Augustine, and others, are, an [m] epistle to Demetrias, written in 413, or 414; a [n] Commentary upon all St. Paul's epistles, except that to the Hebrews; and, [o] a Confession of Faith, called Symbolum ad Damasum. The most beautiful edition of Pelagius's Commentaries that I know of, is in the twelfth tome of Le Clerc's edition of Augustine's works, which is an additional tome to the Benedictine edition; but the edition of these Commentaries, which I shall refer to, is that in the fifth tome of Martianay's edition of Jerom's works.

2. In the Symbol he says, that [p] he receives the New and Old Testament in the same number of books that the catholic church does. In [q] his Commentaries he vindicates the Old Tes-

[a] Hic medicus Lucas prius arte, deinde loquelâ.
Bis medicus Lucas. Ut quondam corporis ægros
Terrenâ curabat ope, et nunc mentibus ægris
Composuit gemino vitæ medicamina libro.
P. 153. D. S. Felice Natal. 9. ver. 424. &c.

[b] Poteras, Roma, intentatas tibi illas in Apocalypsi minas non timere, si talia semper ederent munera senatores tui. Ad. Pamm. Ep. 13. al. 37. n. 15. p. 75.

[c] Quæ causa dicendi apostolo fuit: 'Sic currite, ut apprehendatis omnes.' Quod in agone terreno contra est, ubi non potest lucta nisi dispari luctantium sorte finiri, ut unius gloria alterius ignominia sit. Ad. Sever. Ep. 24. al. 2. n. 15. p. 161. Conf. Theodoret. in loc.

[d] Lividum facio corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo. Ad Aug. Ep. 50. n. 13. p. 299.

[e] Ad Aug. Ep. 50. al. 43 n. 7. p. 296.

[f] See S. Paulin. Art. 49. Tillem. Mem. T. 14.

[g] Hæc interim de Psalmis. Nunc et de apostolo quodcumque proponam. Dicit ad Ephesios. Ad Aug. Ep. 50. n. 9. p. 297. Restat ut aliquid et de evangelicis locis suggeram beatitudini tuæ. Ib. n. 14. p. 299.

[h] H. L. T. i. p. 381.

[i] Ann. 412. n. 7. &c.

[k] Ann. 410. n. 32. &c.

[l] See Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xiii. S. Augustin. Art. 212 ... 217.

[m] In Append. T. ii. Opp. Augustin. Bened. et T. v. Opp. Hieronym. p. 11.... 30.

[n] Apud Hieron. ibid. p. 925.... 1106.

[o] Ap. Hieron. ib. 122.... 124. et Baron. Ann. 417. n. 31 .... 36.

[p] Novum et Vetus Testamentum recipimus, in eo librorum numero, quem sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ tradit auctoritas. Symb. Expl. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 124.

[q] Si, dicentibus Manichæis, crudelis asseritur Deus Veteris Testamenti... quomodo hoc loco ab apostolo dicitur, a Deo Novi Testamenti vindictam hominibus inferendam? Comm. in Rom. cap. i. p. 928. M. Hieron. T. v.

tament against the Manichees: in his letter to Demetrias, he speaks [a] of the volumes of both the Testaments.

3. In his epistle to Demetrias, and in his Commentaries, he quotes many books of the Old and New Testament; particularly the Acts of the apostles, the epistle of James, both the epistles of Peter. I need not refer to the places, nor transcribe the words.

4. Whether Pelagius received the epistle to the Hebrews may be questioned: it is, indeed, several times mentioned in [b] his Commentaries upon the thirteen epistles of Paul; but possibly some may suspect those passages to be interpolations: for, if he had received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, he would have written a Commentary upon it, as well as upon the rest. However, it may not be amiss to recollect here, that in the chapter of Augustine it was observed, that [c] Julian, the Pelagian, freely quotes the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's.

5. In his Commentaries,[d] he quotes the Revelation of John.

6. In his letter to Demetrius, Pelagius speaks highly to the advantage of the scriptures. He tells that lady, that [e] from them only she can receive a full knowledge of the will of God; and recommends to her [f] the study of them: he there [g] speaks of the scriptures, as an epistle sent to us from the Divine Majesty; and he thinks it strange, that men do not receive them with joy and veneration. Upon Coloss. iii. 16, he says, that [h] laymen ought to be skilful in the word of God; and, indeed, [i] Pelagius himself seems to have been always a layman, destitute of ecclesiastical honours: and upon 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17, he says, the [k] scriptures were designed for general use, that we might profit thereby.

7. I shall now observe a few other things, either various readings, or explications of texts.

8. He says, that [l] in some things in the seventh chapter to the Romans, Paul does not speak of himself, now a Christian; but of another, still under the law.

9. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. v. 9; "I have written to you in an epistle." Pelagius [m] understands the apostle to mean the epistle which he was then writing: which I take to be right.

10. Upon Galat. i. 19, he says, that [n] James was called the Lord's brother, because he was son of Mary, wife of Cleophas, his mother's sister.

11. I scarce need to observe, that [o] he supposeth the epistle to the Ephesians to be written to the Christians at Ephesus.

12. Upon Philip. ii. 14, he says, 'that [p] God works in us to will by persuasives, and setting 'before us rewards: and he who perseveres to the end will be saved.'

13. Pelagius was [q] an orthodox Homoüsian. And when Paul styles our Lord, Col. i. 15, "the first-born of every creature," or 'of the whole creation,' he [r] supposeth him to intend

[a] Plena sunt utriusque Testamenti volumina hujusmodi testimoniis. Ad Demetriad. p. 16. in cap. vii.—N. B. In quoting the epistle to Demetrias, the pages are those of St. Jerom's fifth tome; and the number of chapters, or sections, refers to the edition of the same epistle, in the appendix to the second tome of St. Augustine's works.

[b] Sicut et ipse ad Hebræos perhibens docet. In Ep. ad Rom. cap. i. p. 928. Vid. et in Rom. cap. viii. p. 953. in 2 Cor. cap. iv. p. 1018. in Eph. c. v. p. 1058. in Coloss. cap. i. p. 1070.

[c] See before, p. 586.

[d] Cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri.] Regnum scilicet humani generis, secundum Petri epistolam, et Apocalypsim Joannis, Patri tradendum adserit esse per filium. In 1 Cor. xv. p. 1007.

[e] Scito itaque, in scripturis divinis, per quas solus potes plenam Dei intelligere voluntatem, prohiberi quædam.... Ad Demetr. p. 17. in. cap. 9.

[f] Propter quod maxime sanctarum scripturarum studium diligendum est; illuminanda divinis eloquiis anima: et, coruscante Dei verbo, diaboli repellendæ sunt tenebræ. Ib. p. 27. infr. m. cap. 26.

[g] Nobis vero Deus ipse, æterna illa majestas, ineffabilis atque inæstimabilis potestas, sacras literas, et vere adorandos præceptorum suorum apices mittit. Et non statim cum gaudio et veneratione suscipimus? p. 21. cap. 16.

[h] His ostenditur, verbum Christi non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam laïcos habere debere; et docere se invicem, vel monere. Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1074.

[i] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 412. n. 8.

[k] Ideo data est legis instructio, ut ejus consilio cuncta facientes, juste justa faciamus. Ib. p. 1099.

[l] Numquid non Paulus nondum erat Dei gratiâ liberatus? Unde probatur, quia ex alterius personâ hæc loquitur. . . Et rursum in personâ ejus, qui sub legere erat, hæc loquitur. In Rom. cap. 7. ver. 24, 25. p. 948. in. Vid. et ad ver. 18. p. 947. M.

[m] Hoc ipsum in hac epistolâ ita scripsi, non ut a gentibus, sed ab his qui peccant in ecclesiâ separemini. Ad 1 Cor. v. p. 983.

[n] Unde Jacobus secundum cognationem frater Domini dicitur, quoniam de Mariâ Cleophæ, sorore matris Domini, natus esse monstratur. In Gal. p. 1037.

[o] 'Qui sunt Ephesi, et fidelibus in Christo Jesu.'] Non omnibus Ephesiis, sed his qui credunt in Christo. In Eph. i. p. 1048.

[p] Velle operatur in nobis suadendo, et præmia promittendo. Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit. &c. Ad Philip. p. 1094.

[q] Credimus . . . in verum Dei filium, non factum, aut adoptivum, sed genitum, et unius cum Patre substantiæ, quod Græci dicunt ὁμοούσιον: atque ita per omnia æqualem Deo Patri, ut nec tempore, nec gradu, nec potestate, possit esse inferior. Symb. Explan. ad Damas. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 122. Conf. Pagi. Ann. 405 n. 4.

[r] Primogenitus secundum assumti hominis formam, non tempore, sed honore, juxta illud: Filius meus primogenitus Israël. In Col. cap. 1. p. 1070.

Christ's human nature; and not that he was first in point of time, but in point of honour and dignity: as Israel is called God's "first born," or best beloved, and most favoured.

14. I likewise put in the margin his explication of Col. i. 19, "that [a] in him should all fulness dwell."

15. In 1 Tim. iii. 16, he [b] had not "God," but 'which' "was manifest in the flesh." The [c] same reading is in another Commentary upon St. Paul's thirteen epistles, ascribed to Hilary the deacon: of which an account was given formerly.

[a] In aliis, hoc est, in apostolis, patriarchis, vel prophetis, gratia fuit ex parte. In Christo autem tota divinitas habitavit corporaliter, quasi si dicas summaliter. Ibid. p. 1070.

[b] 'Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod 'manifestatum est in carne.'] Quod scire te cupio sacramentum incarnationis Christi, per quem generi humano pietas collata est. p. 1090.

[c] See p. 522.

END OF VOL. II.

00111330

T. Bensley, Printer,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018